## 'Oldest' Koran fragments found in Birmingham University - BBC News

bbc.com

By Sean Coughlan Education correspondent

- · 8 hours ago
- . From the section Education & Family

#### Knowledge economy

What may be the world's oldest fragments of the Koran have been found by the University of Birmingham.

Radiocarbon dating found the manuscript to be at least 1,370 years old, making it among the earliest in existence.

The pages of the Muslim holy text had remained unrecognised in the university library for almost a century.

The British Library's expert on such manuscripts, Dr Muhammad Isa Waley, said this "exciting discovery" would make Muslims "rejoice".

The manuscript had been kept with a collection of other Middle Eastern books and documents, without being identified as one of the oldest fragments of the Koran in the world.

#### Oldest texts

When a PhD researcher looked more closely at these pages it was decided to carry out a radiocarbon dating test and the results were "startling".

The university's director of special collections, Susan Worrall, said researchers had not expected "in our wildest dreams" that it would be so old.

"Finding out we had one of the oldest fragments of the Koran in the whole world has been fantastically exciting."

The tests, carried out by the Oxford University Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit, showed that the fragments, written on sheep or goat skin, were among the very oldest surviving texts of the Koran.

These tests provide a range of dates, showing that, with a probability of more than 95%, the parchment was from between 568 and 645.

"They could well take us back to within a few years of the actual founding of Islam," said David Thomas, the university's professor of Christianity and Islam.

"According to Muslim tradition, the Prophet Muhammad received the revelations that form the Koran, the scripture of Islam, between the years 610 and 632, the year of his death."



The University of Birmingham's manuscript was in a collection brought back from the Middle East

The person who actually wrote it could well have known the Prophet Muhammad... he would maybe have heard him preach Prof David Thomas, University of Birmingham

Prof Thomas says the dating of the Birmingham folios would mean it was quite possible that the person who had written them would have

been alive at the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

"The person who actually wrote it could well have known the Prophet Muhammad. He would have seen him probably, he would maybe have heard him preach. He may have known him personally - and that really is quite a thought to conjure with," he says.

#### First-hand witness

Prof Thomas says that some of the passages of the Koran were written down on parchment, stone, palm leaves and the shoulder blades of camels - and a final version, collected in book form, was completed in about 650.



Prof Thomas says the writer of this manuscript could have heard the Prophet Muhammad preach

He says that "the parts of the Koran that are written on this parchment can, with a degree of confidence, be dated to less than two decades after Muhammad's death".

"These portions must have been in a form that is very close to the form of the Koran read today, supporting the view that the text has undergone little or no alteration and that it can be dated to a point very close to

the time it was believed to be revealed."

The manuscript, written in "Hijazi script", an early form of written Arabic, becomes one of the oldest known fragments of the Koran.



Susan Worrall says the university wants to put this internationally significant discovery on public display

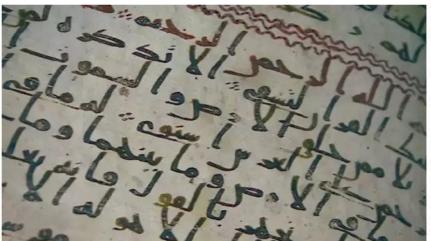
Because radiocarbon dating creates a range of possible ages, there is a handful of other manuscripts in public and private collections which overlap. So this makes it impossible to say that any is definitively the oldest.

But the latest possible date of the Birmingham discovery -645 - would put it among the very oldest.

#### 'Precious survivor'

Dr Waley, curator for such manuscripts at the British Library, said "these two folios, in a beautiful and surprisingly legible Hijazi hand, almost certainly date from the time of the first three caliphs".

The first three caliphs were leaders in the Muslim community between about 632 and 656.



The fragments of the Koran are still clearly legible

Dr Waley says that under the third caliph, Uthman ibn Affan, copies of the "definitive edition" were distributed.

"The Muslim community was not wealthy enough to stockpile animal skins for decades, and to produce a complete Mushaf, or copy, of the Holy Koran required a great many of them."

Dr Waley suggests that the

manuscript found by Birmingham is a "precious survivor" of a copy from that era or could be even earlier.

"In any case, this - along with the sheer beauty of the content and the surprisingly clear Hijazi script - is news to rejoice Muslim hearts."

The manuscript is part of the Mingana Collection of more than 3,000 Middle Eastern documents gathered in the 1920s by Alphonse Mingana, a Chaldean priest born near Mosul in modern-day Iraq.

He was sponsored to take collecting trips to the Middle East by Edward Cadbury, who was



Muhammad Afzal of Birmingham Central Mosque said he was very moved to see the manuscript

part of the chocolate-making dynasty.

The local Muslim community has already expressed its delight at the discovery in their city and the university says the manuscript will be put on public display.

"When I saw these pages I was very moved. There were tears of joy and emotion in my eyes. And I'm sure people from all over the UK will come

to Birmingham to have a glimpse of these pages," said Muhammad Afzal, chairman of Birmingham Central Mosque.

Prof Thomas says it will show people in Birmingham that they have a "treasure that is second to none".

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The family, who moved into their house in July 2013, called in an investigator to tackle the spook.



Keiron and Tracey and the rest of their family

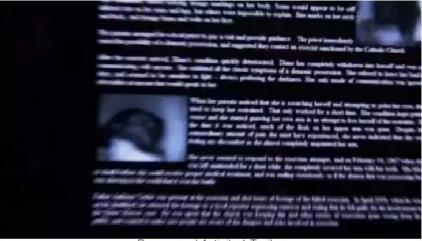
Ghostbuster Robert Amour, 43, arrived at the house with a bible and crucifix.

He banned the petrified family from going upstairs after he shouted to them that he could "feel the evilness in the room".

After 20 minutes the psychic returned to the frightened family - claiming he had slain two small demons.

Church of Wales Vicar Johnathan Widdess has also visited the Frys to help them tackle the ghost.

He said: "He invited us there and we spoke about what was going on. We said a prayer to try and help him."



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Paranormal Activity 1 Trailer

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## 'We are being attacked by demons!' Terrified couple say they are being terrorised by poltergeist



Keiron and Tracey Fry say they are being attacked by a demon which has left her covered in bruises

A terrified family says they are being attacked by 'the worst type of demon you can get'.

Keiron and Tracey Fry say they have been terrorised by the poltergeist every night for months, in scenes reminiscent of supernatural chiller Paranormal Activity.

Wales News Service

Mum Tracey, 46, even thinks she is beaten up in the night by the 'incubus demon' - leaving her covered with bruises in the morning.

An incubus is a demon in male form who, according to mythological and legendary traditions, targets sleeping people, especially women.

Its female counterpart is the succubus.



The couple suspect this picture shows the ghost

The family got in a specialist to "cleanse" the house and brought a vicar in to bless their home.

The phantom, which has also been menacing the couple's three children, was summoned by a using a Ouija board in the house, they say.

Dad-of-three Keiron says he took a pic of the ghost in his sons' bedroom which

he says shows a small child in a white gown with a blue face and a tail.

Keiron said: "We are being molested by demons.

"My wife goes to bed fine, doesn't feel anything in the night but when she wakes up she's in agony.

"I wake up the next day and said: 'I didn't do that'. I would never beat my wife."



Wales News Service



Wales News Service



Wales News Service

Tracey says she wakes up covered in bruises because of the demon

The ghost has been terrorising the family at their three-bed terraced house in New Tredegar since Halloween last year, the Mirror reports.

Their cats have been left too frightened to go upstairs.

Keiron called a paranormal expert after the phantom told his children: "I'm going to slit your parents' throats."

Keiron and wife Tracey called in their local vicar for help to drive away the ghost

His wife Tracy, who is a full-time carer, said: "It's getting worse and worse and there's nothing we can do.

"I wake up every morning in agony because of the demon.

"My husband rubs cream into my bruised back every day but the pain doesn't go away.

Keiron and Tracey claim they are being tormented by a demon which lives in their house

"We were told by the paranormal investigator that we have an incubus demon - the worst type of demon you can get.

"He told us we have three demons in total, the other two helped the main demon pin me down.

"It has affected our marriage because

we have been rowing and fighting all the time about the demon. It has been feeding off all the negative energy."

#### The mysterious Chinese house of horrors: 100 bodies found stacked 15:16 EST, 28 July 2015

dailymail.co.uk

Wednesday, Jul 29th 201511PM

The mysterious Chinese house of horrors: Researchers find almost 100 deformed dead bodies stacked in ancient home

- Bodies of juveniles, young adults and middle-age adults discovered
- 97 bodies crammed into a house measuring just 20 square metres
- Experts say an epidemic of some sort may be responsible
- . Fire left many of the bodies charred and deformed

By Mark Prigg For Dailymail.com

The remains of 97 human bodies have been found stuffed into a small 5,000-year-old house in a prehistoric village in northeast China.

They include the bodies of juveniles, young adults and middle-age adults - all crammed into a house measuring just 20 square metres.

Experts say the scene could have been the result of a 'prehistoric disaster,' and say an epidemic of some sort may be responsible.



The home includes the bodies of juveniles, young adults and middle-age adults - all crammed into a house measuring just 20 square metres.

The site, whose modern-day name is 'Hamin Mangha,' dates back to a time before writing was used in the area, when people lived in relatively small settlements, growing crops and hunting for food.

The village contains the remains of pottery, grinding instruments, arrows and spearheads, providing information on their way of life.

The house with the bodies, dubbed 'F40,' was just 210 square feet (about 20 square meters).

'Hamin Mangha site is the largest and best-preserved prehistoric settlement site found to date in northeast China,' a team of archaeologists wrote in a translated report published in the most recent edition of the journal Chinese Archaeology.

'The skeletons in the northwest are relatively complete, while those in the east often [have] only skulls, with limb bones scarcely remaining,' the archaeologists wrote.

'But in the south, limb bones were discovered in a mess, forming two or three layers.'

'On the floor, numerous human skeletons are disorderly scattered,' the archaeologists wrote.

In a second report, Jilin team found that the people in that house died as the result of a 'prehistoric disaster' that resulted in dead bodies being stuffed into the house.

At some point the structure burnt down, according to Livescience..

The fire likely caused wooden beams of the roof to collapse, leaving parts of skulls and limb bones not only charred but also deformed in some way, the archaeologists wrote.

The remains were never buried and were left behind for archaeologists to discover 5,000 years later.

An anthropological team at Jilin University in China is studying the prehistoric remains, trying to determine what happened to these people.

The team has published a second study, in Chinese, in the Jilin University Journal – Social Sciences edition, on their finds. (A brief English-language summary of their results is available on the American Association of Physical Anthropologists website.)

The Jilin team found that the people in that house died as the result of a 'prehistoric disaster' that resulted in dead bodies being stuffed into the house.

The dead came in faster than they could be buried.



The prehistoric village contained dozens of small oneroom houses.

'Many archaeological sites in China contain human remains in building contexts that suggest that they are the site of catastrophic events and mass disasters,' wrote team leaders Ya Wei Zhou and Hong Zhu in the study.

'The Hamin Mangha Site in Inner Mongolia exemplifies such a site.

'Human skeletal remains were recovered from a collapsed half crypt type house (F40), preserved by fire.'

This similarity may indicate that the cause of the Hamin Mangha site was similar to that of the Miaozigou sites.

'That is, they both possibly relate to an outbreak of an acute infectious disease (pestilence).

'The human bone accumulation in F40 was formed because ancient humans put remains into the house successively and stacked centrally.'

However, the scientists did not speculate as to what disease it may have been.

The excavation was carried out by researchers from the Inner Mongolian Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology and theResearch Center for Chinese Frontier Archaeology of Jilin University.

ann, Stafford, about 6 hours ago

Sounds like the bodies were stacked and then burnt.

erwin montgomery, melbourne, Australia, about 6 hours ago

Ethnicity of the bones please?

Yadicakes says..., California dreaming, United States, about 7 hours ago

Stuff night mares are made of

Tonna Proschek, Orange County, United States, about 7 hours ago

The plaque perhaps? Glad its not my job to sort out this pile.

Saul\_Goodman, Albuquerque, United States, about 6 hours ago

I don't think dental plaque can do this type of damage.

Heywood Jablowmeeee, New York NY, United States, about 7 hours ago

huh?

eubean, New York, United States, about 6 hours ago

She meant plague. Not tooth buildup.

taras shevchenko, woodstock, Canada, about 5 hours ago

How sad

Published by Associated Newspapers Ltd

Part of the Daily Mail, The Mail on Sunday & Metro Media Group

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### No Week End Monster Sighting

Today's situation report on the Mill Race park Green Monster shows:

the Green Monster over the

week end ...

- Mill Race park grounds are to remain barricaded and closed from dusk until dawn to protect the monster's public

and, the Columbus Police department has unofficially established a "Monster

Control officer" to field queries from out-of-town reporters to provide details on the "monstrous situation.

Robert Gillikin, parks di-rector, said today Mill Race park will remain closed at night as a safety precaution for the curiosity-seekers wishing to see the monster, and for the monster itself.

The park was barricaded and closed beginning Friday

Gillikin said youths were carrying knives and clubs and said they might hurt each other or the monster if it is caught.

He did not know when the park would reopen. He said Friday night 135

cars were turned away from the park.

Saturday night 60 cars were turned away, and Sun-day night some 30 cars were turned away by park department officials at the park en-

trance.
Gillikin said park officials

at the barricade did not see the monster. The police department re-

ceived no reports saying the monster was sighted any-where during the week end.

The city police depart-ment, however, has handled some other kinds of calls on the Green Monster.
Capt Fred Yentz of the

day shift said on Sunday several calls were received from media in Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville.

He said he designated offi-cer Kenneth St. John as the "Monster Control officer" for the day shift to provide the radio and television stations and newspapers with details on what has been called by many a "monstrous situation

# No Week End Monster Sightings

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My informant also gave me facts concerning the "Yahoo," cannot call to mind the aboriginal name for this animal. The "Yahoo." (as we all know) is an animal said to resemble a man only that his body is covered with long hair, and his set are turned backwards, the toes being where the heel should be. aboriginals really believe that such an animal exists and they are all afraid of it. My informant confidently believes that one is still living. He, indeed, offered to take me to the place where I could see it for myself. He says this strange creature is to be seen at the Devil's Hole, a point about two miles from Katoomba. He describes this particular Yahoo as being large and strong, and I will hand invitation to visit it, to some returned soldiers, who might exercise their curiosity while waiting for their discharge from the military authorities. A story is told by the that on one occasion aboriginal caught a Yahoo and took her to wife. Children born and reared, but after a time tribe quarrelled over the strangers and killed both mother and children.

# Monster

# 'Beast' in Mill Race

They swear it's true. Six young women told city police Friday in two separate reports that they had seen a "Mill Race Monster" — once in broad daylight.

(2) Hairy, (3) Large, about six feet tall and walking upright, and

(4) Has class

Four of the women, whose names police did not list, said they saw "the thing" about 3 p.m. Friday near the payed boat ramp in the park along White river at the west end of Fifth street. The other two said it jumped on the hood of their car, leaving scratch marks in the paint. That was about 11:45 p.m. No one was hurt, only frightened, police said.

Officers searched the area on both occasions but found nothing. They are hoping it's only a misguided hobgoblin who lost its sense of timing and doesn't know Halloween is over for another year. But, just the same, they warned other residents to

take care and keep an eye out for the "monster"

# Monster

# 'Beast' in Mill Race

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(2) Hairy, (3) Large, about six feet tall and walking spright, and

(4)-Has claws

Four of the women, whose names police did not list, said they saw "the thing" about 2 p.m. Friday near the paved bout ramp in the pack along White river at the west end of Faith street. The other two said it jumped on the bood of their car, leaving scratch marks in the paint. That was about 11:42 p.m. No one was burt, only irightened, police said.

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### HUNTED 'BEAST' MAY BE MAN

# 'Monsterous' Thing At Columbus Is Green, Hairy, Scares Cats

Star State Report

Columbus, Ind.—A hairy green monster is roaming the westside of Columbus scaring cats and women and hiding in a woods near Millrace Park.

Police and a dogcatcher believe the monster is a man wearing green blankets and a green mask enjoying a frolic in balmy Indian summer weather and by the light of the harvest moon.

But large groups of armed persons are roaming the park along the east fork of the White River's headwarters in search of the monster.

Police are worried that one of the hunters will shoot another monster hunter or the monster and learn that the "beast" they have slain is a man.

Dubbed the Hairy Green Monster of Millrace\_ Park, the beast has been spotted at least four times in the last eight days.

IT LEFT "PAW" marks on the hood of a car about 10:30 p.m. Nov. 1 and frightened six young women at the park before it disappeared into the woods near where the Driftwood and Flatrock rivers meet to form the East Fork of the White.

Some believe the monster hides in



Several persons got fleeting glimpses of the monster Tuesday night and again Thursday night.

ABOUT 9 A.M. yesterday, the Columbus city dogcatcher, Rick Duckworth, 20, and John Brown, 19, said up in a tree. While studying ways to rescue the cats, Duckworth said he and Brown saw the monster standing about 200 feet away.

When Duckworth started toward the monster, the beast took of "as fast as a deer" and disappeared in a woods.

a deer" and disappeared in a woods.

With the monster gone, the two
men obtained a ladder and lowered
the two cats to the ground.

As soon as they hit the ground, the two cats took off "like bolts of lightning," with one disappearing in the distance and the other running into a sewer line, according to Duckworth.

"They were really scared," he add-

DUIC

DUCKWORTH SAID if he spots the monster again, he will try to shoot him with a tranquilizer gun he carries to catch dogs.

Duckworth said he believes the monster is a man wearing a green mask and green blankets. He said the monster is 6 feet tall, "maybe even taller," and has a large frame and long reddish hair which hangs in his face.

He said the monster left no footprints because the ground is heavily covered with leaves.

Persons who have sighted the mons-

### HUNTED 'BEAST' MAY BE MAN

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### **6 Strange Species Discovered in Museums**

by Stephanie Pappas, Live Science Contributor
November 19, 2012 11:33am ET
<a href="http://www.livescience.com/24877-strange-species-discovered-museums.html?">http://www.livescience.com/24877-strange-species-discovered-museums.html?</a>
<a href="cmpid=514627\_20150801\_50088076&adbid=10152907407226761&adbpl=fb&adbpr=30478646760">http://www.livescience.com/24877-strange-species-discovered-museums.html?</a>
<a href="cmpid=514627\_20150801\_50088076&adbid=10152907407226761&adbpl=fb&adbpr=30478646760">http://www.livescience.com/24877-strange-species-discovered-museums.html?</a>
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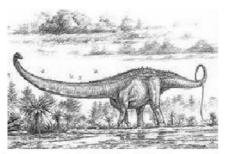
#### New Species



Credit: null

Although some new species are found in the great outdoors and immediately identified, many specimens hang out in museum collections for years before scientists get around to classifying them. Here's a list of cool new species discovered in drawers and on shelves in museums.

#### Barosarus



Credit: © copyright Michael W. Skrepnick 2007

How do you miss an 80-foot (24-meter)-long dinosaur? You stick it in a museum storage room. In 2007, scientists reported the discovery of Barosaurus, a long-necked dino that had been lurking in the Royal Ontario Museum in Canada. Individual bones scattered throughout the museum's collection were

discovered to belong to a single specimen. {1}

#### Hummingbird-size ant



Credit: Bruce Archibald

Now this is a big bug. An extinct hummingbird-size ant hid away in fossil form in the Denver Museum of Nature and Science until 2011, when researchers reported that the huge insect was a newly discovered species and dubbed it Titanomyrma lubei. {2}

#### Triceratops cousin

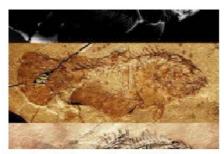


Credit: Copyright Danielle Dufault 2012

Paleontologist Wann Langston Jr. uncovered some intriguing bone bits on a field expedition in Alberta, Canada, in 1958. But he was too busy to look at them, so they got shelved at the Canadian Museum of Nature in Ottawa and forgotten.

Until 2003, that is. Royal Ontario Museum paleontologist David Evans and colleagues learned of the fragments and started investigating. They realized immediately that they had a new species, a shield-necked dinosaur called Xenoceratops foremostensis. {3}

#### Fishy missing link



Credit: Image by M. Friedman

A strange flatfish ancestor that may help explain how these weird creatures evolved turned up not in the ocean, but in a drawer of unidentified fossils at the Natural History Museum of Vienna, Austria, researchers reported in June 2012. The 50-million-year-old fish, Heteronectes, has an eye that has partially migrated across its head, but has not quite reached the point of having both eyes on one side like a modern flounder. {4}

#### Shieldcroc



Credit: Henry Tsai/University of Missouri

Dubbed "Shieldcroc" for its ornamental headgear, Aegisuchus witmeri is the oldest modern crocodile ancestor found in Africa. Originally collected in Morocco, the specimen that identified this giant crocodile hung out at the Royal Ontario Museum for a few years before scientists turned their attention to it. {5}

#### A whole lot of wasps



Credit: Natural History Museum, London

Sometimes having a lot of unknown species on hand is useful. In October 2012, researchers examined 1,549 unknown parasitic wasps originally collected in Guatemala, Honduras, Ecuador and Nicaragua, and identified a massive amount of diversity — not to mention 177 distinct species. Previously, only 14 species of these parasite wasps were known in those regions. Scientists are now working on identifying all the individual species in this wasp jackpot. {6}

#### Author Bio

Stephanie Pappas is a contributing writer for Live Science. She covers the world of human and animal behavior, as well as paleontology and other science topics. Stephanie has a Bachelor of Arts in psychology from the University of South Carolina and a graduate certificate in science communication from the University of California, Santa Cruz. She has ducked under a glacier in Switzerland and poked hot lava with a stick in Hawaii. Stephanie hails from East Tennessee, the global center for salamander diversity.

#### Additional Links

- {1} http://www.livescience.com/2052-giant-dinosaur-skeleton-museum-drawers.html
- {2} http://www.livescience.com/14008-giant-ant-fossil.html
- {3} http://www.livescience.com/24623-alien-horned-dinosaur.html
- {4} http://www.livescience.com/21166-flatfish-ancestor-fossil.html
- {5} no link given
- {6} no link given



Medieval Book Historian Erik Kwakkel Discovers and Catalogs 800-Year-Old Doodles in Some of the World's Oldest Books

By Christopher Jobson

on October 2, 2014

http://www.thisiscolossal.com/2014/10/the-worlds-oldest-doodles/



Doodle by bored medieval school boy. A 15th-century doodle in the lower margin of a manuscript containing Juvenal's Satires, a popular classical text used to teach young children about morals. Photo: Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 368.

For the past few years, medieval book historian Erik Kwakkel has been poring over some of the world's oldest books and manuscripts at Leiden University, The Netherlands, as part of his ongoing research on pen trials. Pen trials are small sketches, doodles, and practice strokes a medieval scribe would make while testing the ink flow

of a pen or quill. They usually involve funny faces, letter strokes, random lines, or geometric shapes and generally appear in the back of the book where a few blank pages could be found. Kwakkel shares via email:

From a book historical perspective pen trials are interesting because a scribe tends to write them in his native hand. Sometimes, when they moved to a different writing culture (another country or religious house) they adapted their writing style accordingly when copying real text—books. The trials, however, are done in the style of the region they were trained in, meaning the individuals give some information about themselves away.

In some sense, these sketches are like fingerprints or signatures, little clues that reveal a bit about these long forgotten scribes who copied texts but who had no real opportunity to express themselves while working. Including additional sketches or even initials in these books was often forbidden.

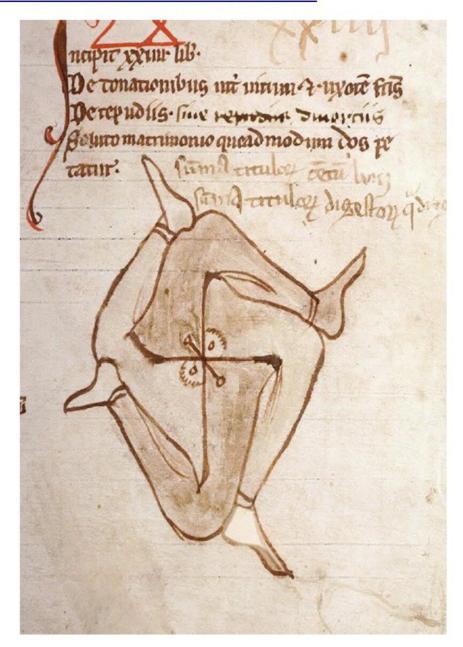
While many of Kwakkel's discoveries are standard pen trials, other doodles he finds relate to a human concept as universal as topics discussed in these 13th and 14th century books such as love, morals, or religion. Specifically: boredom. It seems the tedium of reading through a philosophy textbook or law manuscript dates back to the very invention of books. Some of these scribbles were even made hundreds of years after a book's publication, suggesting no margin is sacred when monotony is

concerned.





Medieval smiley face. Conches, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 7 (main text 13th century, doodle 14th or 15th century).



Doodle discovered in a 13th-century law manuscript (Amiens BM 347).



Students with pointy noses. Leiden, University Library, MS BPL 6 C (13th century).



Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL MS 111 I, 14th-century doodle.



http://www.thisiscolossal.com/2014/10/the-worlds-oldest-doodles/

#### Leiden UB VLQ 92



Medieval scribes tested their pens by writing short sentences and drawing doodles. The

courtesy Erik Kwakkel, respective of noted libraries.

pen trials above are from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. misc. c. 66 (15th century).

Lucky for us, Kwakkel has left a trail of ancient doodle discoveries all across the web on his Twitter account, his Tumblr, and on his recently established blog medievalbooks. His obsession with margin minutiae has lead to two scholarly publications and also caught the interest of NPR's 'How to Do Everything' who interviewed him last week. All images

#### 9 of the worst monarchs in history

Monday 27th July 2015 historyextra.com

Historian Sean Lang kicks off our Kings & Queens Week by rounding up nine of the most disastrous monarchs in history...

History has no shortage of disastrous rulers; this list could easily have been filled with the Roman Emperors alone. Rulers have been homicidal, like Nero or Genghis Khan; incompetent, like Edward II; completely untrustworthy, like Charles I; or amiable but inadequate, like Louis XVI of France or Tsar Nicholas II.

Some royal stinkers were limited in their capacity to do serious harm: the self-absorbed Edward VIII by his abdication, the narcissistic prince regent and king, George IV, by the constitutional limits on his power. And the mass murderer and self-proclaimed 'Emperor' Jean-Bédel Bokassa of the Central African Empire might have featured on this list had his imperial status been international recognised, but it wasn't.

Nearly-rans include the French Emperor Napoleon III, whose delusions of competence led to disaster in Italy, Mexico and finally defeat at the hands of Bismarck, and the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, a ludicrously gauche and immature ruler but not actually responsible on his own for launching Germany, and the rest of Europe, into the First World War.

The nearly-rans also include the extravagant waste of money and space that went by the name of King Ludwig II of Bavaria; and absentee monarchs like Richard I of England and Charles XII of Sweden – both of them great military leaders who spent much of their reigns away at war, including time in captivity, instead of seeing to the affairs of their kingdoms.

Here, then, is my list of the nine worst monarchs in history...

#### Gaius Caligula (AD 12-41)

There are plenty of other contenders for worst Roman Emperor – Nero and Commodus for example – but Caligula's mad reign sets a high standard. After a promising start to his reign he seems to have set out specifically to intimidate and humiliate the senate and high command of the army, and he gave grave offence, not least in Jerusalem, by declaring himself a god; even the Romans normally only recognised deification after death.

Caligula instituted a reign of terror through arbitrary arrest for treason, much as his predecessor Tiberius had done; it was also widely rumoured that he was engaged in incest with his sisters and that he lived a life of sexual debauchery, and this may well be true. The story of his making his horse a consul, meanwhile, may have been exaggerated, but it was not out of character.

Caligula's unforgivable mistake was to jeopardise Rome's military reputation by declaring a sort of surreal war on the sea, ordering his soldiers to wade in and slash at the waves with their swords and collecting chests full of seashells as the spoils of his 'victory' over the god Neptune, king of the sea and by his failed campaign against the Germans, for which he still

awarded himself a triumph. He was assassinated by the Praetorian Guard in AD 41.

Caligula's successor, Claudius, was an improvement but, despite the favourable picture in Robert Graves's famous book I, Claudius, not by much.

#### Pope John XII (954-964)

Even by the lax standards of the medieval papacy, John XII stands out as a disaster of the highest order. He was elected pope at the ripe old age of 18 as part of a political deal with the Roman nobility, and he inherited a conflict for control of Italy between the papacy and the Italian king Berengarius.

John had the support of the powerful German emperor Otto I, who swore to defend John's title, but John himself was too taken up with a life of drunken sex parties in the Lateran to care too much either way. He recovered from his hangover enough to accept Otto's oath of undying loyalty and then promptly linked up behind Otto's back with his enemy, Berengarius.

Understandably annoyed, Otto had John overthrown and accused, among other things, of simony (clerical corruption), murder, perjury and incest, and he replaced him with a new pope, Leo III. However, John made a comeback and had Leo's supporters punished ruthlessly: one cardinal had his hand cut off and he had a bishop whipped.

Full-scale war broke out between John and Otto, until John unexpectedly died – in bed with another man's wife, or so rumour had it.

#### King John (1199-1216)

The reign of King John is a salutary reminder that murder and treachery may possibly be forgiven in a monarch, but not incompetence.

John was the youngest and favourite son of Henry II, but he had not been entrusted with any lands and was mockingly nicknamed John Lackland. He tried unsuccessfully to seize power while his brother Richard I was away on crusade and was sent into exile upon Richard's return.

On his accession John had his own nephew Arthur murdered, fearing Arthur might pursue his own, much better, claim to the throne, and he embarked on a disastrous war with King Philippe-Auguste of France in which he lost the whole of Normandy. This singular act of incompetence deprived the barons of an important part of their power base, and he alienated them further with arbitrary demands for money and even by forcing himself on their wives.

In exasperation they forced him to accept Magna Carta; no sooner had he sealed it, however, than he then went back on his word and plunged the country into a maelstrom of war and French invasion. Some tyrants have been rehabilitated by history – but not John.

#### King Richard II (1377-99)

Unlike Richard III, Richard II has good reason to feel grateful towards Shakespeare, who

portrayed this startlingly incompetent monarch as a tragic figure; a victim of circumstances and of others' machinations rather than the vain, self-regarding author of his own downfall he actually was.

Learning nothing from the disastrous precedent of Edward II, Richard II alienated the nobility by gathering a bunch of cronies around him and then ended up in confrontation with parliament over his demands for money.

His reign descended into a game of political manoeuvre between himself and his much more able and impressive uncle, John of Gaunt, before degenerating into a gory grudge match between Richard and the five Lords Appellant, whom he either had killed or forced into exile.

Richard might have redeemed himself by prowess in war or administration, but he possessed neither. Henry Bolingbroke's coup of 1399, illegal though it no doubt was, brought to an end Richard's disastrous reign. Richard II has his defenders nowadays, who will doubtless take issue with his inclusion in this list, but there really is very little to say for him as a ruler.

#### Ivan IV 'the Terrible' (1547-84)

Prince Ivan Vassilyevitch grew up at the hazardous court of Moscow, his life often in danger from the rivalry of the boyars – nobles. It gave him a lifelong hatred of the nobility and a deep streak of ruthless cruelty – aged 13 he had one boyar eaten alive by dogs.

Ivan was Prince of Muscovy from 1533, and in 1547 he was crowned Tsar (Emperor) of all Russia – the first ruler to hold the title. He crushed the boyars, stealing their lands to give to his own followers; he also condemned millions of Russians to a permanent state of serfdom.

Ivan took a vast area of Russia as his personal domain patrolled by a mounted police force with carte blanche to arrest and execute as they liked. Distrusting the city of Novgorod he had it violently sacked and its inhabitants massacred, and he embarked on a disastrous and ultimately unsuccessful series of wars with Russia's neighbours.

Ivan beat up his own pregnant daughter and killed his son in a fit of rage. Ivan was in many ways an able ruler, but his ruthlessness, paranoia and taste for blood earn him his place in this list.

#### Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-67)

We are so familiar with the drama and tragedy of Mary's reign that it is easy to overlook the blindingly obvious point that she was absolutely useless as queen of Scotland. Admittedly, ruling 16th-century Scotland was no easy task, and it was made harder still for Mary by the stern Presbyterian leader, John Knox, and her violent, boorish husband, Lord Darnley.

Nevertheless, Mary showed none of her cousin Elizabeth's political skill in defusing religious or factional conflict, and she headed into pointless confrontation with Knox and the Presbyterians. At a time when female rule was generally regarded with suspicion in any case, she played up to the stereotype by appearing to live in a cosy world of favourites – including her unfortunate Italian guitar teacher, David Rizzio.

Mary's suspected involvement in the spectacular murder of Darnley on 10 February 1567 was a political mistake of the first order; her marriage three months later to the main suspect, the Earl of Bothwell, was an act of breathtaking stupidity. It is hardly surprising that the Scots overthrew Mary and locked her up.

Having escaped, she was mad to throw away her advantage by going to England, where she could only be regarded as a threat, instead of to France, where she would have been welcomed with open arms.

#### Emperor Rudolf II (1576-1612)

Some historians are kinder to Rudolf than in the past, but by any standards he was a disastrous ruler. He was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1576, though he was prone to long bouts of deep depression and melancholia and he spent most of his time dabbling in alchemy and astrology.

A staunch Catholic, Rudolf tore up the religious settlement that for the past 20 years had kept Germany's Catholics and Protestants from each others' throats, and embarked on a crusade to eradicate Protestantism from Germany's towns and villages.

When the Protestants formed a self-defence league, the Hungarians rose in revolt and the Turks launched an offensive, Rudolf shut himself up in Prague Castle and refused to speak to anyone. Eventually the Habsburgs had to agree to replace Rudolf with his brother, Matthias, who restored the religious peace in Germany and signed treaties with the Turks and Hungarians, only for Rudolf to fly into a rage and start up the Turkish war again.

Rudolf reluctantly signed the letter of majesty granting freedom of worship to Protestants in Bohemia but then embarked on a programme of persecution. The Bohemians appealed to Matthias for help, and in 1611 Rudolf was forced to hand power over to his brother. He died a year later, having laid the foundations for the disastrous Thirty Years' War that would tear Europe apart within six years of his death.

#### Queen Ranavalona I of Madagascar (1828–61)

At a time when the Europeans were spreading their colonial holdings around the world, Queen Ranavalona was able to keep Madagascar free of British and French control, but she did so by establishing a rule so ruthless that it has been estimated that the population of her kingdom was halved during her reign.

Queen Ranavalona maintained her power by retaining the loyalty of the Malagasy army and imposing regular periods of forced labour on the rest of the population in lieu of taxation. On one notorious occasion she organised a buffalo hunt for herself, her nobles and their families and followers, and she insisted that an entire road be built in front of the party for them all to advance to the hunt in comfort: an estimated 10,000 people died carrying out this particular piece of folly.

Queen Ranavalona faced several plots and at least one serious coup attempt; as she grew more paranoid she forced more people to undergo the notorious tangena test: eating three

pieces of chicken skin before swallowing a poisonous nut that caused the victim to vomit (if it did not actually poison them, which it often did). If all three pieces were not found in the vomit, the victim was executed.

Having encouraged Christianity at the start of her reign, Queen Ranavalona changed policy and instituted ruthless persecution of native Christians. She survived all plots against her and died in her bed.

#### King Leopold II of Belgium (1865–1909)

Leopold's place in this list results not from his rule in Belgium, but from the crimes committed in the enormous kingdom he carved out for himself in Congo. He obtained the territory by international agreement and named it the Congo Free State; it was not a Belgian colony, but the king's personal fiefdom.

The CFS was presented to the world as a model of liberty and prosperity, devoted to the elimination of slavery. Only gradually did the world learn that it was in fact a slave state in which the Congolese were ruled by terror.

As Leopold raked in the riches from Congo's enormous reserves of copper, ivory and rubber, the Congolese were forced to work by wholesale mutilation of their wives and children, usually by chopping off their hands or feet. Mutilation was also widely used as a punishment for workers who ran away or collected less than their guota.

An investigation by the British consular official Roger Casement revealed that the Belgian Force Publique regarded the Congolese as little more than animals to be killed for sport. The king fought a high-profile legal battle to prevent details of his regime in Congo from being made public, and it took an international campaign to force him to hand Congo over to the Belgian government.

Leopold's name is forever associated with the Congolese reign of terror, and that alone justifies his inclusion in this list.

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/\* Copyright 2014 Evernote Corporation. All rights reserved. \*/.en-markup-crop-options { top: 18px !important; left: 50% !important; margin-left: -100px !important; width: 200px !important; border: 2px rgba(255,255,255,38) solid !important; border-radius: 4px !important; } .en-markup-crop-options div div:first-of-type { margin-left: 0px !important; }

## Ray-Ban's Predecessor? A Brief History of Tinted Spectacles

thechirurgeonsapprentice.com

#### Jun21 by The Chirurgeon's Apprentice



L0059071 Turn pin spectacles, steel wire, eye preservers, double fold

A recent conversation with Matthew Ward from History Needs You piqued my curiosity about a pair of spectacles in the Wellcome Collection [pictured left]. At first glance, you may think these oddly tinted glasses belong to the wardrobe department of a whimsical Tim Burton film. And yet, these glasses are over 200 years old, made not for the likes of Johnny Depp, but rather an 18th-century gentleman.

This got me wondering: were these Georgian spectacles a precursor to modern-day sunglasses? Or were they something altogether different?

#### Here's what I discovered.



In 1750, the optician, James Ayscough, began making double-hinged spectacles with tinted lenses, like the ones pictured above. Ayscough felt that white lenses created an an 'offensive glaring Light, very painful and prejudicial to the Eyes.' Instead, he advised 'green or blue glass, tho' it tinge every Object with its own Colour.' This would take 'off the glaring Light from the Paper,' and render 'every Object so easy and pleasant, that the tenderest Eye, may thro' it view any thing intently, without Pain.' [1]

Were these avant-garde spectacles the Ray-Bans of its day? Not quite.

Ayscough didn't devise these lenses to protect his patients' eyes from the sun. Rather, he believed that white glass had a 'softer Body than any other' and therefore would 'not receive so true a Figure in the

polishing, as a Glass of a harder Nature.' This resulted in a distorted lens full of 'Specks and Veins' which would only further impair a person's already imperfect vision. Ayscough held tinted glass in such esteem that he even recommended it be used for the construction of telescopes and microscopes. [2]

While Ayscough double-hinged design was something of a new rage in the 18th century, he was not the first to use tinted glass when making spectacles (although he was one of the first to write extensively on the subject). Already by the mid-1600s, people were purchasing and wearing tinted glasses throughout England.

One such person was the famous diarist, Samuel Pepys.

Many people believe that coloured spectacles were prescribed to syphilitic patients who suffered from photosensitivity brought on by the advancement of the disease into the ocular region. There has been much speculation on whether Pepys—whose own brother died of syphilis in 1663—also suffered from *lues venerea*, and whether this led to his decision to purchase green tinted glasses from the spectacle-maker, John Turlington.



Although it makes for an intriguing tale, Pepys never mentions the glasses in relation to syphilis (nor does he allude to any syphilitic symptoms other than a mouth ulcer in 1660). Rather, he writes that his 'eyes are very bad, and will be worse if not helped.' And so on 24 December 1666, 'I did buy me a pair of green spectacles, to see whether they will help my eyes.' [3]

For Pepys, the purchase seems to have come from a desire to alleviate eye soreness and nothing else.

Moreover, a quick scan through 18th-century medical texts on syphilis reveals no mention of tinted glasses. In Daniel Turner's *Syphilis: A Practical Dissertation on the Venereal Disease* (1717), he doesn't even discuss eye-related disorders associated with the pox. Contrastingly, in the *Treatise of the Venereal Disease* (1789), the author correctly notes that syphilis can cause inflammation of the eye, but he offers no specific remedy for this condition. Similarly, in William Buchan's *Observations Concerning the Prevention and Cure of the Veneral Disease* (1796), coloured spectacles are not referenced. Instead, Buchan recommends blistering plasters behind the ear or on the temple to alleviate ocular problems related to the advancement of syphilis.

It should also be noted that spectacles, like the ones featured in this article, would have been fairly expensive. Even if medical practitioners had offered them as treatment for photosensitivity brought on by ocular syphilis, the majority of those suffering from the disease would have been unable to afford them.

- 1. James Ayscough, A Short Account of the Nature and Use of Spectacles (1750), p 13.
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol. 48 (24 December 1666). For more on Pepys's eye disorders, see Graham W. Wilson, 'The Big Brown Eyes of Samuel Pepys,' in *Archives of Ophthalmology*, 120 (July 2002): pp. 969-975. For information on Pepys' general health, see D. Powers, 'The Medical History of Mr and Mrs Samuel Pepys,' in the *Lancet* (1895): pp. 1357- 1360.

This entry was posted in Casebooks and tagged 18th-Century, history of medicine, ophthalmology, samuel pepys, sunglasses, syphilis.

#### 14 comments on "Ray-Ban's Predecessor? A Brief History of Tinted Spectacles"

1. A Brief History of Eyeglasses | Trioo says: July 1, 2015 at 5:40 AM

[...] with longer arms with hinges in the middle, increased in popularity. In 1752, a fellow Englishman, James Ayscough is credited with inventing the first double hinged temple. He also developed tinted lenses which were popular throughout the end of the century. Multiple [...]

2. Markierungen 05/26/2015 - Snippets says: May 26, 2015 at 5:36 AM

[...] Ray-Ban's Predecessor? A Brief History of Tinted Spectacles « The Chirurgeon's Apprenti... [...]



3. Daniel Galef says:

November 15, 2014 at 4:16 AM

The first image, of the blue tinted spectacles with glass perpendicular to the lens, are 'railway spectacles.' Certainly tinted glass was used for weak eyes, and possibly for syphilis, but those are for railroad engineers. I wish I could act more snooty about knowing this, but I saw it on QI . . . on YouTube.

Similar confusion to those mentioned about anachronisms and when what was invented and popularized seems to have led to the big to-do over the 'time-traveling hipster' photograph, in which a similar pair of futuristic-looking (tinted, minimalist, turnpin, two-part lens with hinged glass) specs look intuitively out of place, but aren't. It's still a neat image, though.



4. C Victor R Honey says: April 28, 2014 at 9:21 AM

I have a pair of spectacles almost exactly like the one tinted blue. I have these (tinted a dull green) from a gentleman, Mr Zebulon Pearce, who came from England to work on the copper mines in O'kiep, South Africa. He lost an eye in some or other mining accident and wore these 'spectacles' continuously. He moved to Woodstock, Cape Town and had his meals at our home. One of the ear pieces has broken off at some time. He died in the 1940s at the age of 96.



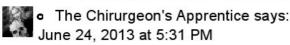
5. History A'la Carte 6-20-13 | Maria Grace says: June 27, 2013 at 4:39 PM

[...] Ray-Ban's Predecessor? A Brief History of Tinted Spectacles [...]



6. Spectacles Blog says: June 24, 2013 at 5:26 PM

My interest is spectacles, not medical, though I have reported on Spectacles Blog about the syphilis connection with tinted lenses before. I'm still not sure if I've ever seen a primary source for this! We have many posts on Spectacles In History & Raybans and glasses of famous people if you're interested.



Thanks! I will certainly check out your blog.

I, too, had heart of the connection before but find no evidence of its veracity. It's possible that those suffering from syphilis were purchasing tinted spectacles to help with photosensitivity. However, if they were doing so, they were doing it on their own accord. I dont find any mention in medical texts about this.



7. nightsmusic says: June 21, 2013 at 11:41 PM

I can't tell but do you think that reverse arm swivels out to extend? These are so cool! The first think I thought of though, (and boy does this date me!) is the specs John Lennon used to wear...

When you did the post on syphilis several weeks ago, you had a drawing of a nose with glasses. I wonder if those were made in colored glass as well...



8. Fiz says: June 21, 2013 at 6:03 PM

Hello, my dear gruesome friend! This is a very interesting article and although I tried to follow it up about Sam and Elizabeth Pepys, I was not allowed to see the article on the website. Do you have to belong to a medical organisation before you can join the Lancet's website?



The Chirurgeon's Apprentice says:
June 21, 2013 at 6:04 PM

Hi! I have access to a lot of this material through my university ... Let me see if I can get a PDF and send it to you:)



9. Tom says: June 21, 2013 at 5:46 PM

Emperor Nero was said to have worn green sunglasses made out of emerald (or a transparent green stone).



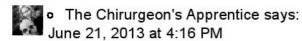
The Chirurgeon's Apprentice says: June 21, 2013 at 6:04 PM

Really? For what purpose? How fascinating. I must admit - these tinted spectacles are wicked cool.



10. opusanglicanum says: June 21, 2013 at 4:10 PM

I wonder if they really did help at all with photosensitivity? you'd think the darker hue would help – personally I can't wear untinted specs even on an overcast day without rapidly getting a bad headache, so I'm stuffed without my reactions lenses



I suspect they did help with photosensitivity related to ocular syphilis; however, I didn't find any evidence of medical practitioners prescribing tinted spectacles for this particular purpose. Whether or not some syphilitics took it upon themselves to purchase coloured glasses to help alleviate their symptoms is another matter.

# A glimpse inside Ireland's historic ghost villages (PHOTOS)

01:11 AM 2015-07-23T01:11:00-0700

2015-07-23T01:11:00-0700 irishcentral.com



The deserted village of Slievemore, on Achill Island, is one of Ireland's historic ghost villages. Photo by: Pamela Norrington / Creative

In the years following Ireland's Celtic Tiger building boom, the country became notorious for its ghost estates – housing developments that were built (or were in the process of being built) with boom-time money, then abandoned and left uninhabited once the recession hit.

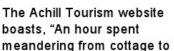
But Ireland, as a country with thousands of years of history, has ghost villages dating much farther back. The following is a glimpse of some of Ireland's best-known ghost towns. Know of any others? Let us know in the comment section.

## Deserted Village, Slievemore, Achill Island. Co. Mayo

Along the southern slope of Slievemore Mountain,

which is on Achill Island in Co. Mayo, the ruins of nearly 100 stone cottages remain.

It is believed that the cottages were at least semi-inhabited as recently as the mid-1900s as "booley" homes, where farmers would live during the summer months with their herds grazing nearby. However, archaeological finds indicate that the area was inhabited as far back as medieval times





Grazing sheep among the ruins of Slievemore, Achill Island. Photo: Joseph Mischyshyn / Creative Commons.

neighboring cottage, along the ancient track and through adjacent fields with their lazybed ridges and furrows is a journey back in time. Sheltered under the slopes of Slievemore and hidden from the 21st century, this tranquil corner of a remote island is a perfect place for quiet reflection and remembrance."

#### Great Blasket Island. Co. Kerry

The Blasket Islands are a group of six Atlantic islands in Co. Kerry: the Great Blasket Island, Beginish, Inishabro, Inishvickillane, Inishtooskert and Tearaght Island.

They were inhabited for centuries by a small but close-knit Irish-speaking population who followed a traditional way of life – farming, fishing, weaving – and who eventually became the subjects of important linguistic studies for their use of a largely unchanged version of the Irish language.

Sixty-two years ago, in 1953, the last remaining inhabitants of the Blasket Islands were permanently evacuated to the mainland.



The 1953 evacuation, ordered by then-Taoiseach Eamon de Valera, was largely accepted as a necessity. The Blasket Islanders – by then a population of only 22 – were cut off from communication or any emergency assistance from the mainland and facing increasingly extreme weather patterns.

Much of the infrastructure of Great Blasket remains, though many of the buildings have become dilapidated. For those interested in the Blasket Islands,

the Great Blasket Centre in Dunquin offers a rich account of the islands' history and culture. Weather permitting, ferries also take visitors around the islands during the summer months.

#### Port, Co. Donegal



Port, Co. Donegal. Photo: WeLoveDonegal.com

Less than 10 miles from Glencolmcille, Co. Donegal, on a side road that leads to Ardara, the ghost village of Port can be found. The abandoned settlement is believed to have been the first thriving maritime community in the county. The now crumbling cottages that dot the landscape were built from local stone.

So, what happened? As the We Love Donegal website explains, "It is thought that the people who lived there had to leave during

The Famine (1845-52) after which the houses were just left to fall into ruin. Of course many people left Donegal and the rest of Ireland during and after The Famine, but Port is unusual in that a whole village or hamlet seem to have left. Normally there would have been people left behind who survived The Famine and houses would have been inhabited on into later years. Perhaps in this case those left behind were just too weak to survive and died there."

The site also offers detailed instructions for curious travelers on how to get to Port.

#### Clonmines, Co. Wexford

Clonmines may be one of the finest examples of a deserted medieval settlement in all of Ireland. It was aptly described in a 2010 article in the Journal of the Bannow Historical Society as "a place that has much more history than it has present."

The small town began to grow and thrive following the arrival of Norman adventurer William Marshal in the 1200s.

It grew to have a river port, castles, a church and a monastery. A main road connected the town to



The deserted Clonmines Friary. Photo: Andreas F. Borchert / Creative Commons



Scattery Island round tower. Photo: Charles W Glynn / Creative Commons

Wexford proper. However, once the river dried up in the 1600s, the town went into steep decline.

Now all that remains are ruins, most of which are on private property.

#### Inis Cathaig (Scattery Island), Co. Clare

Inis Cathaig, or Scattery Island, is an uninhabited island in the Shannon Estuary, just a mile away from Kilrush. Scattery's now abandoned monastic settlement was founded in the early 6th century by St. Senan, who was born locally. It holds the ruins of six churches and one of the highest Round Towers in Ireland, at 120 feet high.

According to the Clare County Library, "The island once housed over 141 people during 1841 and 1881. However due to social and economic decline the population of the island began to decrease rapidly from 1926 and has been uninhabited since 1978.

"This past life on the island is echoed in the abandoned remains of the community on Scattery. A lighthouse, a street, old cottages and the church 'Teampall na Marbh' which hosts the graves of the people of Scattery, encapsulate the isolated life that was once led on Scattery."

Ferry trips and guided tours of Scattery are available seasonally from Kilrush. Visit the Heritage Ireland website for more info.

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### A Spin through Augustan Rome

#### By JASON URBANUS

Thursday, June 04, 2015



Trenches Augustan Rome

(Courtesy and created at the Experiential Technologies Center, UCLA, ©Regents of the University of California)

A 3-D model of Rome illustrates how the city changed during the building campaign of Augustus. Between 44 B.C. (top) and A.D. 14 (bottom), more monumental structures clad in marble (shown in red) appear, alongside buildings under construction (yellow) and those made of mudbrick (brown). According to the model, however, those changes may not have been especially visible from ground level. According to the Roman historian Suetonius, Augustus boasted that he had found Rome a city of mudbrick and left it a city of marble: "Marmoream se relinguere, quam latericiam accepisset," in

his words. It has become one of the first emperor's better known quotes, and has seemingly been corroborated by historical and archaeological evidence. The Forum of Augustus, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, the Theater of Marcellus, the Baths of Agrippa, and the Ara Pacis are just some of the religious buildings, monuments, and infrastructure that were completed under his reign. But just how accurate was his declaration that he transformed Rome into a city of marble? A recent project led by Diane Favro, of the Department of Architecture and Urban Design at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), has reinvestigated the topography of Augustan Rome using digital technology. "As an architectural historian, I wanted to examine the literal impact of Augustan interventions on Rome's ancient residents," she says. The results are surprising—Rome may not have been as visibly clad in marble as Augustus claimed.

Favro and her team from UCLA's Experimental Technology Center re-created Rome using procedural modeling, a rule-based technique commonly employed by contemporary urban designers. Relying on archaeological, literary, and historical data, the project researchers created a dynamic database of architectural information that includes the construction dates, measurements, materials, and locations of 400 known Augustan-era buildings. They then added the hypothetical designs and distribution of more than 9,000 additional infill structures, such as houses and shops. The result is a 3-D, Google Earth—type map and model that also demonstrates changes over time. Marble buildings are depicted in red, brick buildings in brown, and buildings under construction in yellow. Users can also view how Rome changed between Augustus' rise to power in 44 B.C. and his death in A.D. 14. The interactive experience allows users to view Augustan Rome from a variety of perspectives, from street level to high above, from the pyramid of Cestius to the Mausoleum of Augustus. A click of the mouse over an individual building reveals associated information and underlying metadata. It

is even possible to assess how light and the angle of the sun affected Rome's appearance at different times of day.



(Vatican Museums and Galleries, Vatican City/Bridgeman Images)

Augustus of Prima Porta, Vatican MuseumsThe digital model has led Favro to conclude that the marble structures of Augustus' building program actually had little visual impact for Romans walking the streets of the ancient city. The hilly terrain and density of Rome's urban topography interfered with sight lines and made many of Augustus' new marble structures difficult to see. Rather, the sights and sounds of incessant construction, as opposed to the completed buildings themselves, may have given the illusion of a newly marble-clad city. "Marble blocks piled high at the city's edges, showy processions of large building blocks, and the noise and dust raised by the continuous working of hard marble stones at building sites compelled urban residents to believe a pan-urban material transformation was, indeed, under way,"

Trenches Augustus Statue

says Favro.

Some scholars have argued that Augustus' statement was meant to be more metaphorical than literal, and refers to his political transformation of Rome and the foundation of the empire. But there is no doubt that he consciously initiated a building campaign to celebrate Rome's rebirth. This new digital model provides a cutting-edge way to see, through the eyes of the average Roman citizen, the changing cityscape over which Augustus presided.

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# A Sunken Kingdom Re-emerges

# By KATRIN BENNHOLDJUNE 23, 2014



BORTH, WALES — There is a poem children in Wales learn about the sunken kingdom of Cantre'r Gwaelod, swallowed by the sea and drowned forever after. On a quiet night, legend has it, one can hear the kingdom's church bells ringing.

When the sea swallowed part of Britain's western coastline this year and then spat it out again, leaving homes and livelihoods destroyed but also a dense forest of prehistoric tree stumps more exposed than ever, it was as if one had caught a faint glimpse of that Welsh Atlantis.

The submerged forest of Borth is not new. First flooded some 5,000 years ago by rising sea levels after the last ice age, it has been there as long as locals remember, coming and going with the tides and occasionally disappearing under the sand for years on end. But the floods and storms that battered Britain earlier this year radically changed the way archaeologists interpret the landscape: A quarter-mile-long saltwater channel cutting through the trees, revealed by erosion for the first time, provided a trove of clues to where human life may have been concentrated and where its traces may yet be found.



"We used to think of this as just as an impenetrable forest — actually this was a complex human environment," said Martin Bates, a geoarchaeologist at the University of Wales Trinity St. David, who oversees the excavation work in Borth on a beach he played on as a toddler. "The floods have opened our eyes as to what's really out

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/24/science/a-sunken-kingdom-re-emerges.html

there."

Scanning the army of ghostly spikes protruding from the sand here one recent morning, Dr. Bates said it was as if nature were making a point: The recent torrential rains, linked by a growing number of climatologists to human-induced climate change, have provided an ancient laboratory to study how humans coped with catastrophic climate change in the past.

Indeed, across Britain, two consecutive years of exceptional winter weather have left in their wake some equally exceptional discoveries: from unexploded wartime bombs and Victorian shipwrecks to archaeological finds that are nearly a million years old. Scientists have barely kept up. Last winter was the wettest on record, according to the Met Office, the national weather service.

Dog walkers and amateur archaeologists are being sought in ever-greater numbers to help record new sites. In some areas hit especially hard by erosion, locals are equipped with cameras that log digital images with geocoordinates so the artifacts they find on beach walks can be added to national databases.

"Archaeologists can't be everywhere, but locals can," said Erin Kavanagh, Dr. Bates's partner and a fellow archaeologist.

Nicholas Ashton, the curator of Paleolithic and Mesolithic collections at the British Museum, has been organizing "fossil road shows" in which he invites civilians to bring in any potential archaeological finds and have them identified. (One man recently showed up with a six-inch-long hippo tusk and a well-preserved ax, both found locally and both more than half a million years old.)

Having those extra eyes on the ground can make all the difference in coastal areas, Dr. Ashton said, for what the sea reveals, it tends to reclaim almost as soon. He learned this lesson firsthand.

In May 2013, shortly after the first set of storms, Dr. Ashton commissioned Dr. Bates, an old university friend, to work on Britain's east coast in Norfolk. The beach near Happisburgh (pronounced hays-boro), a longstanding archaeological site, had suffered severe erosion. Dr. Ashton, an expert in early humans, wanted a geophysical survey to map any channels or rivers that might lie beneath about 30 feet of sediment. Some of these channels, he reckoned, might contain evidence of early humans because sources of freshwater would have been natural gathering spots.

It was on their second visit, on May 10, that Dr. Bates noticed some indentions on the otherwise flat horizons of the laminated silts recently laid bare on the beach.

The humps and bumps looked familiar. He told Dr. Ashton: "They're just like the human footprints in Borth."

Footprints of humans and animals in Borth had been dated to about 6,000 years ago. The site in Happisburgh was 900,000 years old, a time when mammoths and hippos still roamed in these parts. No human bones or prints that old had ever been found in Britain.

# Could this be possible?

A frantic race against time began. Every day, the shape of the prints would blur a little more as the coming tide eroded the contours of heels, toes and arches. A team led by Sarah Duffy from the University of York arrived to apply a technique called multi-image photogrammetry, taking about 150 digital photographs of the surface area containing the prints and feeding it into a program that created a three-dimensional model. By the time another team had come to do some laser scanning, it was too late: The prints were barely visible.

Panicked, scientists lifted from the site a 130-pound block of sediment with one faint print on top, to have it analyzed at the National Oceanography Center. It is the only remaining physical evidence of the footprints: Before the month was out, all traces of them had vanished. It was a powerful reminder of both the resilience and the fragility of human life.

"What had been preserved for nearly one million years was taken back by the sea in the space of 10 days," Dr. Ashton said.

Initially skeptical, he said he knew the footprints were real when Dr. Duffy's computer images landed in his inbox sometime last June. "I thought, bloody hell, we are dealing with something quite extraordinary here," he said.

The footprints, the oldest known outside Africa, probably belonged to a family group of Homo antecessor, a cousin of Homo erectus that possibly became extinct when Homo heidelbergensis from Africa settled in Britain about 500,000 years ago, he said. Using foot-length-to-stature ratios, scientists estimate that the male was perhaps 5 feet 9 inches tall, and the smallest child a little less than 37 inches.

Little is known about this early human species. Fossil skeletons in Atapuerca, Spain, from around the same time suggest that they walked upright and looked much like modern humans, though their brains were smaller. If they had language, it was primitive. Living at the tail end of an interglacial era, as winters were growing colder, they may have had functional body hair. So far, there is no evidence that they used clothes, shelter, fire or tools more complex than simple stone flakes.

But despite their elusiveness, the human ancestors in whose footsteps modern-day Britons walk — literally — have fascinated the nation. Before some basic tools were found here in 2010, it had been believed that humans had entered Britain much later, about 700,000 years ago, Dr. Ashton said. (Before 2005, when another set of tools was discovered in Suffolk, the presumed date was 500,000 years ago.)



"British

civilization started in Norfolk," a headline in The Times of London put it at the time. A blog post by Dr. Ashton on the British Museum website on Feb. 7, when the paper he co-wrote about the footprints appeared, had more hits than any other post on the museum's site before or since.

"We can reconstruct the climate and climate change nearly one million years ago," Dr. Ashton said. "The big lesson is, we have to adapt. Whether we like it or not, the climate will change — it always has — and today we are accelerating that change."

Standing on the ridge above Cardigan Bay in Borth, Dr. Bates described what the area would have looked like at the height of the last ice age some 20,000 years ago: more than half a mile of ice overhead and dry land stretching across today's North Sea. The sea level was 400 feet lower than it is today.

"You could have walked from Denmark to Yorkshire in those days," he said.

About 10,000 years ago, temperatures warmed sharply, by eight to 10 degrees Fahrenheit. By that time, the European ice sheets had melted, but the much thicker North American sheets took much longer. While the climate had warmed to today's levels, allowing mixed oak woodland to grow and humans to recolonize Britain, the sea level remained some 130 feet lower for another 3,000 years.

When it did rise, it would have been traumatic for the population, wiping out whatever settlement there was, and eventually the forest of Borth. The displaced humans of the time, Dr. Bates said, were prehistoric refugees from climate change.

"Even in the reduced life span of the day, the coastline would have advanced dramatically," said Dr. Bates, who is convinced that stories like Cantre'r Gwaelod originated in this period.

Similar tales abound on the western European seaboard: There are Cornish and Breton versions, and variations of the theme exist in Jersey and the Orkney Islands. The ultimate legend, of course, is Atlantis, which Plato placed somewhere in the North Atlantic.

"It was a traumatic geological event, and people turned it into a story to make sense of it," said Gerald Morgan, a retired head teacher and local historian in nearby Aberystwyth.

The same thing is happening again today, as Britons survey the damage of the past couple of years of flooding and storms and ponder the future. The submerged forest in Borth, little known outside a small radius here, has once again become part of local lore. Its haunting shapes are featured in poetry slams and in storytelling evenings, and modern-day performances of Cantre'r Gwaelod have been staged on the beach, said Mr. Morgan and his wife, Enid.

Have they ever heard the bells?

Mrs. Morgan smiled. "I knew someone who did."

A version of this article appears in print on June 24, 2014, on page D1 of the New York edition with the headline: A Sunken Kingdom Re-emerges.

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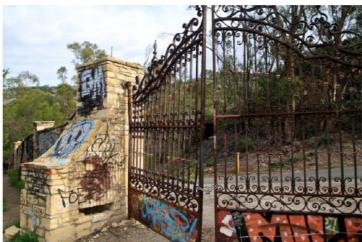
# Murphy's Ranch: Abandoned Nazi Camp in Santa Monica | California Through My Lens

californiathroughmylens.com

Last updated: Thursday, July 10, 2014 By JoshMc

Update July 2014 – People in the comments of this post are talking about getting tickets and about different parts of the hike being boarded up, so make sure to read the signs when you visit and check out the comments for latest information from readers.

When I first heard about this place it seemed almost too crazy to believe, an abandoned Nazi camp in the rich area of the Pacific Palisades that you can hike to. Then after reading countless reviews on friends blogs I knew I needed to see it for myself so I set out.



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch

#### Details

- Street parking is free
- 4 miles round trip and about 600 feet of elevation
- Over 500 stairs so make sure you can handle it

## History

The history on this area is a little sketchy and put together but I will do my best to write what I have heard. In the early 1900's, during the

second world war, Winona and Norman Stephens were convinced by a German named Herr Schmidt that when Germany ultimately won the war, the American government would not be able to stay afloat thus leading to a time of anarchy in the United States. During that time they would be able to live in their self-sustaining community and then come out when the opportunity presenting itself to help with the German take over. So with that convincing they set out to build a massive area they could use to keep them safe during the war.

As we all know that didn't happen and around the time of Pearl Harbor they were taken into custody from their home. All in all it is said that over 4 million dollars was invested into this ranch and they were able to create a pretty amazing set of structures with that money. Among what they made was a power station, machine shed, fully irrigated hillside for growing food, raised gardens, a massive water tank and even a place to store diesel fuel. They also built multiple cement stairs up the side of the neighboring hill to help with the farming and to patrol the area. They planned to build a four story mansion here as well but it was said to have fallen through.

All that is left standing today is the power station, water tank, gardens and the collapsed machine shed.

Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch

chances to get there.

#### The Stairs

First thing to note, when I was there on a Saturday morning there literally was none one else

#### Getting there

It is hard to give an exact trailhead address for this hike but the address I put in my phone was the corner of Capri Drive and Casale Road, Pacific Palisades, CA 90272 which will take you to the start of Sullivan Ridge Fire Road, the road that you will be walking. Just make sure you read the parking signs, but there was a lot of street parking here.

#### The Hike

After parking you will want to proceed on Sullivan Ridge Road. This will wind down around some beautiful houses before turning to a run down area that you walk through to get to the main dirt road.

Here you will see the yellow road block telling you are entering Topanga Canyon and you will just continue on the dirt road for about another 3/5ths of a mile. When you get to about the max elevation you will see a beautiful view of the Malibu and Santa Monica coastline to your left and the start of the chain link fence in front of you.

About 100 yards from here you will see a cut out in the chain link fence that you can walk through to get to the top of the stairs.

If you don't see this one there is another 3 minutes further next to a water tank and 10 min further is the old abandoned gate for the road down to the compound so you have a lot of



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch

here. From the moment I got to the stairs till when I got back to the road I didn't see a soul. This made for good pictures for me but others could find this creepy so just be warned.

These stairs are not for the faint of heart. They drop 250 feet of elevation in only a hundred yards or so and they seem to just drop off in front of you. Just continue down and you get some cool views of the canyon around you and the overhanging plants that form a tunnel over some parts of the stairs.

After the long climb down proceed to the left which will drop you in this small field complete with a graffiti covered wall.

About 50 yards past this area you will see the powerhouse.

#### The Powerhouse

The powerhouse itself is actually really well-kept together. Sure, it is covered in graffiti, but it still seems structurally sound. I walked in and explored it and while I hate graffiti it was pretty crazy the urban decay on this place especially for photography.

You can even climb the ladder in the middle that will get you all the way onto the roof.

Here are some of my favorite pictures from the area.

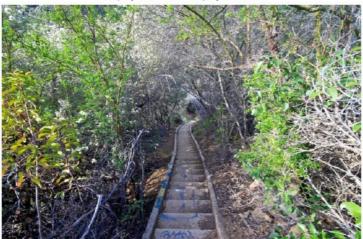
#### The Machine Shed

If you head North from the power house you will shortly reach the remains of the machine shed.

As you can see the machine shed is not much more than some broken down pieces of ruble but it is still fun to photograph and explore.



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch



Murphys Ranch Murphys Ranch

After the machine shed I went back to the powerhouse and took the stairs to the right up to the gardens

#### The Gardens

All that is left of the gardens are some raised cement beds that have become overgrown with the grass of the area. They are unique in that there are a decent amount of them though. This also provides a good view of the powerhouse from above as well before heading back to the dirt road.

As you proceed up these steps they will empty you out on a dirt road. If you want to go back to the first steps head right but if you want to go up to the entrance of the compound head left and proceed a half mile up the road which I recommend as it will take you to the main gate.

You will know you're getting close when you reach the massive water tower they have right next to the road and when you round the bend you will see the gate.

The gate was simply the main entrance to the compound all of those years ago. It has been kept together well and is a great photo opportunity. After that head up Sullivan Fire Road, which you are now on again and back to your car, completing the loop. On the way back you will see what looks like another entrance down to the ruins if you miss the first one.

For the photographer I cannot

recommend Murphey's Ranch enough, it is a super unique place to capture a ton of different photos while exploring this strange part of LA history. You can see the rest of my pictures below and get directions to go check it out for yourself. I would also love it if you would leave a comment as well as this post is over 1100 words so I would amazed if anyone read to the end!



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scotsman.com

13:28Friday 24 July 2015

A GLOBAL cult who believe Jesus was an alien and the Star of Bethlehem a spaceship has a secret base on the banks of Loch Ness, it has been revealed.

The Aetherius Society, founded in 1955 by George King, is a UFO religion that came about as a result of what King described as 'contacts with extraterrestrial intelligences' or 'Cosmic Masters'.

And a cottage on the eastern bank of Loch Ness is owned by the cult, where they apparently co-operate with the gods from space, according to the Herald.

The property at Inverfarigaig, which has four bedrooms, is around 16 miles from Highland capital Inverness, and has its own private pier which members use to launch boats from.

According to members of the group, the loch is home to an energy centre which could be used to help mankind in times of crisis.

Director Mark Bennett said: "Beings from other planets are the cornerstone of our beliefs. They want to help us.

"I love Loch Ness. We believe it has a special significance."

The group, headquartered in Fulham, has also confirmed that it purchased the cottage sometime in the 1970s.

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# Ancient bobcat buried like a human being

By David Grimm 2 July 2015 10:45 am 49 Comments

sciencemag.org



A bobkitten, perhaps resembling the one Native Americans buried 2000 years ago.

#### Robert Shantz/Alamy

A bobkitten, perhaps resembling the one Native Americans buried 2000 years ago.

# Ancient bobcat buried like a human being

About 2000 years ago in what is today western Illinois, a group of Native Americans buried something unusual in a sacred place. In the outer

edge of a funeral mound typically reserved for humans, villagers interred a bobcat, just a few months old and wearing a necklace of bear teeth and marine shells. The discovery represents the only known ceremonial burial of an animal in such mounds and the only individual burial of a wild cat in the entire archaeological record, researchers claim in a new study. The villagers may have begun to tame the animal, the authors say, potentially shedding light on how dogs, cats, and other animals were domesticated.

"It's surprising and marvelous and extremely special," says Melinda Zeder, a zooarchaeologist at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C. But Zeder, who was not involved in the study, says it's unclear whether these people treated the bobcat as a pet or invested the animal with a larger spiritual significance.

The mound is one of 14 dirt domes of various sizes that sit on a bluff overlooking the Illinois River, about 80 kilometers north of St. Louis. Their builders belonged to the Hopewell culture, traders and hunter-gatherers who lived in scattered villages of just a couple of dozen individuals each and created animal-inspired artwork, like otter-shaped bowls and ceramics engraved with birds. "Villages would come together to bury people in these mounds," says Kenneth Farnsworth, a Hopewell expert at the Illinois State Archaeological Survey in Champaign. "It was a way to mark the area as belonging to your ancestors."

Archaeologists rushed to excavate the mounds in the early 1980s because of an impending highway project. When they dug into the largest one—28 meters in diameter and 2.5 meters high—they unearthed the bodies of 22 people buried in a ring around a central tomb that contained the skeleton of an infant. They also discovered a small animal interred by itself in this ring; marine shells and bear teeth pendants carved from bone lay near its neck, all containing drill holes, suggesting they had been part of a collar or necklace. The Hopewell buried their dogs—though in their villages, not in these mounds—and the researchers

assumed the animal was a canine. They placed the remains in a box, labeled it "puppy burial," and shelved it away in the archives of the Illinois State Museum in Springfield.



#### Kenneth Farnsworth

Ancient Native Americans buried these bone pendants and shell beads together with the bobcat.

Decades later, Angela Perri realized that the team had gotten it wrong. A Ph.D. student at the University of Durham in the United Kingdom, Perri was interested in ancient dog burials and came across the box in 2011 while doing research at the museum. "As soon as I saw the skull, I knew it was definitely not a puppy," says Perri, now a zooarchaeologist at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary

Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany. "It was a cat of some kind."

When Perri analyzed the bones, she found that they belonged to a bobcat, likely between 4 and 7 months old. The skeleton was complete, and there were no cut marks or other signs of trauma, suggesting to Perri that the animal had not been sacrificed. When she looked back at the original excavation photos, she saw that the bobcat had been carefully placed in its grave. "It looked respectful; its paws were placed together," she says. "It was clearly not just thrown into a hole."

When Perri told Farnsworth, he was floored. "It shocked me to my toes," he says. "I've never seen anything like it in almost 70 excavated mounds." Because the mounds were intended for humans, he says, somebody bent the rules to get the cat buried there. "Somebody important must have convinced other members of the society that it must be done. I'd give anything to know why."

Perri, who reports the discovery with Farnsworth and another colleague this week in the *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology*, has her suspicions. The pomp and circumstance of the burial, she says, "suggests this animal had a very special place in the life of these people." And the age of the kitten implies that the villagers brought it in from the wild—perhaps as an orphan—and may have tried to raise it. Bobcats, she notes, are only about twice the size of a housecat and are known to be quite tamable. The necklace seals the deal for her. She thinks it may have been a collar, a sign that the animal was a cherished pet. "This is the closest you can get to finding taming in the archaeological record," says Perri, who believes the find provides a window into how other animals—whether they be dogs or livestock—were brought into human society and domesticated. "They saw the potential of this animal to go beyond wild."

That's certainly possible, Zeder says. "Taming can be a pathway to domestication." But she cautions against reading too much into one find. "It's just a single specimen in a very special context. Talking about domestication might be stretching it." If the Hopewell really viewed the bobcat as a pet, she says, they would probably have buried it in the same place as their

dogs. Instead, she suspects that the cat may have had a symbolic status, perhaps representing a connection to the spiritual world of the wild. "This could be more of a cosmological association."

Jean-Denis Vigne, a zooarchaeologist at the National Museum of Natural History in Paris, calls the find "a very unique and important discovery." He says it reminds him of huntergatherer societies in South America that bring young monkeys and other wild animals into their homes, rearing and sometimes breastfeeding them as a way to thank nature for bountiful game and crops. Still, Vigne says he's not aware of people burying these animals. "There's a lot that still needs to be explored."

Unfortunately, further work on the bobcat may not be possible. The museum where the bones are housed is facing a shutdown due to state budget cuts, and Perri says she can no longer access the samples. Public groups and museum staff are fighting hard to stop the closure, she says.

Posted in Archaeology, Plants & Animals

Science | DOI: 10.1126/science.aac8794

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# Ark park says it's entitled to state tax break

Tom Loftus , The Courier-Journal FRANKFORT, Ky. –

courier-journal.com



Construction is underway for the giant Noah's ark theme park in Grant County.(Photo: Mike Weaver/Special to The Courier-Journal)

An attorney for Kentucky argued Wednesday that Answers in Genesis is free to build a Noah's ark theme park in Northern Kentucky but that state tax dollars cannot be constitutionally spent to advance the work of the "indisputably religious organization."

But a lawyer for Answers in Genesis said it is an act of religious discrimination for the state to say that its tax incentive program to lure

tourist developments is open to any applicants "except evangelicals."

The lawyers clashed in U.S. District Court in the first court hearing of a lawsuit brought in January by Answers in Genesis against Gov. Steve Beshear and Kentucky Tourism Secretary Bob Stewart charging that the officials violated its right of religious expression by denying the project state tax incentives.



Ark park construction steams ahead despite tax incentive rift

Beshear and Stewart have asked the case to be dismissed. Answers in Genesis wants an immediate ruling allowing it to participate in the incentive program. U.S. District Judge Gregory Van Tatenhove challenged each side with questions during the two-hour hearing but gave no

indication of when he will rule.

The case stems from Answers in Genesis' application to a state program that allows a qualified tourism proposal to keep part of the state sales tax it collects after it opens. The ark theme park — which will feature a 510-foot-long wooden replica of Noah's ark as described in the Old Testament — is proposed to cost more than \$74 million and could qualify for about \$18 million in incentives.

Van Tatenhove said at the outset that Answers in Genesis seems to be a "decidedly Christian" organization working to draw more followers to its particular beliefs. Yet the judge also said the state law creating the incentive program seems neutral toward what type of tourist attraction can qualify so long as it generates an economic benefit for the state.

He noted the state approved an earlier application by Answers in Genesis for an even larger biblical theme park — an application later withdrawn due to financing problems. He asked if the state didn't dig beyond the law's requirements to ask if the project involves "too much Jesus."

But Virginia Snell, a Louisville attorney representing the state officials, said that, regardless of the wording of the state law, the state is bound to respect the mandates in the U.S. and Kentucky constitutions to separate church and state.

Snell said it became clear from Answers in Genesis' website postings and other actions since its first application that the project had become more religious in nature and that the organization also intended to discriminate on the basis of religion in hiring for the project.

"Call it what you will," Snell said. "... But the character of it is religious. This is evangelical outreach."

Mike Johnson, a Louisiana attorney and member of the Louisiana state legislature who represents Answers in Genesis, said the ark will be "an entertainment facility" and not a place of worship. "The state went too far," Johnson said. "... It's not the state's place to meddle in what's too religious."

Construction of the ark has been underway for months. And officials of Answers in Genesis, which also operates the Creation Museum in Boone County, Ky., say they expect the park to open next summer, regardless of how the court rules.

But Johnson said in an interview after the hearing that while the tax rebates under the program are not needed for construction, they are important for Answers in Genesis to pay down its debt and be able to pay for plans to expand the park.

Reporter Tom Loftus can be reached at (502) 875-5136. Follow him on Twitter at @TomLoftus\_CJ.

### Wednesday, July 29, 2015

The supposed Rendlesham Forest UFO landing case (sometimes referred to as "the British Roswell") involved the supposed landing (or at least Close Encounter - the story is inconsistent) of a UFO in Rendlesham Forest, Sussex, UK in December, 1980. Just like the story of the fish that got away gets bigger with each telling, the more time that passes, the more exciting the Rendle-sham case becomes. Practically each year, one of the supposed witnesses invents a new and dramatic claim to 'prove' that the case is real.



The so-called "Science Channel" imagines the Rendle-sham UFO

British skeptic Ian Ridpath has long stayed on top of this case. Here is his summary of it:

Although the overall case is complex, the main aspects can be summarized as follows:

- 1. Security guards saw bright lights apparently descending into Rendlesham Forest around 3 a.m on 1980 December 26. A bright fireball burned up over southern England at the same time.
- The guards went out into the forest and saw a flashing light between the trees, which they followed until they realized it was coming from a lighthouse (Orford Ness).
- 3. After daybreak, indentations in the ground and marks on the trees were found in a clearing. Local police and a forester identified these as rabbit scrapings and cuts made by foresters.
- 4. Two nights later the deputy base commander, Lt Col Charles Halt, investigated the area. He took radiation readings, which were background levels. He also saw a flashing light in the direction of Orford Ness but was unable to identify it.
- 5. Col Halt reported seeing starlike objects that twinkled and hovered for hours,

like stars. The brightest of these, which at times appeared to send down beams of light, was in the direction of Sirius, the brightest star in the sky.

At its most basic, the case comes down to the misinterpretation of a series of nocturnal lights – a fireball, a lighthouse, and some stars. Such misidentifications are standard fare for UFOlogy. It is only the concatenation of three different stimuli that makes it exceptional.

The BBC reported on July 13 that Col Halt is now claiming,

"I have confirmation that (Bentwaters radar operators)... saw the object go across their 60 mile (96km) scope in two or three seconds, thousands of miles an hour, he came back across their scope again, stopped near the water tower, they watched it and observed it go into the forest where we were," said Col Halt.

"At Wattisham, they picked up what they called a 'bogie' and lost it near Rendlesham Forest.

"Whatever was there was clearly under intelligent control."

Halt does not name the supposed radar operators, and does not say how he obtained this information. He claimed that the operators said nothing about this until after their retirement, for fear of being "decertified" for reporting a UFO. Even if this unlikely claim were true, it does not correspond to what the supposed witnesses are reporting. A UFO allegedly whizzing by at thousands of miles an hour does not match the UFO(s) allegedly seen hovering for hours above the forest, and even landing there.



Col. Halt claiming more "proof" for his alleged UFO encounter in 1980 Lee Speigel wrote in the Huffington Post on July 21 that Halt says this new information will blow the lid off the Rendlesham Forest sightings.

We previously reported how Halt accused the U.S. government of covering up UFO information, and he believes there's a top secret agency that's in charge of anything to do with possible extraterrestrial visits to Earth.

"There is a contract civilian agency, that is fed information, that is controlling everything. It's made up of either former military, high-level government agencies or high-ranking, very knowledgeable scientists. I can almost guarantee you. That's the way we do it. And disinformation is the biggest thing," Halt told HuffPost on Friday.

The Daily Express of London reported on July 14 that Halt said:

- Rendlesham Forest was mobbed with US military personnel "hunting UFOs" at the time
- A "UFO exploded " before his eyes and another "shot down a laser beam" from 3,000 feet above
- The UK Ministry of Defence (MoD) later hid documents relating to Rendlesham
- US personnel who "lost 40 minutes" during the sighting have been denied access to medical files

Speaking at a UFO conference in Woodbridge, Suffolk, he said: "There is no doubt in my mind we are not alone and there are some people (in power) who know this, but even Mr (Barack) Obama won't get through to them."

This is not the first time that Halt has 'jazzed up' his account of the Rendle-sham incidents. Ridpath describes Halt's "iffy affidavit," written in 2010, as a "disastrous attempt to rewrite the facts of the case," suggesting that "this product of his 30-year-old memory differs so substantively from what he said and wrote at the time that it would be destroyed in a court of law."

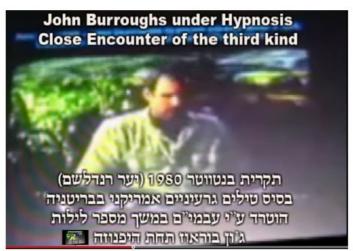
What are other "top witnesses" from Rendle-sham reporting?

Airman Larry Warren claimed to have seen a light in the forest that "blew up," then reassembled itself, and alien beings came scampering out of it. He says they resembled "children in snowsuits." By his account, many other Air Force personnel saw these creatures, but nobody else has reported them.



Larry Warren's description of alien beings scampering out of the Rendle-sham saucer (from 1985 CNN special on Rendlesham).

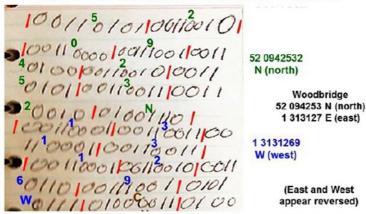
Another supposed witness, John Burroughs, has implied while supposedly under hypnosis that he and Sgt. Penniston were abducted by beings onto the UFO for about 45 minutes, and brought back to a different place. Supposedly base personnel saw them being lifted up to the object, and worried that they would never be returned.



John Burroughs ham-acting his supposed UFO encounter under "hypnosis." Hilarious!

Sgt. Jim Penniston (ret.), however, relates a completely different UFO yarn, in spite of supposedly sharing in Burrough's UFO abduction. He claims that he touched the landed UFO, and received a message from it in the form of a "binary code," which he subsequently wrote down. However, he did not tell anyone about it for thirty years.

Latitude and longitude of the "ORIGIN" for that landed UFO match the town centre of Woodbridge, England to six digits past the decimal point



Part of Penniston's telepathically-received 'UFO Binary Code,' miraculously turning up in his notebook thirty years after the fact. It reveals the UFO to have been sent by Time Travelers from the year 8100.

Penniston now says that the binary data from the Rendle-sham UFO was sent by Time Travelers, which makes sense since aliens would hardly be expected to encode their messages using ASCII, the American Standard Code for Information Interchange. But time travelers from a future earth might possibly still be using ASCII 6,000 years from now (and probably Microsoft Windows as well). When Penniston was interviewed on a 2011 podcast by Angela Joiner, his story got all tangled up under her questioning. (Hat tip to Danny Miller.) Penniston got confused whether he knew what the code meant as it was being transmitted. He finally decided that he knew what six pages of it meant, but he thought that the rest of it "didn't mean nothin."



If you can describe any of these "witnesses" as "credible," then you are much better at "believing things" than me.

Finally,



The Rendlesham Forest now has its own "UFO Trail." A UFO encounter is a terrible thing to waste.

# Boy grows second row of ribs but can not receive medical aid

29.07.2015 | Source: Pravda.Ru

english.pravda.ru

The boy, who suffers from a very rare disease - he has a second row of ribs growing inside his thorax - can not receive medical care because his parents are unable to pay for it.

The family lives in a remote rural area in the Perm region of Russia. There are no jobs in the area, and the family survives owing to substinence farming.

The 13-year-old boy suffers from a rare congenital abnormality of the spine and disorderly segmentation of ribs. During an X-ray examination at school, doctors saw cartilaginous nodules underneath the boy's ribs. The boy's thorax subsided and took a round shape.

Also read: Terribnle mutations turn humans into animals and plants

It was only a local paramedic that was examining the boy for several years. Doctors recommended the boy should go to a regional hospital, but his parents have no money to cover traveling costs, Pravda.Ru reports with reference to Ren-TV.

The child feels worse and worse, saying that it hurts him to move and bend over. The boy lags behind his peers in physical development as "false" ribs affect the endocrine system.

The boy's parents are trying apply for disability benefits to send their son to a regional hospital for medical examination.

#### Read article on the Russian version of Pravda.Ru

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## Brown-robed scourge



Content image - Phnom Penh Post

A Chinese 'monk' offers a bracelet to a couple in front of the Royal Palace. Kimberley Mccosker

Sat, 11 July 2015 Vann Sreynoch and Harriet Fitch Little

"Do you speak Chinese?"

It's only after the fourth time the question – asked in Mandarin – is repeated that

the man responds with a nod in the affirmative. He continues to hold out a beaded bracelet, smiling.

"Are you a real monk?"

The smile fades, but the man nods again. He says he is from Wuhan – a province in Eastern China – then re-pockets the beads, turns on his heels and walks away.

The scourge of "fake monks" is a worldwide phenomenon, not just in traditionally Buddhist countries but as far afield as Melbourne, Vancouver and New York – where the *New York Post* recently ran an article urging otherwise cynical New Yorkers to wise up to the racket being run by the city's new "squeegee men".

In Phnom Penh, the "monks" are distinguishable on sight: they wear trousers and shoes under their robes, and they request donations at any time of the day.

They speak no Khmer, limited English and only reluctant Chinese.

According to the Ministry of Cult and Religion, it's a problem on the rise.

"I am preparing a report for the minister to inform him about the problem, and all the ministries in the provinces, to make sure they know about this," said Seng Somony, spokesperson for the Ministry of Cult and Religion.

Last month, a Chinese man dressed as a monk was taken to a police station in Mondulkiri for questioning after refusing to accept donations of under 10,000 riel, about \$2.50.

But Somony said that arrests would remain rare. "We don't have any law that says we can arrest those monks," he explained.

"Right now, we are trying to gather those monks and give them some discipline about this

problem – they should not force people to buy their stuff."

While these monks have been known to target locals asking for donations, they find that tourists are their safest bet.



The 'monks' are initially friendly but do not like to be photographed. Kimberley Mccosker

"When myself and others see them, we never respect them in the way we respect our Cambodian monks," said Soun Sorn, a tuk-tuk driver who plies his trade outside the Giant Ibis bus station.

Sorn has seen the routine a thousand times: a monk approaches a freshly disembarked traveller, he smiles, and with the dexterity of a magician he has somehow wriggled a beaded bracelet onto the tourist's wrist.

Still smiling, he makes his request in English: somewhere between Content image - Phnom Penh \$5 and \$10 for the blessing inferred by the prayer beads.

Giving back the bracelets is far trickier than acquiring them – the monk will haggle his customer down aggressively rather than take back the beads.

According to Khim Sorn, the chief monk in Phnom Penh, it's a phenomenon that threatens to "ruin the reputation of Khmer monks" among foreigners.

"Local people, they can tell the difference between the two types of monks, but for tourists it might be hard for them to tell the difference," he said.

Perhaps surprisingly, Sorn said he reserved judgement on whether the monks were "fake" or simply foreign.

"I'm not sure where these monks are from, but I know that they are Mahayana monks," he said, referring to a set of practices distinct from the Theravada Buddhism that is observed in Cambodia.

"I'm not sure if this kind of action is wrong or not according to their religious rules as we follow different two different kind of Buddhism.

"I know the rules of Mahayana Buddhism are not as strict as our rules."

He added that he thought pestering people for money was "a very inappropriate thing to do regardless of which version of Buddhism they follow."

At the ministry, Somony agreed with Sorn that the monks may be genuine – a fact that made arresting them as impersonators more difficult.

Somony argued that, either way, the monks' distinctive garb made it unlikely that anyone

would confuse them for their Cambodian counterparts.

"I don't think it will affect the reputation of Khmer monks," he said.

Elsewhere, the monks' spiritual status remains unclear. Erik Davis, a professor specialising in the study of Buddhism, said that for most Buddhists, regardless of their denomination, the worthiness of monks as recipients of donations depends very strongly on proper ordination.

Along the riverfront promenade, which serves as a popular stalking ground for the monks, local distaste is made abundantly clear.

"He's not a good man," one vendor says, gesturing towards the retreating mustard robes.

An old, toothless woman, her gums stained red with betel juice, gestures dismissively towards the retreating figure. "Money, money, money!" she spat.

Additional reporting by Brent Crane.

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# Rejected by scientists, dowsing is an ancient tradition that's dying hard in the Central Valley's parched fields

By Holly Bailey July 20, 2015 5:08 AM Yahoo News



Vern Tassey, a water witch, with his divining tools in an orange grove in Lindsay, Calif. (Photo: Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)

Vern Tassey, a water witch, with his divining tools in an orange grove in Lindsay, Calif. (Photo: Holly Bailey/Yahoo …

LINDSAY, Calif. — Vern Tassey doesn't advertise. He's never even had a business card. But here in California's Central Valley, word has gotten around that he's a man with "the gift," and Tassey, a plainspoken, 76-year-old grandfather, has never been busier.

Farmers call him day and night — some from as far away as the outskirts of San Francisco and even across the state line in Nevada. They ask, sometimes even beg, him to come to their land. "Name your price," one told him.

But Tassey has so far declined. What he does has never been about money, he says, and he prefers to work closer to home.

And that's where he was on a recent Wednesday morning, quietly marching along the edge of a bushy orange grove here in the heart of California's citrus belt, where he's lived nearly his entire life. Dressed in faded Wranglers, dusty work boots and an old cap, Tassey held in his hands a slender metal rod, which he clutched close to his chest and positioned outward like a sword as he slowly walked along the trees. Suddenly, the rod began to bounce up and down, as if it were possessed, and he quickly paused and scratched a spot in the dirt with his foot before continuing on.

A few feet away stood the Wollenmans — Guy, his brother Jody and their cousin Tommy — third-generation citrus farmers whose family maintains some of the oldest orange groves in the region. Like so many Central Valley farmers, their legacy is in danger — put at risk by California's worst drought in decades. The lack of rain and snow runoff from the nearby Sierra Nevada has caused many of their wells to go dry. To save their hundreds of acres of trees, they'll need to find new, deeper sources of water — and that's where Tassey comes in.

#### View gallery

New citrus plantings near Lindsay, Calif., a town hard hit by the drought (Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)



New citrus plantings near Lindsay, Calif., a town hard hit by the drought (Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)

Tassey is what is known as a "water witch," or a dowser — someone who uses little more than intuition and a rod or a stick to locate underground sources of water. It's an ancient art that dates back at least to the 1500s — though some dowsers have argued the origins are even earlier, pointing to what they say is Biblical evidence of Moses using a rod to summon water. In California, farmers have been "witching the land" for decades — though the practitioners of this obscure ritual have never been as high profile or as in demand as during the last year.

With nearly 50 percent of the state in

"exceptional drought" — the highest intensity on the scale — and no immediate relief in sight, Californians are increasingly turning to spiritual methods and even magic in their desperation to bring an end to the dry spell. At greatest risk is the state's central farming valley, a region that provides fully half the nation's fruit and vegetables. Already, hundreds of thousands of acres have been fallowed, and farmers say if they can't find water to sustain their remaining crops, the drought could destroy their livelihoods, cause mass unemployment and damage the land in ways that could take decades to recover.

With nearly 50 percent of the state in "exceptional drought," Californians are increasingly turning to spiritual methods and even magic in their desperation to bring an end to the dry spell.

Across the Central Valley, churches are admonishing their parishioners to pray for rain. Native American tribal leaders have been called in to say blessings on the land in hopes that water will come. But perhaps nothing is more unorthodox or popular than the water witches — even though the practice has been scorned by scientists and government officials who say there's no evidence that water divining, as it is also known, actually works. They've dismissed the dowsers' occasional success as the equivalent of a fortunate roll of the dice — nothing but pure, simple luck. But as the drought is expected to only get worse in coming months, it's a gamble that many California farmers seem increasingly willing to take.

With many farms limited or even cut off from government-allocated irrigation water this year, growers like the Wollenmans have been forced to rely on their groundwater wells — most of which were built more than 50 years ago and are less than 200 feet deep. In a normal year of regular rainfall, that would usually suffice, but with so many straws in the cup, wells across the Central Valley are quickly going dry. Farmers are being forced to drill deeper to tap into the aquifer below — an expensive proposition that can cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, if not more. It's a desperate attempt to survive what many describe as a slow-moving natural disaster on par with the Dust Bowl.

#### View gallery



A dust devil rises up in a citrus grove along Highway 65 in Tulare County, Calif (Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)

A dust devil rises up in a citrus grove along Highway 65 in Tulare County, Calif (Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)

State officials recommend that farmers who are planning to dig should hire a hydrogeologist to survey their land to find a spot for a productive well. But the first call many farmers make is to a water witch — who charges a fraction of the price and, some insist, is often just as accurate.

On this Wednesday, Tassey was charging the Wollenmans just \$100 — his usual fee — to look for water in one of their orange groves.

They'd been working with him for years — and before that, they'd used another witch to help them find water, just as their parents had when they first came here in the 1940s as one of the first citrus growers in Lindsay.

"We've always used someone," Guy Wollenman said as he watched Tassey work. "Most farmers do. They don't drill a hole without someone like Vern to help them find the best spots."

"It's an energy of some sort. ... Like how some people can run a Ouija board. You either have it or you don't."

#### — Marc Mondavi

The severity of the latest drought has raised the ante even higher. With landowners across the valley desperate to tap into water, it costs thousands of dollars just to get on a waitlist for drilling that is often several months long. Desperate farmers have little margin for error. If they drill a hole and find nothing, it's money that's gone, and they are back on the waitlist again. They are betting on witches to help them find the magic mark.

A few feet away, Tassey continued to pace back and forth along the line of orange trees, and as he worked, a strange hush settled over the scene. Soon, the only sound was Tassey's footsteps crunching dead leaves on the sandy ground as a nearby dog began to bark. The farmers quietly followed at a distance, careful not to disrupt Tassey's concentration.

"It will start bouncing," Jody Wollenman explained in a low voice, pointing to the metal rod in Tassey's hands. "When he hits the aquifer, it will start moving. It tells you the width of the aquifer by the strength of the bounce."

An Oklahoma native who moved to the Central Valley with his family in the aftermath of the Dust Bowl when he was just 7, Tassey discovered he had the "gift" during California's last devastating drought in the late 1970s. A colleague at a drilling company often witched the land before they dug wells, and intrigued, Tassey asked if he could give it a try. The rest, he said, is history.

It's never bothered Tassey that people call him a witch — though lately it's gotten him into a little trouble with folks at church. A few weeks earlier, a local television station out of Fresno came down to interview him after hearing of his skill. He'd never been on television before. "The reporter asked me if I dabbled in witchcraft. Do I worship the devil?" he laughed.

#### View gallery



A tree stump from a removed citrus tree sits in front of a healthy orange grove in Lindsay, Calif. (Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)

A tree stump from a removed citrus tree sits in front of a healthy orange grove in Lindsay, Calif. (Holly Bailey/Yahoo ...

As Tassey paced down the line of trees, the farmers followed quietly. After a moment, Tommy Wollenman, who is also a general manager at LoBue Citrus, a grower and distributor in town, tried to lighten the mood. "Ommmm," he jokingly began to chant. A few feet away, the metal rod in Tassey's hands suddenly began to move feverishly up and down. Wollenman paused. "That's amazing," he said.

As the farmers walked closer, Tassey scratched a mark in the ground and grabbed another tool — this one a metal rod crafted into a Y shape, almost like a wishbone. He backed up along the path and walked forward again, retracing his steps. He was, he explained, using this tool to "fine-tune" his discovery. With this, he'd be able to more accurately guess the route of the aquifer below and suggest where drillers should dig to capture the best volume. In his hands, his guiding rod seemed to bounce again, and Tassey stopped, marking another spot.

Moving in, Tommy Wollenman reached down and quickly planted a tiny metal stake with an orange flag in the spot. "Oh!" he cried, a teasing smile on his face. "I think there's water coming up already!"

No one knows how many water witches there are. They don't exactly advertise in the phone book or the newspaper. There is an organization — the American Society of Dowsers, which has hundreds of members scattered across local chapters throughout the country. But many water witches like Tassey seem to work on their own. The U.S. Geological Survey, which issued a brochure discrediting the practice of dowsers, estimates there may be thousands roaming the nation's agricultural lands in search of water — though the agency admits even it isn't sure.

Water witches have been a fixture in California agriculture for about as long as people here can remember. Everyone knows of someone who's used one or a person who had "the gift" — or at least thought they did. Even John Steinbeck immortalized the role of the dowser in his seminal novel "East of Eden," set in California's Salinas Valley.

#### View gallery



In this photo taken Feb. 13, 2014, proprietor Marc Mondavi demonstrates dowsing with divining rods to locate water at the Charles Krug winery in St. H...

In this photo taken Feb. 13, 2014, proprietor Marc Mondavi demonstrates dowsing with divining rods to locate water ...

In the book, Adam Trask hires Samuel Hamilton to find water on land he hopes to transform into his own personal Eden. When Trask asks Hamilton how his divining stick works, the fictional witch confesses that he's not really sure and suggests it's perhaps his own instinct, not an instrument, driving the magic. "Maybe I know where the water is, feel it in my skin," Hamilton explains.

Ask a witch in real life how the magic works or why they were blessed with "the gift," and most confess they don't know. In Napa Valley, Marc Mondavi, a vintner whose family is part of the state's wine aristocracy, discovered his ability decades ago when a high school girlfriend's father who was a dowser took him out into the vineyard to see if he had any skills. Mondavi was only 17. "He used these willow forks, and he handed them to me and said, 'Go,'" he recalled. "And sure enough, they bent down."

At the time, Mondavi didn't know if he really believed he had the skill. But years later, while in college, he summoned his ability again when his family planned to drill a new well on their property. They had called on the expertise of the most popular dowser in wine country, a vineyard manager named Frank Wood, who at the time was witching almost all the land around Napa. When Mondavi mentioned to him that he believed he had the gift, Wood became his mentor and taught him everything he knew.

Scientists roll their eyes at the phenomenon. Graham Fogg, a hydrologist at the University of California, Davis, called it "folklore."

"It's an energy of some sort. ... Like how some people can run a Ouija board. You either have it or you don't. You can't learn how to get it, but if you do have it, you have to learn how to use it," he said. "It took me years to get my confidence. ... At first, you are a bit leery of telling someone they are going to have to go dig a \$50,000 hole. What if nothing is there? But over time, I learned to trust."

Now at 61, Mondavi is the go-to water witch for Napa — servicing some of the top wine producers in the country. Among his clients is Bronco Wine Company, the nation's fourth-largest winemaker, which makes Charles Shaw's "Two Buck Chuck" and dozens of other brands. He knows what geologists say about witches like him, and he relishes the idea of proving them wrong. "They think we're ridiculous, that it's all luck," he said. "I get it. There's

no science that explains any of it."

#### View gallery



A roll of recovered sprinkler lines sits adjacent to bulldozed orange grove in Lindsay, Calif. (Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)

A roll of recovered sprinkler lines sits adjacent to bulldozed orange grove in Lindsay, Calif. (Holly Bailey/Yahoo ...

Pausing, Mondavi can't help but smile. "I'm good," he says, a sly grin on his face. "I'm not afraid to blow my own horn. I'm good at this."

Scientists roll their eyes at the phenomenon. Graham Fogg, a hydrologist at the University of California, Davis, called it "folklore" and said there is no scientific proof that dowsers have any special skill at finding water. The reason dowsers often appear

successful, he argued, is because "groundwater is ubiquitous." Anybody with a basic knowledge of an aquifer is likely to be able to tap into something.

"Groundwater occurs virtually everywhere at some depth beneath the surface of the earth, so regardless of where you drill, you will virtually always hit the water table at some depth," Fogg said.

The vibrating or movement of the diving rods or sticks, scientists argue, is nothing more than show.

"We've always used someone. Most farmers do. They don't drill a hole without someone like Vern to help them find the best spots."Lorem

#### — Guy Wollenman

In spite of the skepticism, some high-profile figures seem unwilling to miss a chance at finding water. Last year, at the suggestion of a cousin, California Gov. Jerry Brown had a pair of water witches go over land he owns in Williams, Calif., about an hour north of Sacramento, where he plans to build a home and settle when he retires. A spokesman for the governor confirmed Brown had used dowsers, but he declined to say if they found water.

Down in the Central Valley, Tassey says he would like to retire. Three times, he's tried, but the farmers won't let him. He's too good at witching the wells, apparently. Farmers talk him up to each other, and even drillers have started to recommend him. He estimates he's witched at least 100 wells so far this year — the busiest year he can recall in the four decades since he learned he had the gift.

Tassey can't explain what makes him special, why he apparently has this ability that others do not. He had hoped that one of his four kids might have the gift, but none did. Only him.

Some have speculated it has something to do with the magnetic core of the earth. He doesn't know. He just has something, a gift that God has given him to use, and he'll likely use it until the day he dies.

"The farmers here have been good to me all these years, to all of us here," Tassey says. "Now it's my turn."

### View gallery



Marc Mondavi, a water witch, uses divining rods to locate an underground source of water at his property in Angwin, Calif. (Holly Bailey/Yahoo News)

Marc Mondavi, a water witch, uses divining rods to locate an underground source of water at his property in Angwin, ...

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The writer/transcriber as a Cub Scout at Camp Napowan

[Mysteriousheartland.com] Napowan Scout Camp is located in the pine forests of central Wisconsin, next to Hills Lake and Lake Napowan, off 24th Avenue. Each year, thousands of Boy Scouts from around the country enjoy camping, fishing, boating, nature hikes, archery, and much more at one of the most exemplary summer camps in the Midwest. It is owned and operated by the Northwest Suburban Council of the Boy Scouts of America, of which I was a part. In the early 1990s, when I was a member of Boy Scout Troop 22 based at St. Mary's School in Des Plaines (now defunct), I went to Camp Napowan for two, week-

long excursions. On one occasion, my dad and I were sharing a tent when we were hit by a torrential downpour. We didn't realize what a poor choice our campsite was until water started building up several inches deep! We ended up sleeping in the car that night, and I don't think my dad has gone camping since.



The writer/transcriber's campsite at Camp Napowan - c. 1990?

One of the most interesting things about Camp Napowan was the legend they used to tell about its founding. The Boy Scouts of America established the camp in 1946, right after the end of World War 2. Prior to that, the legend goes, it was local farmland. During the Great Depression, the farmer that owned that land got into an altercation with a tribe of gypsies he allowed to temporarily settle on his property. Local townspeople killed the gypsies on a place called "Boot Hill," but before the last of them died, they put a curse on the land. To this day, every time a black cat with a single white paw appears at

Camp Napowan, trouble follows. Our camping trips culminated with a retelling of this story over a bonfire, and at one point an audio version was even available on CD. I searched for years to find it, until I finally tracked someone down who owned a copy. The following three part series is as close an approximation of the tale as I'm able to record. I hope there are others out there who read this story and recall fond childhood memories.

The story of Boot Hill begins on October 28, 1929, a day known as Black Monday. On that day, the economy crashed, sending this country into the largest economic depression we've ever seen. For most people, making ends meet was a difficult task. Jobs were hard to find because there were so many people in need of them, but not enough of them to go around. In central Wisconsin, the Depression was as bad as it was anywhere. Most of the locals were subsistence farmers. It was their only option next to starvation. Most farms were small and

provided barely enough food for one family. Many people relied heavily on barter. They would provide a bushel of potatoes for a bushel of carrots or apples, or they would combine labor and help neighbors build structures or plant crops. Everyone was so poor, there was nothing extra and nothing wasted.

At the height of the Great Depression in 1934, a troop of gypsies was traveling through central Wisconsin. Before the Depression, they wandered from town to town and city to city, living off the fat of the land. They joined circuses and carnivals, performed tricks, and told fortunes. But when people didn't have money to spend on circuses and carnivals, the gypsies were forced to find other work. This particular tribe of gypsies was comprised of 150 people. They were led by an old man, knows as "the Chieftain." He lived a long life and possessed much knowledge. His people looked to him to find work, and ultimately, food and water.

The longer they wandered, the more distraught the gypsies became. Tribesmen were getting sick, horses were dying, and there was no food or water. From town to town they went, looking for work. The Chieftain approached as many people as he could and explained how his people were dying and in need of food and water. They were willing to do any job, no matter how difficult or dirty, just as long as they got some provisions. As things were, however, no one could afford to hire so many people for a task, but even if someone could hire that many people, they weren't going to hire gypsies. Gypsies had a bad reputation. The image in most people's mind were of filthy people who lie, cheat, and steal. Local people thought they couldn't be trusted as they wandered from place to place in their nomadic lifestyle. And with their fortunetelling and crystal balls, the mystic aspect of gypsy life was too much for most outsiders to understand. It was said that the gypsies practiced black magic, a form of magic that is fueled by dark or evil forces. Some people even said that gypsies could change their form from human into that of a cat.

So when the Chieftain approached a man and asked for his help, it must have been hard to forget the baggage that was associated with gypsy life. Still, the Chieftain had no choice. "We will plant your crops, or plow the fields, or spread manure," the Chieftain said. "We will do anything, for we are desperate and in need of help." But each time he was turned down. One day, in the spring of 1934, the tribe was wandering through Wild Rose. By this time, they were but 120 in number. Children and old people were dying and too weak to make the journey. The Chieftain approached local farmers and told them of their plight, but each time the farmers told him they could not support so many people.

Finally, the Chieftain approached a man named Joe Miller, who owned a potato farm. Today, the land is owned by the Northwest Suburban Council of the Boy Scouts of America. Where the dining hall is today, there was a potato warehouse. When Joe lived on this land, there were no trees, no trails, and no campsites. There was only sand, potato fields, and Joe's farmhouse. Joe lived there with his wife, Sarah, his 13-year-old son, also named Joe, and his 11-year-old daughter, Katherine. Joe did most of the farming, and the family was barely making it from one year to the next.

"My people are dying and in need of food and water," the Chieftain said to Joe. "There were 150 of us, and now there are only 120. Please, is there anything you can do to help? We will

do your most grueling labor for some food."

"My family of four is barely making it from one year to the next," Joe replied. "There is no way my land can support 120 people. I wish that I could help you, but really, there is nothing I can do." When Joe returned to his farm, he told his wife about the Chieftain and his tribe. Joe really did want to help, but his family came first. When he talked it over with Sarah, she said there must be some way they could help.

"What if we let them camp on the big hill?" Sarah asked. "They could farm all the hills. We can't farm those anyway. They could do their farming and our farming." Joe thought about it, and finally he came up with a solution that would work. That very day he rushed back into town and found the tribe preparing to leave. When Joe found the Chieftain, he said, "Well I talked this over with my wife, and I think we can work something out. You can camp on a big hill that I can't put to any use. There should be plenty of space for the whole tribe. If you live there, you must agree to three stipulations. First, you must do all of the farming, mine and yours. This is your payment for using my land. You must farm the land I tell you to farm and give the crops to me. The remaining land you may farm as you wish, and keep the crops for yourselves. Second, after the potatoes are harvested, you must leave. I cannot afford to have 120 people around through a Wisconsin winter. There just aren't enough resources. Finally, I can give you as much water as you like, but as for food I have nothing. I will try to do something, but food is quite scarce."

The Chieftain and his people were thrilled. That day, instead of moving onto another town, the gypsy tribe followed Joe back to his farm. He led the gypsies to the highest point on his land, exactly 1,000 feet above sea level. There, on the top of the hill, the gypsies made their camp. The timing worked out quite well. Within a few weeks of the gypsies' arrival, Joe was ready to plant his potato crop. First, the gypsies had to prepare the land. They removed all of the large rocks and made a huge pile of them out of the way of their farming. The land was plowed and terraces were made on the hills, so they could also be used to farm potatoes. The gypsies even made waterways to irrigate the crops. When this was all done, they began to plant the potatoes.

Joe noticed how hard they were working, and took a liking to them. The Chieftain and he became good friends. After all, what they were doing for each other was quite generous. By the end of the summer, as long as the weather cooperated, Joe would have more potatoes than he could use. The summer approached and the gypsies began to recover. Food was still quite scarce, but Joe did what he could to help, and the gypsies were skilled hunters. In the meantime, Joe's children became very close with the gypsy children. For many years they had few people to play with, but finally they had people their own age who lived close to the farm. Every day, Joe Jr. and Katherine went to the gypsy camp to play with the children there. The gypsies performed tricks and dazzled the Miller children. Sarah Miller also took a liking to the gypsies. She thought they were very interesting people who did things in extraordinary ways. As the summer continued, Joe and the Chieftain were like brothers.

When the harvest finally came, it yielded more than anyone expected. Joe gave half of the potatoes to the gypsies, so they could use them as they pleased. He kept some of the

potatoes for next year's planting, and the rest he used to barter his way into family security. He traded them for many vegetables and fruits, as well as two hens, a pig, and a cow. Joe Miller became much better off than many of his neighbors. In honor of the gypsies, Joe and Sarah prepared a large feast to celebrate the harvest. The Millers gathered with the gypsies in their camp for an evening of dancing, drinking, and feasting. There was no better way they could have ended the summer. Joe was going to miss having the gypsies around, but there was no way they could have stayed through the winter. When the feast was over, Joe reminded the Chieftain of their agreement earlier that year. The Chieftain assured Joe that the tribe would be leaving within two weeks. They needed some time to organize their camp and prepare for their next journey. Joe agreed to allow them to stay just a bit longer. [Continued in Part two and three...]

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A week later, Joe Miller was awoken from his sleep. He heard a loud scream coming from the gypsy camp. He ran outside and saw a large fire on top of the hill. Listening closely, Joe heard the gypsies singing. They were chanting in Hungarian, their native tongue. Joe couldn't understand them, but what they were doing seemed odd to him anyway. He figured they were just getting ready to leave and were throwing a celebration for themselves.



Romani Children

The next morning, when it was time for Joe to feed his animals, he discovered the hens were missing. They were in a secure cage and couldn't have gotten out unless someone opened it. Joe figured it had to have been the gypsies, but he couldn't flat out accuse them without proof, and he didn't want to upset them. Still, the hens represented roughly a dozen eggs a week. He tried to remain calm and find out what he could. He went to the gypsy camp and approached the Chieftain. Joe said to him, "When I went to feed my animals this morning, the strangest thing happened. You wouldn't believe this, but my hens are missing. You didn't happen to see anything out of the ordinary last night?"

"Do you think I'm stupid?" the Chieftain asked. "How dare you accuse my people of stealing from you, after everything we've been through. Now get out of here and leave us alone." Joe turned around, his head bent low, and walked back to his house. He was ashamed of himself for what he had done. As he walked home, he realized they were just hens after all, and the gypsies wouldn't admit to stealing them even if they had.

A week later, the Millers were awoken from their sleep by another shrill scream. The family looked towards the gypsy camp from a window, and they saw a massive fire stretching 20 feet into the air. Again the gypsies were chanting as they held hands and danced around the fire. Joe had a bad feeling in the pit of his stomach, and he prayed that everything would be okay the next day. It came as no surprise when we went to feed his animals and the pig was missing. Joe was infuriated, but he didn't know what to do other than tell the gypsies to leave. This seemed fair to him anyhow, since it was time for them to leave according to their agreement. When Joe found the Chieftain, he told him that his pig had disappeared. He then reminded the Chieftain that it was time for his tribe to be on its way. The Chieftain was very angry. Once again, Joe had come to their camp and implied they had stole from him, and

even though Joe had a right to be angry with them, the Chieftain did not want him to know that. The Chieftain assured Joe that the tribe would be gone in a short time. That was enough for Joe, who really didn't want to push the issue.

Exactly one week later, the Miller family and their neighbors were awoken by a sound they had never heard before. It was a loud, bloodcurdling scream that was heard for miles around. When the Millers looked out their window, they saw a 40 foot flame coming from the gypsy camp. The entire tribe was surrounding the fire, and just looking at the ceremony made the Millers shiver. There was an evil feeling in the air. Nobody slept that night. They all lay awake in their beds until first sign of light the next morning. As expected, when Joe went to feed his cow, he found it was missing. The Millers were sure to starve now. They went from being secure over the winter to having just about nothing, other than a few potatoes. What started out as the best thing that ever happened to him, had quickly turned into the worst. Joe had no choice but demand the gypsies leave.

That morning, when Joe went around to his neighbors, he learned that they too were missing items from their farms. After gathering pitchforks, shotguns, rifles, axes, and any other weapons they could find, the farmers went up to the gypsy camp. Joe Miller spoke for the group. He said, "We made an agreement that you would leave shortly after the harvest, and I have given you ample time. My animals are all gone, and whether you took them, I'll never know. But I do know it is time for you to leave. You have 24 hours to get off my land, and leave Wild Rose. If you do not, there will be bloodshed on this hill." The farmers made it clear the gypsies would die if they did not leave, and the gypsies understood.

As the gypsies were packing up their camp to move on, Joe Junior and Katherine went to say goodbye. The two kids did not understand what was going on. All they really knew was that the gypsies were good people, and they would be missed. But Joe and Katherine hadn't seen the missing livestock. When the kids didn't come home for lunch, Joe and Sarah became very worried. They rarely skipped a meal. When dinner approached and they were still missing, the Millers became almost frantic. Joe decided that the gypsies had to be dealt with immediately.



A Gypsy Family

He gathered his neighbors, who were well armed, and marched up to the gypsy camp. When the procession made it to the hill, all of the gypsies were gone. Their belongings were there, but the people were not. Sarah was certain her children were still there. They began looking through the camp, and found Joe Junior and Katherine inside the Chieftain's wagon. They were huddled together in the corner. Their eyes were glassy and glazed over, and they were chanting in a strange language. Joe and Sarah took their children back to the safety of their farmhouse. Joe Junior and

Katherine said they remembered nothing of the experience, except for dozens of cats roaming throughout the camp. Katherine said the cats were all black, except for a single white front paw. It looked as though they were wearing a white boot.

After his children were safe, Joe and the neighbors returned to the gypsy camp to take care of them for good. This time, the camp was full of gypsies. When they saw the farmers, the gypsies started running and the farmers began to shoot. The farmers massacred the tribe, and dead and dying bodies were scattered all over the camp. None of them, however, would go near the Chieftain. Joe Miller knew that he would have to finish their deadly work. The Chieftain stood on one of the only rocks on the hill. As the Chieftain stood on the rock, his arms were stretched toward the sky. He was bobbing as he chanted. Fire appeared to surround the rock, and suddenly, black cats with a single white paw ran toward the rock and disappeared as they struck. Every time a cat entered the rock, the Chieftain glowed brighter. The farmers watched in disbelief.

Joe Miller walked up the hill and aimed his shotgun at the Chieftain's heart. "You will regret this day," the Chieftain said. "You will regret ever bringing us onto your land, for now it is our resting place. We will remain here in spirit, for this was where we were murdered." And with that final statement, Joe Miller shot the Chieftain through the heart. Rather than falling to the earth, the bright energy absorbed his mortal remains and flowed through the rock like molten lava. Now all the gypsies were dead. By this time it was nearly dark, and the farmers agreed to return the next morning to begin the burial.

When the farmers returned, they planned to dig a large pit and bury all evidence of the gypsy tribe. When they neared the massacre site, however, there were few gypsy bodies. Instead, rocks had pushed their way through the earth and surfaced where each gypsy had fallen. There were over one hundred rocks in all. The farmers gathered up all the caravans and tents and buried them. That gave them some peace of mind, but no one would soon forget what had happened. After the massacre, no one talked about the gypsies for a long time. Rather than bring back painful memories, the community tried to put it out of their minds.

In the fall of 1939, Joe Miller died. It is not known what caused his death. Sarah Miller said it was because he had led a hard life. The younger Joe was now 18 years old, and the family farming was up to him. When World War 2 erupted, he couldn't fight because being away would devastate the family. He wanted to take over for his father, but the farm was a lot more than he could handle by himself. Finally, the Millers decided to sell the land. Unfortunately, none of the locals would purchase it because of its history. Joe stayed with the land and Sarah and Katherine moved into town and found jobs. They refused to live on the farm anymore because the memories were just too painful. Eventually, Sarah and her daughter moved to Milwaukee and never returned.

In 1944, the Northwest Suburban Council Boy Scouts of America happened to find the Miller land available at an unusually low price. With its proximity to two lakes, they realized it would be perfect for a Boy Scout camp. In 1945, the Northwest Suburban Council bought the land from Joe Junior. He agreed to sell, but only if the Boy Scouts were willing to accept his terms. He had three conditions. "Number one," Joe said, "is that you hire me as the full time camp ranger. I will live here year-round and look after the land. Number two: you will help me turn this land into a wilderness preserve. I want it to be cared for and respected." The Northwest

Suburban Council was thrilled. Joe Junior was exactly the kind of person they wanted to hire as ranger anyway. He knew the land better than anyone. "But there is one more thing," Joe said. "You are not to use Boot Hill. It is a cemetery, and the Scouts must not go there out of respect." He had named it Boot Hill in reference to the single white paw on the cats he had seen there.

1946 was the first year any Scouts camped at Napowan. That year, there was a two week jamboree to celebrate the opening of the camp, and Scouts came from all around. The next summer was the first official year of summer camp, and efforts to turn the land into a camp had begun. They started planting trees, creating trails, and erecting buildings. It appeared the camp was going to be a success. During its third year, in 1949, two Scouts couldn't resist going up to Boot Hill. It looked like such a strange place, and they had to see why they weren't allowed to go there. While they were wandering around the top of the hill, they came across a black cat with a white paw. They chased it down a trail, and suddenly it disappeared. When they got back to their campsite, they told the other Scouts what they had seen, and eventually word got back to Ranger Joe. Without hesitating, he grabbed his shotgun and went up to Boot Hill. He rarely went up there, but on that day he had to make an exception. With his gun in hand, he passed the camp director who asked, "Where do you think you're going with that shotgun? I can't let you wander around a camp like that."

"I've got business that should have been taken care of long ago," Joe said. "Let me go about my business." He kept walking. Fifteen minutes later, two shots were heard coming from Boot Hill. When dinner came, Joe did not show up. The camp staff was worried and organized a search party. The first place they went was Boot Hill. They found him at the top of Boot Hill, near Split Rock. He was dead, clutching his shotgun tightly with a terrified look on his face. Cat prints formed a perfect circle around his body in the sand. But the prints came from nowhere and led nowhere. The camp director covered up the body until it was taken away. When an autopsy was performed, the coroner could not establish a cause of death. The only explanation for his death, was that he died of fright. The local people had a good idea of what happened, but none were willing to talk about it. Eventually, the Scouts hired a new ranger, and things returned to normal. [Continued in Part 3...]

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The writer/transcriber and friends at Camp Napowan, c

The summers went by without incident, until 1959. During the fifth week of summer camp, a couple of Scouts went up to Boot Hill even though they were not supposed to. They saw a strange black cat with a white paw. It look at them with intense eyes, and ran away into the forest. The two Scouts suddenly fell ill, and went to the health office. After they told the health officer what happened, he too became sick. Before the end of the day, everyone in camp was sick with diarrhea, cold sweats, and dizziness. The Health Department was asked to come in and determine what was causing the illness, but despite their

experience, it was a mystery to them. After two weeks of quarantine, everyone at camp suddenly got better.

In the early 1960s, the Northwest Suburban Council decided to open Boot Hill, because too many people were asking questions about why it was closed. Nothing out of the ordinary happened until 1969, exactly ten years after the previous incident. Two Scouts were wandering around the hill with slingshots when a black cat with a single white paw crossed their path. One Scout kicked at it while the other prepare his sling and began firing. The cat screamed and hissed and ran up a nearby tree, where it looked at the two boys with a piercing gaze. Suddenly, the boy with the slingshot grabbed his arm in pain, while the boy who was kicking the cat felt pain in his leg. The boy with the injured arm was able to run down the hill and grab the health officer. The health officer later determined that one boy suffered from a broken arm and the other had a broken leg.

The camp administration realized there was a problem. Something needed to be done about Boot Hill. At first, they wanted to relocated Staff City, where all the staff members lived, to the base of Boot Hill, but the staff members refused to live there. Eventually, it was located near Boot Hill, with a line of trees separating the buildings from the hill. The idea was for the staff to be nearby in case anything else happened.

The next summer, the camp staff became very interested in Boot Hill, and set out to determine what happened there. At first, they only knew about the bizarre incidents that occurred on the hill. Some investigation filled in the rest. They began knocking on neighbor's

doors, but the people refused to talk about the history of that land. Except, however, for one old man. He told the staff about everything that happened in the summer of 1934. When he was done, he said, "I want you to know how I know all this. I was one of the farmers that killed those gypsies. It's all true, I saw it with my own eyes. I've never told anyone, but I'm glad I was able to get it off my chest before I died." Thee days later, he died.

Shortly after, the story of Boot Hill began to take shape. Staff members told it to each other, but kept it from the Scouts. It was not the kind of story they wanted them to hear. By 1979, the area around Boot Hill was fully utilized. A large campsite was created on the top of the hill, and the open field below was used as well. Wolf Campsite today sits where the gypsy campsite had once been. In 1979, a scoutmaster named George Bell was camped at Wolf with his troop. All of the leaders went to a cracker-barrel one night, leaving the Scouts to sit by the fire. When George and the other leaders returned, they couldn't believe what they were seeing. The Scouts were sitting in a circle around a huge fire. They eyes were glazed over, and they were chanting in a strange language. It was Hungarian, the language of the gypsies. When the Scouts were snapped out of the spell, George demanded to know what was going on. All the Scouts talked about were the black cats with a single white paw. There were dozens of them appearing and disappearing at random. The Scouts remembered nothing of the chanting or anything else that happened. They were terrified, and left the next day. That was the last summer they ever camped on Boot Hill.



The writer/transcriber as a Cub Scout at Camp Napowan

By this time, the staff had no choice but to begin telling the story of Boot Hill. It was something the Scouts needed to know about for their own safety. In 1986, Jim Scalina became a counselor in training at Napowan, to serve the first of many summers on staff. In the middle of that summer, Jim was riding with a group of staff members to get some dinner in town. He saw a black cat with a white paw before he got into the car, but thought nothing of it. He realized after they got into a car accident that there was a connection. The car swerved into a hill due to a break failure, and no one was injured except for Jim. He had a deep cut

next to his eye. When the police examined the car, they said the breaks were fine and there was no reason for them to have given out.

In 1987, the archery director and the aquatics director wanted to prove the story of Boot Hill wrong. They didn't believe it, so they got slingshots and went up to Boot Hill in search of the strange cat. When they found it (or it found them), they began to shoot at it with their slingshots. It ran off into the forest, and nothing happened to them. They did not get sick, nor did they have any broken bones. They believed they had proven the story wrong. Their minds were not changed until the end of the summer. Three days after the campers went home, a tornado swept through Camp Napowan. It touched down at the archery range, completely destroying it. Then it touched down near the dining hall and the lake, destroying the swim house.

In 1988, a staff member named Andrew Graham got into a car accident moments after seeing a black cat with a white paw. His car flipped into a ditch on the road between maintenance and the office. There were no major injuries. The next summer, two men who worked at the waterfront had a terrible accident in a canoe. They were both out at the lake when staff member Dave Nelson ran into their canoe with his ski boat, tearing it into two pieces. The two survived with a few minor cuts and bruises. Shortly before entering the canoe, one of the men had seen a black cat with a white front paw. There was a small fire in 1990 after a Scout saw a black cat with a single white paw. In 1991, there was a code blue and a code red on the same day and at the same time. A code blue is an aquatic emergency, and a code red is a fire. While half of the staff was diving under water after two missing Scouts, the other half was putting out the fire. The Scouts had forgotten to remove their buddy tags, so everyone assumed they were still in the water. It should come as no surprise that someone reported seeing a cat that day.

In 1992, there was a Scout who left camp after seeing a black cat that terrified him so much, he wouldn't remain in camp. He was eventually found seven miles from Napowan at 3am. He kept saying he "didn't want to see the cat," and went home early that week. When there were sightings in 1993, a volatile storm passed through camp that wrecked trails and campsites. The storm occurred during the week of the 4th of July, and it took most of the summer to clean up the camp.

Sightings in 1994 sent a sickness throughout camp. Many blamed the milk, but when it was tested, there was nothing wrong with it. No one knows for sure why the illness started. In 1996, many events happened involving sightings of black cats. There was a code blue, a car accident, and a strange storm. It was supposed to rain so hard that evening, that all programs were cancelled. The storm was headed straight toward Napowan, when it appeared to split down the middle and head in different directions away from the camp. Not a drop of rain fell on camp property.

The story of Boot Hill is not a legend. It is the truth. The days of keeping the truth from the visitors to Camp Napowan are over. Some people deny the validity of this story. They believe it was made up to scare Scouts, but there are many ways its validity can be tested. Go to Boot Hill and look for yourself. At the top of the hill is Split Rock, the rock that the Chieftain melted through during that fateful summer. This split is not natural. It has a 4 inch gap going through the middle that could not have been caused by erosion, frost action, lightning, or any other natural occurrence. For some reason, Scouts like to urinate on the rock, but when they do, many fall down the stairs, get stung by bees, or get sick. One Scout even had stomach pains, and when he went to the hospital, a surgeon removed a cat claw that was lodged inside his stomach.

Where the gypsy camp was, today you can see a circle of perfectly green grass on the floor of the pine forest. It is about 8 feet in diameter. It is where the Chieftain's wagon once stood. In another circle at the top of the hill, nothing will grow. This was where Joe Miller, Jr. was found dead with the circle of cat paw prints around his body. Or you can go to the Boot Hill area and count the big rocks. There are about 120 in all, and if you look closely, you can still see the bloodstains on the rocks. These rocks were not always there, for when the gypsies

farmed the land, they removed all the big rocks and piled them where the shooting range is today. The common burial site is located at the bottom of the hill. It is a large sandy area where nothing grows. If anything is planted there, it will die within 24 hours. After the massacre, nothing would grow on the entire hill. If you are still not satisfied, you can search through police records. All the major incidents are documented.

The only evidence you need, however, is in the words of this story. The message is clear and simple: Boy Scouts are not the only group camping at Napowan. When the gypsies were massacred, Napowan became their resting ground. Every so often, the gypsies can be seen. There are dozens of them. They are in the trees and on the trails, watching as campers pass by. If you see a black cat with a white front paw, just turn around and walk away. Hopefully, they will not harm you. If we take care of Camp Napowan and conserve the land, the gypsy spirits will guide and protect us. But if we disturb their rest, they will disturb us back. That is the story of Boot Hill.

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### A history of Nazi influence on Long Island at Camp Siegfried

Posted by Mike Stainkamp on Monday, October 31, 2011 ·



Members of the German-American Federation parade through Madison Square Garden in February 1939 (Photo courtesy of University of Southern California Regional History Center)

Suffolk County Community College's (SCCC) Selden campus recently displayed a month-long exhibit that relived the influence of Nazis on Long Island.

"Goose Stepping on Long Island: Camp Siegfried" provided an authentic collection of documents, photographs and even clothing worn by Nazi and American soldiers as well as concentration camp prisoners.

During the height of Adolf Hitler's reign in Nazi Germany during World War II, the Nazi following spread all over the world, including right here on Long Island.

Camp Siegfried was a summer camp in Yaphank that taught Nazi ideology and was operated by the German-American Federation. Formed in the 1930s, this organization's goal was to promote a favorable view of Nazis.

"The purpose of the camp was to keep America out of the war and bring over the Hitlerian idea of racial politics to the United States," said Steven Klipstein, the exhibit curator. "They held rallies for Nazi presence in the United States at Madison Square Garden with a picture of George Washington above the dais. It was reported that police restrained close to 80,000 anti-Nazi demonstrators."

Predating WWII, German-Americans rode the Long Island Railroad from Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn all the way to Yaphank, and some of these people remained there permanently.

"Back when Camp Siegfried was established, people called it 'Germantown' because of the large German-American population," said John Byrnes, a press representative of Councilwoman Connie Kepert (D-Brookhaven). "It is a rich part of our history, and the exhibit at SCCC is a great place for people who want to learn more about the history of Nazis on Long Island."

While Long Island's Nazi population declined after the war, the curiosity sparked by Camp Siegfried has not waned.

"Today, there isn't much of a Nazi following in the area around Camp Siegfried," said Barbara Russell, the Town of Brookhaven's historian. "However, people have called for information

and the location of the site, so they can look around and gather some knowledge."

Though the exhibit closed Oct. 28, SCCC features a 5-year-old exhibit entitled "The Holocaust, Diversity and Human Understanding." Guests can view a collection of over 200 items including original photographs, memoirs, documents, books and other artifacts.

Klipstein said that over 500 students—both of SCCC and local schools—have toured the exhibit.

For more information, contact the Suffolk Center on the Holocaust, Diversity and Human Understanding by phone at (631) 451-4700

or by email at chdhu@sunysuffolk.edu. Admission to the exhibit is free, but scheduling a tour is highly recommended.

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# Can you hear The Hum? Mystery noise keeps Exeter residents awake at night

July 24th 2015

exeterexpressandecho.co.uk

By Exeter Express and Echo | Posted: July 23, 2015

Can you hear The Hum? Mystery noise keeps Exeter residents awake at night

A mystery sound is keeping Exeter residents awake at night – with one woman saying it has stopped her from having a good night sleep for over five years.

A park home resident of Ringswell Park, Exeter has not enjoyed a good night's sleep for over five years.

The woman, who has asked not to be named, has been kept awake by a strange machine noise - and has so far been unable to identify where it comes from.

Neighbours at Ringswell Park have also heard it, as have residents in Wilton Way, around half a mile away, but they have not been as badly affected.

The woman said: "I have had the environmental health people here with their detectors but we cannot pinpoint where it is coming from.

"There is nothing wrong with my hearing and others have heard the noise too but it is driving me bananas.

"I haven't had a decent night's sleep since 2010 and had to resort to staying with my mother or brother's house in Kenton.

"I am hoping others who have heard might get in touch with the Echo and then maybe we can track down exactly where it is coming from."

It is not clear what is causing the noise but one theory is that it could be a phenomenon that has left scientists across the world baffled.

The mysterious droning noise – which only two per cent of people can hear – was first reported in the 1970s.

People as far apart as New Mexico and Somerset have been complaining about 'The Hum' ever since, with some saying it has driven them mad.

Bizarrely, the irritating noise is usually heard in rural areas – and only ever indoors.

It is also apparently louder at night.

The low rumbling noise has been blamed on everything from electricity pylons to tinnitus.

Most sufferers of the mystery 'hum' are around 35-plus when it's assumed their hearing is

more sensitive.

In the UK, the noise has been heard in Leeds, Bristol, and Largs, Scotland, but has been reported as far as Taos, New Mexico, and Bondi Beach in Sydney.

A 2003 study by acoustical consultant Geoff Leventhall, from Surrey, shows that one in 50 people who live in a hum-prone place hear the noise, and that most of these people are aged between 55 and 70.

Those who hear it can experience headaches, nausea, dizziness, nosebleeds and sleep disturbances.

There have even been news reports claiming at least one suicide as a result of the noise.

The 'Bristol Hum' was one of the first reported in the world.

Around 800 people said they could hear the noise in the 1970s.

It was eventually blamed on traffic and local factories.

#### Does the hum affect you? Email us on echonews@expressandecho.co.uk

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# Catholic Spies in the New World? Relics Pose New Puzzle About Early American Colony

scientificam erican.com

A recently unearthed burial in Jamestown, Virginia, from the early 1600s, shows signs of Catholic rituals that are hard to explain in a colony set against the Pope

By Josh Fischman | July 28, 2015



bone fragments from a burial box

This reconstruction of bone fragments in a silver box from a grave in Jamestown, Virginia, looks like a Catholic relic, often used to hold bones of saints. The model is based on CT scans of the box.

Courtesy of Micro Photonics Inc. and the Jamestown Rediscovery Foundation.

In the ground beneath the first Protestant church built in English America, in a settlement partly founded to secure the New World for a new religion in the early 1600s,

archaeologists have unearthed a relic that seems to belong to the wrong house of worship. Jamestown, Virginia, begun in bitter rivalry with Catholicism, has yielded a body entombed with ritual symbols that, in the Old World at that time, were common to Catholic burials.

"There could have been a group of secret Catholics at Jamestown," says James Horn, president of the Jamestown Rediscovery Foundation, the group supervising the dig. "They may have been spies for the King of Spain, who wanted the New World for the Pope. Or was this a holdover Catholic item that was being repurposed for the new Church of England religion? These are tantalizing possibilities."

On Tuesday, researchers announced the find, part of four graves uncovered at the site. The four colonists died between 1608 and 1610, a period of war, struggle and starvation at Jamestown. The four were Reverend Robert Hunt, the first Anglican (Church of England) minister in the colony; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, who was in charge of artillery and horse troops, Captain William West, another high-ranking officer; and Captain Gabriel Archer, an early leader who fought for control of the settlement with John Smith, the man famous as the colonist saved by Pocahontas from execution by her native American people. (The event may have been over-dramatized in Smith's writings, some historians believe.)

A combination of forensic examinations of the skeletons, items found on the bodies such as a captain's ceremonial staff and stash, and archival records helped scientists identify each individual, according to Douglas Owsley, a physical anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History who assisted in the analysis.

Excavators uncover four graves at Jamestown. Photo courtesy Jamestown Rediscovery Foundation

In Archer's grave, on top of his coffin, excavators discovered a mysterious silver box, about 2.5 inches long and 1.5 inches wide and hexagonal in shape. "We couldn't open it," says William Kelso, director of archaeology at the Jamestown foundation. The lid was corroded shut and scientists feared damage if they forced it. So they turned to CT scans to probe the contents.

"What we saw were several good-sized fragments of bone, and a vial," Kelso says. "This looks very much like a common item in Catholic burials at the time, called a reliquary. If this was found in a church in Europe, we'd think the bone chips came from a Catholic saint, and the vial would have been filled with holy water, or perhaps blood."

What is surprising, Kelso says, is that Jamestown was emphatically not Catholic. Henry VIII had split with the Pope in the 1500s, and England had been vying with Catholic powers France and Spain ever since.



The Spanish Armada tried and failed to invade England in 1588. King Phillip III of Spain, who saw himself as a great champion of the Pope, was intent on contesting England for colonial and religious supremacy in the New World. Fortifications at Jamestown were built to ward off Spanish attacks, Kelso says. And in 1607, a member of the colony's governing council was executed for being a Catholic spy. "The great geopolitical struggle of the 16th century was the struggle between Protestant and Catholic countries," Horn says.

Therefore, Horn continues, he would not be surprised to learn of a secret network of Catholics in Jamestown, perhaps plotting to take over the settlement. "King Phillip, at the time, had a vast network of spies in London and it would not have been impossible to insinuate one into the Jamestown expedition," he says. It is not clear that Archer was actually one of them, however. The reliquary was placed on the coffin, not on the body, so it could have been put there after death by a Catholic sympathizer. "We have, over 22 years of excavations, found a large number of rosaries and wondered what they were doing there," Kelso notes. "Secret Catholics could account for that."

The other possibility, Horn says, is that the object "is an example of a messy transition between religions." The Church of England was relatively new, and practitioners may have been fond of some old Catholic rituals and found new uses for them in their burgeoning church.

Either way, Kelso says, the discovery made him sit up sharply. "I always think the Protestant Reformation said 'no graven images,' so this really did surprise me," he says. He would like to get into the box to do DNA analysis on the bones, hoping to shed some more light on early religion in the American colonies, a situation more than 400 years old but newly complex.

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## Celebrity psychic Thomas John was scammer and drag queen

nydailynews.com Denis Slattery

### 'Manhattan Medium' Thomas John has celeb clientele — and shady past as scammer and drag queen

BY Denis Slattery **NEW YORK DAILY NEWS** Saturday, July 25, 2015, 11:06 PM



Josh Garcia via Youtube

Craigslist and stealing security deposits from unsuspecting renters.

'I think that my reputation speaks for itself,' Thomas John said. I have hundreds of clients that speak volumes about my readings.'

A psychic to the stars with a shady past as a scammer and as a drag queen — swears he's a changed mystic.

Thomas John, the selfproclaimed Manhattan Medium. was once a well-known Chicago drag queen busted in 2009 for posting bogus apartment ads on

The 31-year-old now works as a traveling spiritualist who has written two books and claims to receive messages from the dead. His celebrity clientele includes Jennifer Lopez and Courteney Cox and he has appeared on "Entertainment Tonight," according to his website.

But John's metaphysical talents weren't always so strong.



Chicago Police Department

John got busted for keeping security deposits from two prospective renters who never moved in to a promised apartment.

He spent years performing in drag around Chicago under the name Lady Vera Parker — and got busted for keeping security deposits from two prospective renters who never moved in to a promised apartment.

John, whose full name is Thomas John Flanagan, dropped his last name and rebranded himself as a psychic after pleading guilty to theft and computer fraud.

"It was basically something I did out of necessity," John told the Daily News. "I've turned my life around since then."

John spent years performing in drag around Chicago under

the name Lady Vera Parker.

Others charge the clairvoyant had other rackets going.



The Massachusetts-born mystic's cell phone number appears on a website where dozens of furious posters accuse him of pulling his bait-and-switch scam in several states.

"Same thing happened to me! \$600!! I reported it to the police who stated that they already had many reports," one poster wrote.

Courteney Cox and Jennifer Lopez are reportedly clients of John.

But John denied claims he's a con man.

"I did for a fleeting moment think it was a way to make money, but I never followed through with that," John said. "There were never more victims. It wasn't some sort of big elaborate thing."

John credits his brush with the law for helping him harness an ability to reach out to those in the afterlife.



alrightforu via Youtube

# Diamond Dunhill interviewing Lady Vera Parker at Atmosphere nightclub in Chicago.

"I never really had them honed in enough so they would be useful," John said of his mystic powers. "Once this whole thing in Chicago happened and I moved home and got my life in order, I noticed that my abilities got stronger."

But Flanagan's psychic powers have also been called into question.

A number of online reviews claim the medium's clairvoyance comes from his use of Paypal — which gives him the not-so-miraculous ability to research people's full names before doing a reading.



Josh Garcia via Youtube

'Once this whole thing in Chicago happened and I moved home and got my life in order, I noticed that my abilities got stronger,' John said.

John said several of his clients are fully aware of his past and he said his checkered past hasn't affected his prospects as a fortuneteller.

The 31-year-old now works as a traveling spiritualist who has written two books and claims to receive messages from the

dead.

Josh Garcia via Youtube

'Once this whole thing in Chicago happened and I moved home and got my life in order, I



Josh Garcia via Youtube



Josh Garcia via Youtube

### noticed that my abilities got stronger,' John said.

"I think that my reputation speaks for itself," John said. "I have hundreds of clients that speak volumes about my readings."

John said several of his clients are fully aware of his past and he said his checkered past hasn't affected his prospects as a fortuneteller.

"It's one of those things, but I don't think it has anything to do with my psychic work and I don't really feel that they are connected at all," he said.

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by Elizabeth Goldbaum, Staff Writer | July 20, 2015 04:58pm ET



A fragment of the recently deciphered Ein Gedi scroll.

Credit: Halevi-IAA

A burned 1,500-year-old Hebrew scroll found on the shore of the Dead Sea was recently deciphered, 45 years after archaeologists discovered it, researchers in Israel have announced.

"The deciphering of the scroll, which was a puzzle for us for 45 years, is very exciting," Sefi Porath, the archaeologist who discovered the scroll in 1970 in Ein Gedi, Israel, said in a statement from The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA).

The Ein Gedi parchment scroll is the oldest scroll discovered from the Hebrew Bible since the Dead Sea Scrolls, which date to the end of the Second Temple period, about 2,000 years ago.

The parchment scroll was so charred that it was illegible to the naked eye. Only with advanced technology did the scroll reveal the opening verses of the book of Leviticus, the third book of the Hebrew Bible. [The Holy Land: 7 Amazing Archaeological Finds]

#### Scorched scrolls

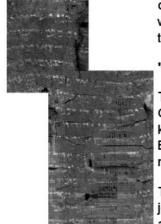
The researchers weren't expecting to be able to pull information from the burned scroll.

"This discovery absolutely astonished us; we were certain it was just a shot in the dark but decided to try and scan the burnt scroll anyway," said Pnina Shor, curator and director of the IAA's Dead Sea Scrolls Project.

How the scroll may have originally looked – revealed by imaging software. Credit: Seth Parker-University of Kentucky, Ehud Shor, Jerusalem View full size image

The fire damage to the Ein Gedi scrolls made themimpossible to open, so the IAA worked with scientists from Israel and abroad to scan the scrolls with a microcomputed tomography machine (micro-CT), which is "just like what they do in the doctor's office but at a very high resolution, probably a hundred times more accurate than the medical procedures that we do," said Brent Seales, a professor of computer science at the University of Kentucky. Seales analyzed the scans with a digital imaging software that virtually unrolled the scroll and allowed him to visualizethe text.

Seales wanted to unpack the layers of the scroll to reconstruct how the text would look if the scroll were



opened. "Initially, we didn't know if there would be writing, or what the writing would be, so it was absolutely a big mystery revealed right at the lab," Seales told Live Science.

#### 'Garden of Eden'

The scrolls were unearthed in Ein Gedi, which translates to "Spring of the Goat," a desert oasis on the western shore of the Dead Sea, about 20 miles (32 kilometers) southeast of Jerusalem. Based on ruins of a Chalcolithic, or early Bronze Age, sanctuary dating to the year 4000 B.C., Ein Gedi's first known residents established themselves there about 5,000 years ago.

The oasis is notable in the Bible as the site where King David fled to escape the jealous and vengeful King Saul. David survived and eventually succeeded Saul as King of Israel from around 1010 to 970 B.C.

"Ein Gedi was a Jewish village in the Byzantine period (A.D. 4th to 7th centuries) and had a synagogue with an exquisite mosaic floor and a Holy Ark," said. This marked the first time that an archaeological dig had uncovered a Torah scroll in a synagogue, Porath noted. [Image Gallery: Ancient Texts Go Online]

The Holy Ark is a chest or cupboard, often ornately carved, with doors that open away from each other to reveal the Torah scrolls. These arks typically sit toward the front of a synagogue.

Ein Gedi "was completely burnt to the ground, and none of its inhabitants ever returned to reside there again, or to pick through the ruins in order to salvage valuable property," Porath said. During archaeological excavations of the burned synagogue, researchers found fragments of the burned scrolls; a bronze, seven-branched candelabrum (or menorah); the community's money box holding 3,500 coins, glass and ceramic oil lamps; and perfume vessels, Porath explained.



Burned bits of potential scroll from Ein Gedi, which will be researched. Credit: Shai Halevi-IAA

"We have no information regarding the cause of the fire, but speculation about the destruction ranges from bedouin raiders from the region east of the Dead Sea to conflicts with the Byzantine government," Porath said.

Although the Ein Gedi scrolls were recovered not too far from the well-known Dead Sea Scrolls, they are considered separate Seales said, because they were found in a synagogue.

The Dead Sea Scrolls were hidden from approaching Roman armies in caves near Qumran in the Judean Desert, which extends east of Jerusalem to the Dead Sea. The ancient scrolls weren't discovered again until 1947, when a bedouin shepherd of Arab ancestry happened upon them.

The iconic Dead Sea Scrolls date from the third to first centuries A.D. Although Hebrew is most frequently used throughout the scrolls, about 15 percent is in Aramaic, and several writings are in Greek. The 230 manuscripts are often referred to as "biblical scrolls" because they are copies of works that make up the Hebrew Bible.

#### The text

On the newly decipheredscroll, the text (from the beginning of the book of Leviticus), translated from the original Hebrew, reads as follows:

"The Lord summoned Moses and spoke to him from the tent of meeting, saying: Speak to the people of Israel and say to them: When any of you bring an offering of livestock to the Lord, you shall bring your offering from the herd or from the flock. If the offering is a burnt offering from the herd, you shall offer a

male without blemish; you shall bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, for acceptance in your behalf before the Lord. You shall lay your hand on the head of the burnt offering, and it shall be acceptable in your behalf as atonement for you. The bull shall be slaughtered before the Lord; and Aaron's sons the priests shall offer the blood, dashing the blood against all sides of the altar that is at the entrance of the tent of meeting. The burnt offering shall be flayed and cut up into its parts. The sons of the priest Aaron shall put fire on the altar and arrange wood on the fire. Aaron's sons the priests shall arrange the parts, with the head and the suet, on the wood that is on the fire on the altar." (Leviticus 1:1-8).

The biblical text marks the first time a Torah scroll was found inside a synagogue in any archaeological excavation, according to the IAA.

"The knowledge that we are preserving the most important find of the 20th century and one of the Western world's most important cultural treasures causes us to proceed with the utmost care and caution, and use the most advanced technologies available today," Porath said.

"This collection at the IAA is full of other fragments that might be analyzed, so in a way, this is a beginning rather than an ending," Seales said.

Elizabeth Goldbaum is on Twitter. Follow Live Science @livescience, Facebook & Google+. Original article on Live Science

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#### Abandoned-France

Department - Haute-Vienne 87

State - Chateau Ruin







Blueprint

As it used to be

Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

XIVth Century.

The current chateau, it was built by the Marquis (Antony 1826-1892) and the Marchioness de Saint-Martin de Bagnac on the site of old medieval chateau of the XVth century which was destroyed during the wars of religion (late XVIth Century), also note that in this chateau was born Pierre de Bagnac in 1330, large cardinal who was celebrated in Rome. (This is still unknown as other sources say he was born in Bagnac-sur-celle in the Midi-Pyrenees, this also confirms an original chateau of at least the early part of the

Work on the current chateau began in 1858, stopped during the war of 1870, they began again in 1875. All the plans, drawings of woodworks, ironwork, sculptures on stone were carried out by the Marquis and the Marchioness in person on levels inspired by Viollet-le-duc (who famously restored Carcassonne) but not drawn personally by the architect himself who died in 1879.

7/26/2015 AFExploration



Chateau de Bagnac





Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

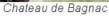


Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac







Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

Abandoned France by John S

Copyright Abandoned-France



Chateau de Bagnac

The only part of the chateau which dates from XIVth century is the big tower of the chateau, capped with a roof with a very steep slope during the rebuilding of the chateau. it is also the largest of the towers of bagnac which holds the original cave and bedrooms. (its the tower to the far right)



Chateau de Bagnac

The chateau is built in neo-gothic style.
This building was built to reaffirm an identity, a presence...

In the chateau one can also see the



Chateau de Bagnac

In the chateau one can also see the vault (built on the model of the Ste Chapelle in Paris). This vault is dedicated to the Sacre-Coeur, Notre-Dame des sept Douleurs and of course to Saint Martin de Tours, which one can by chance still to observe patronage on a stained glass that has remained intact as by miracle.



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnad



Chateau de Bagnac

Above this vault a room of the archives was arched like the vault. In addition to the vault one can observe the highest tower of the chateau known as "the guette". It is told that from the top, one can see Bellac (An assumption not checked to date, the staircases having long since been destroyed). They say that this tower was built so high so that the day of the restoration to the king on the throne of France, the white flag can be hoisted highest possible in the sky.

The magnificent fireplaces, one in the "grand salon", carved out of white stone is holy Martin representing the offering of half of his coat to the unhappy.

Above this living room, the Marquis and

the Marchioness had envisaged a room intended for the Comte de Chambord. A balcony gave way to the room of the vault so they can attend the mass. But the Comte de Chambord never came to Bagnac as he died in 1883. it is also worth noting that the Comte de Chambord was later to become Henri V, king of France.



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

the other located in the room known as the billiards room shows the combat of Lussac-les-chateaux,



Chateau de Bagnac

In 1369, where the knight or le chevalier de Saint-Martin, ancestor of Bagnac had killed with his hands the famous English general John Chandos.



Chateau de Bagnac

(Sir John Chandos was appointed seneschal of Poitou in 1369 by the King of England, and settled in Poitiers. In the same year Sir John noticed, to his 'annoyance', that the French were regaining a foothold in the province. The Breton John Kerlouet and Louis de Saint Julien Trimouille, lord of Lusignan, had occupied La Roche-Posay and Saint-Savin, a few miles

from Poitiers. Chandos decided to retake the abbey of Saint-Savin, with a surprise attack under cover of night. The planned attack failed when, thinking they had been detected by the enemy, Chandos' force retreated towards the bridge across the Vienne at Lussac, along the route to Poitiers through Chauvigny. The French, unaware of their presence, had decided to





Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

British troops. The adversaries met at the bridge of Lussac. In the battle, Chandos' long coat made him slip on the frost. James de Saint-Martin, a squire in the house of Sir Bagnac, struck Chandos with his sword. Chandos' uncle Edward Twyford, standing over his wounded nephew, repulsed the attackers. One of his squires pierced both legs of James Saint-Martin with his sword; Saint-Martin died three days later at Poitiers. John Chandos was carried on a large

shield to Morthemer, the nearest English fortress. He died on New Year's Day 1370, after a day and night of agony, at the age of 55.)

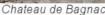
This white stone subject, raised by columns, cross-pieces, framing of admirably carved granite gives to this chimney an imposing and monumental aspect.

Lastly, one could observe a splendid staircase (located behind the largest tower which is also the primitive keep of the old

chateau) of which the vault's ceiling has slowly come apart little by little under the effect of time before finally collapsing in 2010.



Above 2009 - Below 2012





Chateau de Bagnac

We should also note that the landscape designer of the gardens of the Chateau de Bagnac was the Comte de Choulot who also carried out work in the area to the gardens of M. Leplay of the Chateau du Vigen. The garden of Bagnac disappeared with him too. However registered with the additional inventory of historic buildings since May 16, 1975, this chateau given up since 1949 after being completely stripped of its furniture, continues little by little to be degraded. This single chateau

unique to both France and the Haute-Vienne.



Chateau de Bagnac

also worth seeking out the Pigeonnier of the chateau de Bagnac situated a short way away in a field listed as built in 1747, which makes it over 250 years old. sadly today sat in the state of abandonment just like the Chateau.

So has it changed, it would seem so as one of the roofs on the main flanking towers has

finally collapsed and the stunning limestone staircase has now also falling in, I feel very privileged that in the past i got to walk those steps, which are now lost forever.

From information received, I can now confirm that Chateau de Bagnac is Private Property and owned by the same family who own the original farm at the front of the chateau, which



Chateau de Bagnac

was also built at the time of the reworking of the chateau. Le baron Guy de Salvaing de Boissieu, born 1871, in 1902, he inherits the Marquise Elise de Preaulx du chateau de Bagnac of Saint-Bonnet de Bellac in the Haute-Vienne. and from that date it has remained in this family although he dies in 1954, the son of Arthur de Salvaing de Boissieu (1833-1876, Journalist) and of Isabelle Caroline Marie d'Aboville, It now belongs to his grand-daughter.



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

So what was the Chateau de Bagnac like before, we know little of its real history as a Chateau but with some careful research I have



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

managed to find out more, please click the link below to view the back in time page.

AFSpecial - The History Chateau de Bagnac, Click to see how this chateau used to be



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac



Chateau de Bagnac

### Incredible images of a Chicken Church built in the Indonesian jungle

dailymail.co.uk 02:38 EST, 13 July 2015

Incredible images of the mysterious abandoned 'Chicken Church' built in the Indonesian jungle by man who had 'a vision from God'

- . The building is known as 'Gereja Ayam' or Chicken Church in the area of Magelang, Central Java where it stands
- Daniel Alamsjah, 67, built the structure in 1990 after he had a vision from God to build a 'prayer house' atop a hill
- Hundreds of curious travelers and worshipers from many different religions travel to Indonesia to see it every year

By Jay Akbar For Mailonline

Hidden deep inside the Indonesian jungle lies an enchanted 'church' which looks like a giant chicken.

The long-abandoned structure known locally as Gereja Ayam - or Chicken Church - attracts hundreds of curious travelers and photographers to the hills of Magelang, Central Java, every year.

But according to the its eccentric creator, the majestic building is neither a chicken nor a church.

Daniel Alamsjah was working in Jakarta - 342 miles away - when he suddenly got a divine message from God to build a 'prayer house' in the form of a dove.



Majestic: The giant building known locally as Gereja Ayam - or Chicken Church stands over the trees in a densely wooded area in Indonesia



Epiphany: Daniel Alamsjah was working in Jakarta - 342 miles away from where the prayer house stands - when he suddenly got a divine message from God to build a 'prayer house' in the form of a dove (pictured)

Magical: Now hundreds of travelers, tourists and worshipers visit the abandoned and unfinished building (pictured) every year

Hazard: Visitors need to take caution once they are inside because the long-abandoned building is very unstable







Therapy: Underneath the giant Chicken Church are 12 unfinished chambers which have been used as secluded rooms to rehabilitate 'children and drug addicts'

Comfortable: One traveler described how there are as many as 15 rooms inside the crumbling prayer house and some of them even have beds

'Perhaps because of my Christian faith, people thought I was building a church. But it's not a church. I was building a prayer house... a place for people who believe in God,' the 67-year-old told Jakarta Globe.

In 1989, he was walking through the Magelang, where his wife's family live, when he caught sight of the exact same landscape he had seen in his dreams.

'I prayed all night there and I got a revelation that I must build the prayer house in that spot,' he said.

One year later, local land owners offered him the 3,000 square metres of land on Rhema Hill for just two million rupees - or £110 - which he paid off over four years.

Now people of many different religions - including Buddhists, Muslims and Christians - travel to the remote 'prayer house' to worship in their own way.

Colourful: The light dances off the side of the giant Chicken Church, which was built in the 1990s on the hills of Magelang, Central Java

Worship: On the upper floor of the church is an eerie and dark room (pictured) that was once used as the prayer room

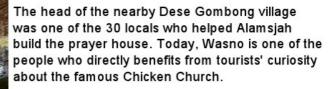
Vandalised: On the walls inside, youngsters have graffittid 'bad words' or drawn pictures of 'naked women'



One of the several rumours surrounding the mystical building was that it was used as a rehabilitation centre. Alamsjah confirmed this to be true, saying: 'The rehabilitation that happened at this prayer house was for therapy for disabled children, drug addicts, crazy people and disturbed youth who wanted to fight.'

The prayer house shut its doors in 2000 because the construction costs were too high, but many

continue to visit the beautiful site in Indonesia.



He allows visitors to park outside his house - which is located at the bottom of the hill - for around 9p a day.

Through the magic of social media, Gereja Ayam has become a hotspot for travel bloggers like Putri Normalita who capture beautiful images of the other-worldly building and share them online.

She says: 'There is very little history about the building, still a lot of tourists want to visit it and even have their weddings there. Perhaps it's precisely because of the mystery that lots of people want to come see it first hand.

Old: A travel blogger who visited the church say some of the pillars (pictured) holding up the church are either crumbling or broken

Tourism: Around 30 local villages helped Alamsjah build the Chicken Church (pictured) and they now benefit from the increased tourism it has created

Naughty: Putri Normalita, the travel blogger who took these beautiful images, suggests the building hidden inside the dense woodland has become a hotspot for couples to commit 'immoral acts' away from prying eyes

Bargain: Alamsjah bought the 3,000 square metres of land where the church is built for two million rupees - or £110 - which he paid off over four years

'There are many names for this building, for example: Church Chicken, Bird Church, Church Dove, Pigeon Hill and many other names.



Putri also hints that it has become a safe haven for couples from the nearby villages of Flower Limus and Krangrejo to commit 'immoral acts' away from prying eyes.

Another traveler describes how five of the eight pillars holding the building up are now crumbling. Alek Kurniawan said: 'This is most strange, it turns out this rooms are terraced. The upstairs room was used as a church hall.

'While in the basement, there are rooms such as bedrooms and bathrooms. The rooms had no light so we used a flashlight to search for it. There are also bats that might be living there.

'There are 15 rooms such as bedrooms and 1 room with 3 bathrooms. There is one more door we didn't enter. Many also graffiti on the wall, for example bad words and pictures of naked women are found."

#### Comments (44)

The comments below have not been moderated.

asweet1, oxford, United Kingdom, 2 days ago

Wouldnt get this in Britain

Asa, Gold Coast, Australia, 2 days ago

I've been there, it's supposed to be a dove not a chicken.

fooseball, Richmond Hill, United States, 2 days ago

KFC world headquarters?

Paul\_Xavier\_Green, Geostationary Orbit -Wembley, United Kingdom, 2 days ago

Have you heard......about the bird? (Cue frantic skit from Peter Griffin on Family Guy, singing THAT song....!!)



as i see it, Bristol, United Kingdom, 2 days ago

I had visions like that back in the sixties...

Julia H, Calgary, Canada, 2 days ago

So, DM why was it abandoned? Cannot imagine a vision such as this, but to each their own.

Binns, London, 2 days ago



I think it looks fowl....

Danleno1949, Hull, United Kingdom, 2 days ago

A vision from smoking too much weed.

Just saying..., E Sussex, United Kingdom, 2 days ago

A little odd but ok.

cazmcleish, Swindon, United Kingdom, 2 days ago

> It is different, but it looks like an eyesore to me.

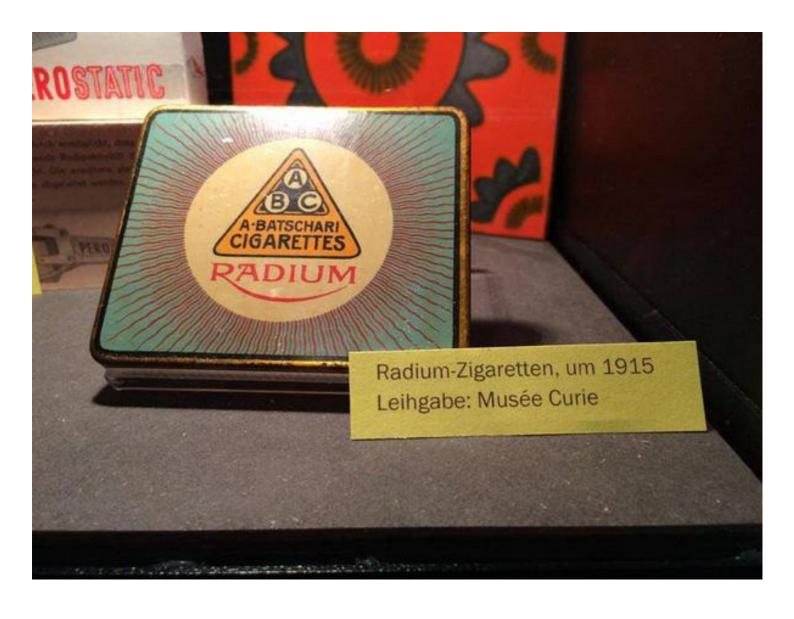
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Body-snatches in Canada.—Eight medical students were seized at the Military Cemetery, Montreal, on the night of the 11th ult. They had entered, it is presumed, for the purpose of obtaining "subjects." They were caught by some soldiers who, anticipating the visit, had concealed themselves, and rushed upon the depredators with revolvers. One of the students struck a soldier with a club. They were all taken to the lock-up and subsequently bailed out.

## LIFE, CONFESSION AND DARCUTION OF

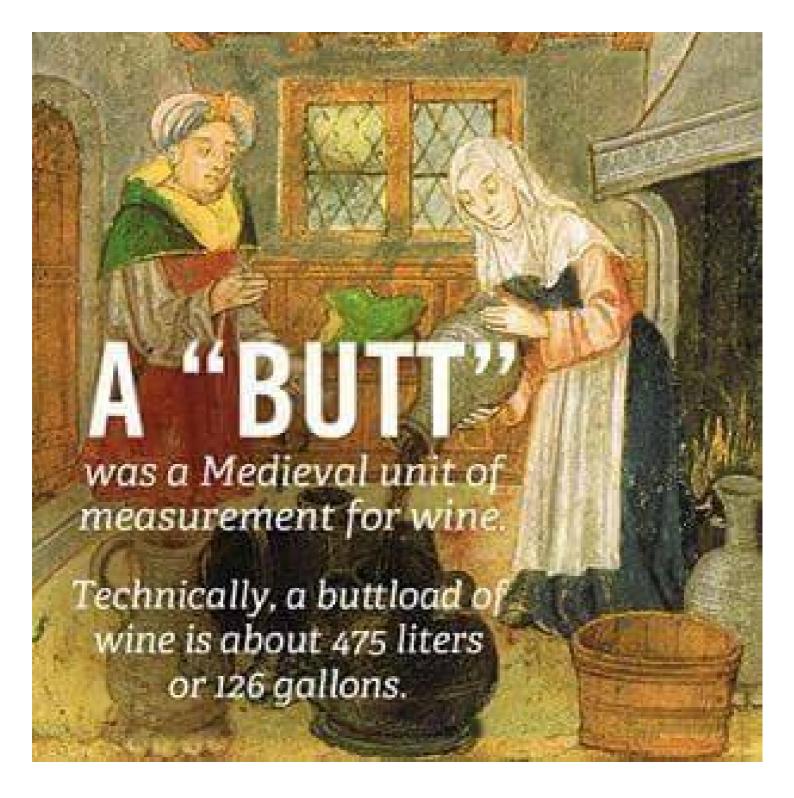
JOHN TAWELL, THE QUAKER, At Aylesbury for the Murder of Sarah Hart,

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khou.com

#### Cobra caught inside luxury downtown high-rise



Residents found a cobra snake in the middle of a third floor hallway in the Rice Luxury Apartments in downtown Houston.

HOUSTON - It's the last thing you want to see when coming from a long day at work: a cobra was spotted wandering the halls of the Rice lofts in downtown Houston over the weekend.



635738076805246711-Adam-pkg-cobra-found-in-apthallway

"It was sort of just hanging out in the middle of the hallway," said Ethan Shear, a resident of the Rice lofts. "It had raised its head a little bit like you would see in Indiana Jones or something. Enough to know 'I should not go near that.""

A quick walk to his car turned into a heartstopping encounter Saturday evening for Shear.

"I turn the corner I hear a guy scream 'watch out,' and there's a cobra, and I just back up," said Shear. "I may have let out an expletive

or two."

Shear then says he backed up and took a picture.

"I thought, 'If I don't take a picture, who's gonna believe me?' And then, went on with my day."

Resident Colby Lewis says someone ran up to him and his group of four and told them to call the police because they were almost bitten by a king cobra.

Lewis said at first he thought they were joking, but when he went upstairs to the third floor, he saw a white king cobra sitting in the middle of the hallway.

"Somebody said something along the lines of 'Well, have you ever heard of a spitting cobra before?" said Lewis. "And then we all kind of walked away."

Lewis said he told management, who then called police.

"I've had several experts look at it, and they all do believe it is a cobra," said Jarrad Mears, Division Manager for Animal Control for BARC.

Now Mears says the city's Animal Control department is following up with the pest control company who took the cobra to figure out what happened to it. They're also following up with the management of Rice lofts to figure out where it came from.

"We've heard from other residents that there was another resident who resided at that apartment months ago that did have a cobra in his possession and he was asked to leave, so that's what we're following up on right now," said Mears.

Management sent out a letter to residents saying they brought in a snake expert to search the third floor apartments and common areas, but found no other snakes.

Mears said he also does not know of any other snakes but is still urging residents to watch their step just in case.

"We'll be much more diligent," said Lewis.

"We'll be on cobra watch," added his friend, Sarah Braniff.

"When I see a second cobra, then I'll start worrying," said Shear.

Mears said Animal Control will turn over whatever they find in their investigation to Texas Parks and Wildlife. He also says even though the state does give out permits to people to own venomous snakes, it is not legal to do so in the city of Houston.

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By KEN RITTER Jul. 13, 2015 8:35 PM EDT



E. Brent Bryson

FILE - In this Wednesday, Sept. 17, 2008 file photo, attorney E. Brent Bryson, speaks during O.J.... Read more

By: KEN RITTER (AP)
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36.175-115.137

LAS VEGAS (AP) — Medical examiners found no evidence to prove the allegation that blues legend B.B. King was poisoned before he died of natural causes in May, according to autopsy findings made public Monday.

Tests conducted after two of the musical icon's 11 adult children said their father had been murdered showed the cause of death was Alzheimer's disease, plus physical conditions including coronary disease, heart failure and the effects of Type 2 diabetes, Clark County Coroner John Fudenberg told The Associated Press.

Daughters Karen Williams and Patty King had said through their attorney, Larissa Drohobyczer, that King's business manager, LaVerne Toney, and his personal assistant, Myron Johnson, hastened their father's death. Drohobyczer didn't immediately respond to messages Monday.

Brent Bryson, a lawyer for King's estate, has called the claims defamatory and libelous.

"Ms. Toney and Mr. Johnson are very happy that these false and fictional allegations that were made against them by certain of Mr. King's children have been dispelled," Bryson said. "Hopefully we can now focus on the body of musical work that B.B. King left the world, and he can finally rest in peace."

The findings close official investigations of King's death, Fudenberg said.

Homicide Lt. Dan McGrath said there is no active police investigation.

The allegations drew intense interest while the daughters led a group of several of King's surviving adult children and grandchildren in an unsuccessful bid to wrest guardianship and

oversight of the King estate from Toney.

Williams, Patty King and daughters Rita Washington and Barbara Winfree had Drohobyczer contest their father's will. They enlisted prominent national attorneys Benjamin Crump and Jose Baez to investigate whether B.B. King was properly cared for before he died.

Crump, Baez, Williams, Patty King and Winfree didn't immediately respond Monday to messages.

B.B. King died in hospice care at home in Las Vegas at age 89.

Washington said she's still upset that no family members were present. But she said she was relieved to learn her father hadn't been poisoned.

"I'm glad it's natural causes," Washington said. "We just didn't know what was going on and what had happened with our father."

King's physician, Dr. Darin Brimhall, and the coroner had attributed his death to natural causes — a series of small strokes caused by atherosclerotic vascular disease as a consequence of his long battle with blood sugar fluctuations and diabetes. The medical term was multi-infarct dementia.

Fudenberg said Monday the autopsy found additional evidence of cerebrovascular disease and mini-strokes similar to those described earlier. "Considering the information available to any clinical physician at the time, multi-infarct dementia was a reasonable conclusion to reach," he said

Tests didn't detect any substances that might have hastened King's death, Fudenberg said.

The autopsy was conducted May 24 — 10 days after King died, two days after a public viewing in Las Vegas drew more than 1,000 fans and mourner, and one day after a family-and-friends memorial drew 350 people to a downtown Las Vegas funeral chapel.

A Beale Street procession and memorial took place May 27 in Memphis, Tennessee, followed by burial May 30 in King's hometown of Indianola, Mississippi.

Bryson told a probate judge in Las Vegas last month that Brimhall and two other doctors determined that King received appropriate medical and hospice care, and that Toney was fulfilling King's will and wishes.

Toney worked for King for 39 years and had power-of-attorney over his business affairs. She is named in King's will, filed in January 2007, as executor.

The value of the estate that hasn't been publicly disclosed.

Bryson has said it wasn't expected to amount to the tens of millions of dollars suggested during a guardianship fight before King's death.

Drohobyczer has said she thinks the estate is worth between \$5 million and \$10 million.

This story corrects that Toney is named in will as executor, not beneficiary; adds comment from Rita Washington; and refers to efforts to reach other lawyers and family members.

#### AP News | © 2015 Associated Press |

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#### Costly Spanish 'ghost airport' gets 1 meager bid at auction

yahoo.com

#### 21 hours ago

MADRID (AP) — One of Spain's "ghost airports" — expensive projects that were virtually unused — received just one bid in a bankruptcy auction after costing some 1.1 billion euros (\$1.2 billion) to build. The buyer's offer: 10,000 euros.

Ciudad Real's Central airport, about 235 kilometers (150 miles) south of Madrid, became a symbol of the country's wasteful spending during a construction boom that ended with the financial crisis of 2008, the year the airport opened. The operator of the airport went bankrupt in 2012 after it failed to draw enough traffic.

Chinese group Tzaneen International tabled the single bid in Friday's auction, Spanish news agency Europa Press said. The receiver had set a minimum price of 28 million euros. If no better bid is received by September, the sale will go through, the news agency said.

Tzaneen International reportedly plans to invest up to 100 million euros in the airport and make it a cargo hub. The offer is for the airport infrastructure only, not adjacent land.

Central has one of Europe's longest runways and was designed to handle 2.5 million passengers a year.

The construction was heavily funded by the Caja Castilla La Mancha savings bank — the first of Spain's troubled savings banks to be bailed out, in 2010.

Another largely unused airport and symbol of wasteful spending is Castellon, on Spain's eastern coast. It cost around 150 million euros and opened in 2011.

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#### Could the 'Pluck-Ness' monster really be a terrapin?

By South Wales Evening Post

Posted: July 24, 2015

http://www.southwales-eveningpost.co.uk/Pluck-Ness-monster-really-terrapin/story-27472799-detail/story.html



A still from Kyle's video of the creature in the Pluck

THE mystery of the 'Pluck-Ness Monster' has taken a new twist.

Earlier this week we reported on how angler Kyle Chapple had spotted a creature floating in Pluck Lake, at the southern tip of Swansea Enterprise Park.

He saw it leap from the water to try and snap at a low-flying bird and filmed the incident.

After searching on the internet he discovered stories from 2008 about a sighting of a possible crocodile in the Pluck. But his theory was that the creature was actually a snake.

Claire Synnock said she had seen terrapins down there in the past which she believed had been released into the water after being bought as pets by people who then got fed up of looking after them.

She said: "We need to stop this irresponsible practice of setting free invasive foreign pets when they get too big for their tanks or cages.

"It's probably due to the teenage mutant ninja turtle cartoons and films that kicked off the craze. So maybe it would be down to the pet stores that supply these creatures, to inform the people who buy them that they will grow up to the size of a dinner plate and will eat almost anything."

After seeing Kyle's footage, Jon Downes, director of the Centre for Fortean Zoology, said he believed the creature was a pike.

Let us know if you've seen any unexpected creatures down at the Pluck - email paul.turner@swwmedia.co.uk

# Cracked Bones Reveal Cannibalism by Doomed Arctic Explorers

by Tia Ghose, Senior Writer | July 21, 2015 08:16 am ET

http://www.livescience.com/51614-doomed-franklin-expedition-cannibalism.html? cmpid=514645 20150721 49505536&adbid=623538206995120130&adbpl=tw&adbpr=15428397



This sonar image shows the skeleton of HMS Erebus, lost in the Canadian Arctic. Credit: © Parks Canada

An ill-fated 19th-century expedition that became trapped in the Canadian Arctic ended in a particularly gruesome type of cannibalism, new research suggests.

The gory end was faced by the British navy on the Franklin expedition, the doomed 1845 voyage to discover a sea route through the Canadian Arctic to the Orient.

Though scientists had long known that the shipmen likely resorted to cannibalism to survive, the new study reveals the true extremes the crew went to. Not only did the starving explorers cut flesh off the bones of their fallen comrades, they also cracked open the bones to suck out the marrow.

Still, the new finds leave one huge question unanswered: What caused the trip to go so horribly wrong in the first place? [In Photos: Arctic Shipwreck Solves 170-Year-Old Mystery]

### High expectations

1 Of 3 July 21, 2015

On paper, the high-profile Arctic voyage looked like a plum gig. The famous Sir John Franklin, who had helmed two other Arctic explorations, led the team. The two ships, called the HMS Erebus and the HMS Terror, were sturdy and well provisioned, with between five and seven years of food stowed onboard. In addition, other Arctic expeditions had gone off without major problems.

"Being a polar explorer in the 19th century British Navy was a surprisingly safe occupation. You'd expect a 1 percent mortality rate," said study author Simon Mays, an archaeologist with Historic England, an organization of the British government that preserves historic buildings, monuments and sites.

#### Trapped in ice

The first year of the voyage, 1845, was a low ice year, and the 129-man expedition made it past Baffin Bay, near Greenland, and then threaded its way between islands in the Canadian Archipelago, looking for a Northwest Passage. Once the ocean froze, the ships were stuck for the winter, just off one of the islands, called King William Island. (The crew anticipated being frozen in for a few winters, which was why they had provisioned the ships so heavily, Mays said).

Unfortunately, the next few summers had heavy sea ice, so the ships remained stuck. The last communication from the British navy men was a terse note dated April 25, 1848, which revealed that 24 men had already died before they left the ships.

Bafflingly, the crew abandoned their food-laden ships and decided to trek 1,000 miles (1,609 kilometers) to the nearest Hudson's Bay trading post, following the fish-rich Back River to safety.

Slow starvation

The plan was foolhardy: There were just a few Arctic birds in the region, and the fishing was poor and required cutting through thick ice. Even the Inuit stayed away from the area because food was scarce, Mays said. [In Photos: Life in the Arctic Region of the Americas]

"You aren't going to feed a group that size by knocking holes in the ice," Mays told Live Science.

None of the crewmembers made it even a fifth of the way to the outpost, and for years, no one knew what had happened. Then in 1854, a Canadian mapmaker heard Inuit reports of cannibalism. Over the next 150 years, scientists found more and more remains from the crew and the original ships, and scientists found cut marks on many of the bones, suggesting that someone had cut flesh from the bones.

2 Of 3 July 21, 2015

#### http://www.livescience.com/51614-doomed-franklin-expedition-cannibalism.html? cmpid=514645\_20150721\_49505536&adbid=623538206995120130&adbpl=tw&adbpr=15428397\_

In the new study, which was published online June 18 in the Journal of Osteoarchaeology, Mays and his colleague Owen Beattie, an anthropologist at the University of Alberta in Canada, took a second look at 35 bones from two areas: Booth Point and Erebus Bay. The bones had signs of breakage and "pot polishing," which occurs when the ends of bones heated in boiling water rub against the cooking pot they are placed in. This typically occurs in the end stage of cannibalism, when starving people extract the marrow to eke out the last bit of calories and nutrition they can.

#### Follow-up questions

Still, the new study doesn't shed light on the biggest mystery of all: What made so many of the crew members die before abandoning their ships, and why did they decide to make the decision to leave?

One possibility is that the crew members were suffering from the vitamin C deficiency called scurvy, or that lead poisoning killed the first crew members and addled the wits of the rest, Mays said. Follow-up studies on teeth samples would need to confirm those theories, Mays said.

The new finds are consistent with Inuit eyewitnesses who described piles of human bones that looked as if they were fractured to extract the marrow, said Anne Keenleyside, a bioarchaeologist at Trent University in Canada, who was not involved in the study.

Though the notion of cannibalism was shocking to the British populace who first learned of the Franklin expedition's harrowing end, the new finding "speaks to the very desperate situation in which those men found themselves," Keenleyside told Live Science. "You have to imagine yourself in that situation, what would you do?"

3 Of 3

## Flags of the Confederate States of America

The Confederate States of America used several flags during its existence from 1861 to 1865. Since the end of the War Between the States, personal and official use of Confederate flags, and of flags derived from these, has continued under some controversy. The state flags of Mississippi and Georgia draw heavily upon Confederate flag designs. (Georgia: from 1879 - 1956, in at least four different versions, drawing from The First National or 'stars and bars'. From 1956 - 2001 drawing from The Battle Flag, And from 2003 - present, drawing from The First National again.) And those of Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, and North Carolina arguably incorporate certain elements from these designs.

## Confederate National flags

First national flag ("the Stars and Bars")



First national flag of the Confederacy ("the Stars and Bars")

The first official flag of the Confederacy, called the "Stars and Bars," was flown from March 5, 1861 to May26, 1863.

The very first national flag of the Confederacy was designed by Prussian artist Nicola Marschall in Marion, Alabama. The Stars and Bars flag was adopted March 4, 1861 in Montgomery, Alabama and raised over the dome of that first Confederate Capitol. Marschall also designed the Confederate uniform.

One of the first acts of the Provisional Confederate Congress was to create the Committee on the Flag and Seal, chaired by William Porcher Miles of South Carolina. The committee asked the public to submit thoughts and ideas on the topic and was, as historian John M. Coski puts it, "overwhelmed by requests not to abandon the 'old flag' of the United States." Miles had already designed a flag that would later become the Confederate battle flag, and he favored his flag over the "Stars and Bars" proposal. But given the popular support for a flag similar to the U.S. flag ("the Stars and Stripes"), the Stars and Bars design was approved by the committee. When war broke out, the Stars and Bars caused confusion on the battlefield because of its similarity to the U.S. flag of the U.S. Army.

Eventually, a total of thirteen stars would be shown on the flag. Its first public appearance was outside the Ben Johnson House in Bardstown, Kentucky. It was also used as a naval ensign.

#### Second national flag ("the Stainless Banner")



5

Second national flag of the Confederacy ("the Stainless Banner")

The second national flag of the Confederacy, called the "Stainless Banner," was put into service on May 1, 1863. It was designed to replace the first national flag. The first national flag had become increasingly criticized for its similarity to the Stars and Stripes, even though this had been the main argument for its initial adoption. The flag is sometimes referred to as the "Stonewall Jackson Flag" because of its inaugural use covering Stonewall Jackson's coffin at his funeral.

Many designs were proposed, nearly all making use of the battle flag, which by 1863 had become well-known and popular. The new design was specified by the Confederate Congress to be a white field "with the union (now used as the battle flag) to be a square of two-thirds the width of the flag, having the ground red; thereupon a broad saltier [sic] of blue, bordered with white, and emblazoned with mullets or five-pointed stars, corresponding in number to that of the Confederate States."

The nickname "stainless" referred to the pure white field. The flag act of 1864 did not state what the white symbolized and advocates offered various interpretations. The most common interpretation is that the white field symbolized the purity of the Cause. The Confederate Congress debated whether the white field should have a blue stripe and whether it should be bordered in red. William Miles delivered a speech for the simple white design that was eventually approved. He argued that the battle flag must be used, but for a national flag it was necessary to emblazon it, but as simply as possible, with a plain white field.

The flags actually made by the Richmond Clothing Depot used the 1.5:1 ratio adopted for the naval ensign rather than the official 2:1 ratio.

Initial reaction to the second national flag was favorable, but over time it became criticized for being "too white". The Columbia *Daily South Carolinian* observed that it was essentially a battle flag upon a flag of truce and might send a mixed message. Military officers voiced complaints about the flag being too white, for various reasons, including the danger of being mistaken as a flag of truce, especially on naval ships, and that it was too easily soiled.

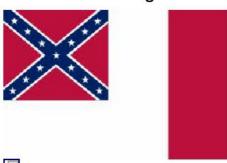
#### 1863 ensign



1863 ensign

The second national flag was adapted as a naval ensign, using a shorter 3:2 ratio than the 2:1 ratio adopted by the Confederate Congress for the national flag. This particular ensign was the only one taken around the world (on board **CSS Shenandoah**) and was the last Confederate flag lowered in the War Between the States (in Liverpool, England on 7 November 1865 on board **CSS Shenandoah**).

#### Third National Flag



Third national flag of the Confederacy ("The Blood Stained Banner"

The third national flag was adopted March 4, 1865, just before the fall of the Confederacy. The red vertical stripe was proposed by Major Arthur L. Rogers, who argued that the pure white field of the second national flag could be mistaken as a flag of truce. Rogers lobbied successfully to have his design introduced in the Confederate Senate. He defended his design as having "as little as possible of the Yankee blue", and described it as symbolizing the primary origins of the people of the South, with the cross of Britain and the red bar from the flag of France.

The Flag Act of 1865 describes the flag in the following language: "The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the flag of the Confederate States shall be as follows: The width two-thirds of its length, with the union (now used as the battle flag) to be in width three-fifths of the width of the flag, and so proportioned as to leave the length of the field on the side of the union twice the width of the field below it; to have the ground red and a broad blue saltire thereon, bordered with white and emblazoned with mullets or five pointed stars, corresponding in number to that of the Confederate States; the field to be white, except the outer half from the union to be a red bar extending the width of the flag."

#### Other flags



Bonnie Blue Flag Unofficial Southern Flag

In addition to the national flags, a wide variety of flags and banners were flown by

Southerners during the War. Most famously, the "Bonnie Blue Flag" (which actually dated from the short-lived Republic of West Florida in 1810), was used as an early flag of Texas in 1836, and was used as an unofficial flag during the early months of 1861. In addition, many military units had their own regimental flags they would carry into battle. Other notable flags used are shown below.

#### The Battle Flag



The Battle Flag of the Confederacy

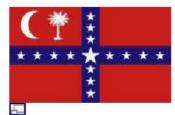
Though often referred to as "The" battle flag of the Confederacy it was only one of more than 180 separate Confederate military battle flags.

The Army of Northern Virginia battle flag was usually square, of various sizes for the different branches of the service: 48 inches square for the infantry, 36 inches for the artillery, and 30 inches for the cavalry. It was used in battle beginning in December 1861 until the fall of the Confederacy. The blue color on the saltire in the battle flag was navy blue, as opposed to the much lighter blue of the Naval Jack.

The flag's stars represented the number of states in the Confederacy. The distance between the stars decreased as the number of states increased, reaching thirteen when the secessionist factions of Missouri and Kentucky joined in late 1861.

At the First Battle of Manassas, the similarity between the Stars and Bars and the Stars and Stripes caused confusion and military problems. Regiments carried flags to help commanders observe and assess battles in the warfare of the era. At a distance, the two national flags were hard to tell apart. In addition, Confederate regiments carried many other flags, which added to the possibility of confusion. After the battle, General P.G.T. Beauregard wrote that he was "resolved then to have [our flag] changed if possible, or to adopt for my command a 'Battle flag', which would be Entirely different from any State or Federal flag." He turned to his aide, who happened to be William Porcher Miles, the former chair of Committee on the Flag and Seal. Miles described his rejected national flag design to Beauregard. Miles also told the Committee on the Flag and Seal about the general's complaints and request for the national flag to be changed. The committee rejected this idea by a four to one vote, after which Beauregard proposed the idea of having two flags. He described the idea in a letter to his commander General Joseph E. Johnston: "I wrote to [Miles] that we should have two flags a peace or parade flag, and a war flag to be used only on the field of battle — but congress having adjourned no action will be taken on the matter — How would it do us to address the War Dept. on the subject of Regimental or badge flags made of red with two blue bars

crossing each other diagonally on which shall be introduced the stars, ... We would then on the field of battle know our friends from our Enemies."



South Carolina Sovereignty/Secession Flag

The flag that Miles had favored when he was chair of the Committee on the Flag and Seal eventually became the battle flag and, ultimately, the most popular flag of the Confederacy. According to historian John Coski, Miles' design was inspired by one of the many "secessionist flags" flown at the South Carolina secession convention of December, 1860. That flag was a blue St. George's Cross (an upright or Latin cross) on a red field, with 15 white stars on the cross, representing the States of the Confederacy, and, on the red field, palmetto and crescent symbols. Miles received a variety of feedback on this design, including a critique from Charles Moise, a self-described "Southerner of Jewish persuasion". Moise liked the design, but asked that "the symbol of a particular religion not be made the symbol of the nation." Taking this into account, Miles changed his flag, removing the palmetto and crescent, and substituting a heraldic saltire ("X") for the upright one. The number of stars was changed several times as well. He described these changes and his reasons for making them in early 1861. The diagonal cross was preferable, he wrote, because "it avoided the religious objection about the cross (from the Jews and many Protestant sects), because it did not stand out so conspicuously as if the cross had been placed upright thus." He also argued that the diagonal cross was "more Heraldric [sic] than Ecclesiastical, it being the 'saltire' of Heraldry, and significant of strength and progress."

Although Miles described his flag as a heraldic saltire, it had been thought to be erroneously described since the latter part of the 19th century as a cross, specifically a Saint Andrew's Cross. Supposedly this folk legend sprang from the memoirs of an aging Confederate officer published in 1893. However, further research has indicated that this was no folk legend. In 1863, during the session in which the Confederate Congress was voting on the 2nd National Flag, William G. Swan of Tennessee's second congressional district wished to substitute the following language:

"That the flag of the Confederate States shall be as follows: A red field with a Saint Andrew's cross of blue edged with white and emblazoned with stars."

Swan, who before the War Between the States began, had been mayor of Knoxville and attorney general of Tennessee, had adapted his proposal from the battle flag of the Army of Northern Virginia, but it was in fact identical to the flag proposed by William Porcher Miles in March 1861. Because he believed that the battle flag had been sanctified by the blood of Southern soldiers in their struggle for independence, Swan wished to adopt it for use by the nation now as a tribute to the valor of the Confederate fighting man.

Further references to the link between the battle flag and the St. Andrew's Cross are made by Confederate soldiers during the war.

According to Coski, the Saint Andrew's Cross had no special place in Southern iconography at the time, and if Miles had not been eager to conciliate the Southern Jews his flag would have used the traditional Latin, Saint George's Cross. A colonel named James B. Walton submitted a battle flag design essentially identical to Miles' except with an upright Saint George's cross, but Beauregard chose the diagonal cross design.

Specifically, the St. Andrew's Cross is a white saltire on a blue field, as in the national flag of Scotland. The St. Patrick's Cross, as in the state flag of Alabama, is a red saltire on a white field. The Army of Northern Virginia battle flag has a blue saltire on a red field and is, therefore, neither the St. Andrew's nor the St. Patrick's Cross but a saltire as in the proposed but unadopted Second National flag.

Miles' flag, and all the flag designs up to that point, were rectangular ("oblong") in shape. General Johnston suggested making it square instead. Johnston also specified the various sizes to be used by different types of military units. Beauregard agreed to this and soon prototypes were made by Hetty Cary and her sister and cousin. On November 28, 1861, the Army of Northern Virginia (which was then called the Army of the Potomac) assembled and formally received the first set of new battle flags. Beauregard gave a speech encouraging the soldiers to treat this new flag with honor and that it must never be surrendered. Many soldiers wrote home about the ceremony and the impression the flag had upon them, the "fighting colors" boosting morale after the confusion of the first Battle of Bull Run. From that point on, the battle flag only grew in its identification with the Confederacy and the South in general.

The Army of Northern Virginia battle flag assumed a prominent place post-war when it was adopted as the copyrighted emblem of the United Confederate Veterans. Its continued use by the UCV and the later Sons of Confederate Veterans led to the assumption that it was, as it has been termed, "the soldier's flag" or "the Confederate battle flag".

The flag is also properly known as the flag of the Army of Northern Virginia. It was sometimes called "Beauregard's flag" or "the Virginia battle flag".

#### The Naval Jacks



The First Confederate Navy Jack, 1861-1863

The First Confederate Navy Jack consisted of a circle of seven 5-pointed white stars on a field of light blue.

The Second Confederate Navy Jack, 1863-1865

The Second Confederate Navy Jack is a rectangular precursor of the Battle Flag, usually about 5 x 3 feet. The blue color in the saltire (the diagonal cross) is much lighter than in the Battle Flag, and it was flown only on Confederate ships from 1863 to 1865.



Navy Jack of the CSA

The design was originally made by South Carolina Congressman William Porcher Miles with the intent to be the first national flag, but it was rejected by the Confederate government. Some critics supposedly scoffed at the design, saying it looked too much like crossed suspenders. While the square battle flag was widely used, the rectangular upside down and, the oblong version was also used by some army units, including the Army of Tennessee as their battle flag from 1864-1865. After General Joseph Johnston took command of the Army of Tennessee from Braxton Bragg, he ordered its army-wide implementation to improve morale and avoid confusion.

# The Confederate Flag



The "Confederate Flag", a 20th century combination of the Battle Flag's colors with the Second Navy Jack's design. Actual historical flags of the CSA have become more obscure.

What is now often called "The Confederate Flag" or "The Confederate Battle Flag" (actually a combination of the Battle Flag's colors with the Second Navy Jack's design), despite its never having historically represented the CSA as a nation, has become a widely recognized symbol of the South. It is also called the "Rebel" or "Dixie" flag, and is often incorrectly referred to as the "Stars and Bars" (the actual "Stars and Bars" is the First National Flag, which used an entirely different design).

In the early- to mid-20th century the Confederate flag enjoyed renewed popularity. During World War II some U.S. military units with Southern nicknames, or made up largely of Southerners, made the flag their unofficial emblem. Some soldiers carried Confederate flags into battle. After the Battle of Okinawa a Confederate flag was raised over Shuri Castle by a soldier from the self-styled "Rebel Company" (Company A of the 5th Marine Regiment). It was visible for miles and was taken down after three days on the orders of General Simon B. Buckner, Jr. (son of Confederate General Simon Buckner), who stated that it was inappropriate as "Americans from all over are involved in this battle". It was replaced with the flag of the United States.

The use of the flag by soldiers came under investigation after some African-American soldiers filed complaints. By the end of World War II, the use of the Confederate flag in the military was rare. However, the Confederate flag continues to be flown in an unofficial manner by many soldiers. It was seen many times in Korea, Vietnam, and in the Middle East.

by Elizabeth Goldbaum, Staff Writer | July 14, 2015 07:22am ET



The two returned 2,000-year-old Roman ballista balls from Gamla, Israel, with a note of remorse from the robber that translates from Hebrew to: "These are two Roman ballista balls from Gamla, from a residential quarter at the foot of the summit. I stole them in July 1995, and since then they have brought me nothing but trouble. Please, do not steal antiquities!"

Credit: Dr. Dalia Manor, the Museum of Islamic and Near Eastern Cultures in Be'er Sheva. View full size image

Two decades after stealing antiquities from a first-century Jewish city in the Golan Heights, on the borders of Israel and Syria, a robber returned the loot to a museum's courtyard, Israeli authorities announced.

The returned artifacts included two 2,000-year-old sling stones, also called ballista balls, which would've been used as weapons, and an anonymous typed noted saying, "These are two Roman ballista balls from Gamla, from a residential quarter at the foot of the summit. I stole them in July 1995, and since then they have brought me nothing but trouble. Please, do not steal antiquities!"

Although archaeologists "attempted to stow away all the ballista balls as best we could," on site, after wrapping up initial excavations in 1989, "the theft occurred in 1995 when there was no one at the site," Danny Syon an archaeologist with the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) said in a statement. "We did not realize that something was missing, Syon said. [The Holy Land: 7 Amazing Archaeological Finds in Israel

The stolen artillery stones were dropped off in a bag at the Museum of Islamic and Near Eastern Cultures in Be'er Sheva, and will soon join their fellow ballista balls in the National Treasures Department of the IAA. Other ballista balls from the same time are on display at the Gamla Nature Reserve, a national park in the central Golan Heights that hosts the remains of Gamla.

## An ancient city with a tumultuous past

Gamla is an ancient walled city built on a steep hill resembling a camel's hump on the southern tip of the Golan Heights. (The name "gamla" derives from the Hebrew word for "camel.")

Romans chiseled and launched the ballista balls to siege Gamla at the beginning of the Great Revolt, also known as the First Jewish-Roman War, from A.D. 66 to 73, which was the first of three major rebellions by the Jewish people against the occupying Roman Empire.

"Almost 2,000 such stones were found during the archaeological excavations in the Gamla Nature

Reserve, and this is the site where there is the largest number of ballista stones from the Early Roman period," Syon said in a statement. "The Romans shot these stones at the defenders of the city in order to keep them away from the wall, and in that way they could approach the wall and break it with a battering ram."

The Romano-Jewish historian Flavius Josephus wrote the first-known account of the Roman siege of Jerusalem, describing the Roman general Vespasian, who marched north from Galilee in northern Israel to subdue the town of Gamla at the beginning of the Great Revolt.

Josephus recalled Jewish history and the Jewish revolt against the Romans in his first-century books "The Jewish War" and "Antiquities of the Jews." Some archaeologists have used his texts to help interpret their findings.

After several months and several ballista balls, the Romans overcame the walls of Gamla and forged ahead into the city. Josephus wrote that the 9,000 remaining residents fought their way to the edge of their town and jumped to their deaths into the gorge below when they realized they couldn't escape capture — the site's nickname is "the Masada of the north." According to Josephus, the Masada, an ancient fortification in southern Israel overlooking the Dead Sea, was the site of a mass suicide of just under a 1,000 Jewish rebels during the Great Revolt.

#### Previous returns

The return of the ballista balls, two millennia after they were used in the Roman siege, was not particularly shocking, said Syon. "Such 'returns' are not that extraordinary," Syon said. "They happen every few years," and typically include "small pottery fragments and conscience pangs," Syon told Live Science in an email.

A Tel Aviv resident held onto a 2,000-year-old Jewish coffin until, he said, he realized what it was and returned it to the Unit for Prevention of Antiquities Robbery, which sent it to the IAA, Syon said. In another incident, a minister from New York expressed remorse over the decade-old action of a member of his congregation, who had stolen a stone from Jerusalem. The stone ended up back with the IAA, according to the organization.

On a grander scale, U.S. authorities confiscated over 60 stolen artifacts during "Operation Lost Treasure," which aimed to disrupt antiquities-trafficking networks and return artifacts to their rightful countries. The artifacts, including gold-plated items from Saddam Hussein's palace, were intercepted as they traveled from Iraq to the United States.

Elizabeth Goldbaum is on Twitter. Follow Live Science @livescience, Facebook & Google+. Original article on Live Science

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## Dark Destinations - Durand-Eastman Park

thecabinet.com

Filed Under: Paranormal Hot Spots > Haunted Parks

Added By: Tom G

Added On: April 23, 2007 - 06:46 PM UTC Last Modified:October 08, 2010 - 04:58 PM UTC

#### Address

1433 Lake Shore Blvd, Rochester, NY 14617, USA (RochesterNew York)

#### Information

#### Durand-Eastman Park

This park in the Rochester, New York suburb of Irondequoit is named for its founders Dr. Henry Durand and George Eastman, the founder of the Eastman Kodak Company. The two men saw a need for a park that would allow the public to have access to the beach along the shore of Lake Ontario. The two men purchased farm land surrounding Dr. Durand's property and then donated the property to the city of Rochester in 1907 under the condition that property would always be maintained as a public park.

The park, located in Monroe County, was dedicated on May 22, 1909 in an event that included a marching band, a mock battle between Native American tribes, and a lacrosse game. Within a few years the park featured a bath house and a zoo containing a small assortment of animals; including bison, camels, llamas, and elk. Neither of these park features has lasted into modern day. Another former feature of the park has caused it to become a focal point of a local legend. A legend that in turn inspired a classic independent horror film in the 1980s.

## The White Lady of Durand-Eastman Park

There are many places around the world that have legends of being haunted by the type of spirit commonly called a "white lady." There is even more than one white lady legend in the state of New York. According to folklore, the white ladies are often the victims of some sort of injustice on the part of a man or men. The ghosts, who often appear in white Victorian dress, are usually a harbinger of death for a cursed family or a spirit that exacts its revenge on random men in its blind rage. The White Lady of Rochester legend is the latter type. Though the tale of her origin has a number of variations, it almost always takes place in the early 19th century.

According to some stories, the White Lady is named Eelissa. The woman in the story is often the victim of an abusive husband who eventually left her. In most of the stories, the white lady has a daughter (one version has Eelissa being the mother of a pair of boys as well, but

the boys abandon her and their sister just like their father). Due to her past, the mother has a strong distrust of men. The age of the daughter also varies from story to story. In some versions she is a young lady who chooses to leave her mother's home to be with a young man the mother does not approve of. In most tales the daughter is still just a child who either mysteriously vanishes or is discovered to have been raped and murdered. These stories have Eelissa either spending her life searching for her daughter or committing suicide, often in the waters The White Lady's Castle of either Lake Ontario or Durand Lake (a smaller lake within the park). Yet another legend forgoes the daughter entirely and has the white ladybelieved by some to as a jilted lover who kills her husband and his mistress.

The White Lady is said to take a few different forms and to manifest in aformer home. From: few areas. Sometimes she is a vengeful old crone hunting the shores of Tom G Lake Ontario with a pair of spectral dogs (either German Shepherds or Doberman Pinschers). Other times she is youthful spirit who coalesces from the mists of Durand Lake (some stories actually refer to her as the "Lady of the Lake"). In still other tales, Eelissa takes the form of a young woman who shifts into a crone appearance to kill teenage boys who dare to park with their dates along the park's roads. In most tales an old stone wall on the park property is the remnants of the White Lady's former home.

# The White Lady's Castle

The 3 Lakes Pavilion is the site of the wall some refer to as the "White Lady's Castle." According to legend, it is the remaining foundation of Eelisa's home. Some stories claim that the "castle" was actually a hotel at one point. The truth is neither. The wall at the 3 Lakes Pavilion was built in 1911. It was not a foundation, it was a lookout point for the refectory pavilion that once stood a short ways behind it. The refectory pavilion was a covered dining area for parties and picnickers. A canon was once mounted in the middle parapet of the wall. According to some stories, the canon was actually functional and was placed there as a defense against possible invasion by Canadians across the lake. More likely the canon was retired prior to being placed at the park as decoration.

The dramatic appearance of the pavilion wall and its placement between Lake Ontario, Durand Lake, and Eastman Lake have likely caused it to become part of the legend. While there is no historical evidence that Eelissa or her family existed, a more likely residence for her would have been the old 19th century cabin that once stood deeper inside the boundaries of what is now the park. The park road that runs closest to the 3 Lakes Pavilion is still called Log Cabin Road to commemorate the structure long since gone. Visitors to Durand-

## **Images**



The 3 Lakes Pavilion. be the foundation of the White Lady's



The White Lady's Castle 1911

Construction of the Refectory Pavilion in 1911. It is now known as the 3 Lakes Pavilion. From: Tom G



White Lady's Castle Steps

Steps leading up to the 3 Lakes Pavilion. From: Tom G



White Lady's Castle - Side

A close-up of the

Eastman Park can find photos of the Refectory Pavilion (along with other old photos of the park) posted near the park caretaker station on in Durand Eastman Zoo Road.

"White Lady's Castle" Park, From: Tom G

## Lady in White (1988)

The legends of Rochester's White Lady served as an inspiration for filmmaker Frank LaLoggia (Fear No Evil). The director, who grew up in Rochester, spun a semi-autobiographical tale around the White Lady myth to create his horror film, Lady in White (1988). The film stars Lukas Haas (Testament, Mars Attacks, The Tripper) as Franklin "Frankie" Scarlatti, a young boy who solves a supernatural murder mystery during the early 1960s.

The Lady in White uses the version of the legend where the White Lady (Karen Powell) discovers her daughter murdered and then commits suicide. The time of the tragedy is changed from the 1800s to the 1950s for the movie. The White Lady's name is also Ann Montgomery in the movie, though her daughter is named Melissa in a possible nod to the Eelissa of legend. The story also has the daughter as the first victim in a string of unsolved child murders leading up to the main character's own encounter with the killer (as well as the ghosts of the mother and daughter).

The Lady in White was partly shot on location in the Rochester-area and nearby Wayne County. While LaLoggia had initially chosen the nearby town of Honeyoye Falls as the story's setting, the writer/director ultimately decided to set the film in the fictional Willowpoint Falls. The Honeyoye Falls setting is apparent in the eight-minute sizzle reel trailer that Frank LaLoggia made in 1986 to attract investors to fund the eventual production of the feature length movie.

#### Visiting Durand-Eastman Park

The "White Lady's Castle" is clearly visible from Lake Shore Boulevard. There is even a small lot right in front of the pavilion wall in which visitors can park during their visit. Durand-Eastman Park features five and a half miles of hiking trails, shelters and lodges that can be rented for gatherings, a golf course, a playground, and a couple of ponds along with the two small lakes and stretch of Lake Ontario beach. Please check the park's official Web site for further details and hours of operation (see Related Sites below).

The above content is for informational purposes only. Before making any travel arrangements, it is highly recommended that you contact those in charge of the property to check for updated availability and hours of operation. While we do our best to keep this information updated, we cannot guarantee that it is completely valid and up to date. Any

destination marked "Closed to the Public" is marked that for a reason and we discourage any visits or attempts to gain access to that facility. Similarly, take note of any "Travel Advisory" that may be associated with a destination. Finally, treat any location and its local residents with respect. Any vandalism and/or unruly behavior is completely despicable and only ruins the experience for future visitors.

There are 1 comments in the database.

User Comments Order by: Most Recent | Originally Submitted

J Smith May 30 2008, 05:35 AM UTC

I can remember countless Summer nights walking the trails and park roads with friends and family in search of the White Lady. Witnessed the Fog that appeared from nowhere on many nights but never observed the lady or her dogs. The White Lady Castle was a fun place to go into until it was filled in and made a picnic spot. There was a huge pine tree in the park with a white ghostly figure painted on it where we thought the mentioned house that burned once stood.

Edited on: Oct 08 2010, 04:56 PM UTC

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# Dead Men's Teeth: A History of Dentures

thechirurgeonsapprentice.com

## Mar28by The Chirurgeon's Apprentice



I remember as a little girl being utterly terrified at my great-grandmother's dentures. The first time that I ever realized that she had false teeth was when I found them peculiarly suspended in a glass of water on the kitchen counter. The jaw was unhinged, as if it was perpetually locked in a ghastly scream. Another time, the dentures were simply sat on her bedside table, grinning horribly at me like some kind of sick

advertisement for why children should brush their teeth at night.

I wondered if all 'old' people had these frightening contraptions.

Now that I'm all grown up (sorta), I recognize that modern dentures are far less scary than their predecessors, which are truly the stuff of nightmares.



L0043833 Napoleon Bonaparte's Toothbrush

It probably will not come as a surprise to most readers that people in the past suffered from tooth decay the same as we do today. Early toothbrushes with their horsehair bristles (see Napoleon's, right) often caused more problems than they prevented, and toothpastes or powders made from pulverized charcoal, chalk, brick or salt were more harmful than helpful in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Most of us have had cavities in our lives. Some of us are even old enough to have had them filled with amalgam, a mixture of mercury, silver, tin and copper. But in earlier periods, having a cavity filled was not an option. Once a tooth began to rot, one had little choice but to have it pulled, sans anaesthetic.

In the 18th century, the tooth key was the preferred tool for pulling teeth. The claw was placed over the top of the decaying tooth; the

bolster, or the long metal rod, was placed against the root. The key was then turned and, if all went well, the tooth would pop out of the socket. Unfortunately, this did not always go to plan. Often, the tooth shattered as the key was turned and had to be plucked from the bleeding gum tissue piece by piece.

As time progressed, incidents of tooth decay rose as sugar and tobacco became more readily available, creating a market for dentures. Early versions were made of ivory or animal bone, and typically incorporated the teeth of executed criminals or exhumed bodies. See, for example, George Washington's dentures.

When the first President of the United States was inaugurated in 1789, he only had one remaining tooth left in his mouth. Dr John Greenwood—a dentist from New York, and former soldier in the Revolutionary War—fashioned a set of dentures from hippopotamus ivory, using gold wire springs and brass screws to hold together the human teeth he had procured. There was even a hole left for his one remaining tooth.



Photo courtesy of the New York Academy of Medicine

Contraptions like this were cumbersome and painful to wear. But more so, these teeth were often plucked from the mouths of those who had died from syphilis, thus infecting their new owners when contaminated tissue came into contact with open wounds in the mouth.

What practitioners really needed was access to young, healthy teeth. That opportunity presented itself during the

Battle of Waterloo in 1815, which led to the deaths of 51,000 men, many of whom left behind a perfectly lovely set of teeth after they shuffled off this mortal coil.

'Waterloo Teeth,' as they were known, referred to any teeth stolen from the mouths of dead soldiers in the 19th century, and was a term even employed during the Crimean and American Civil Wars. Body-snatchers followed armies into battle, and returned home with bagfuls of teeth which they then sold to dentists and surgeons for a very high premium.



As superior as these dentures were to older versions, they still carried with them the stigma of underworld thievery, which didn't sit well with the toothless upper-classes. Eventually, dentists were forced to develop new techniques using new materials (such as porcelain) to create dentures that didn't require the use of dead men's teeth.

Still, this practice continued well into the 19th century, prompting a Professor of Anatomy at Trinity College to remark on the hypocrisy of the rich about their attitudes towards bodysnatching:

I do not think the upper and middle classes have understood the effects of their own conduct when they take part in impeding the process of dissection...very many of the upper ranks carry in their mouths teeth which have been buried in the hospital fields. [1]

And, of course, the teeth of those who died fighting on the battlefield.

1. Qtd in Ruth Richardson, Death, Dissection and the Destitute (1987; repr. 2000), p. 106.

## 13 comments on "Dead Men's Teeth: A History of Dentures"



1. Yumna says: January 21, 2015 at 3:01 PM

Reblogged this on VINTAGE STUDENT.



2. Dr. Lindsey Fitzharris: The Madame of Medieval Medicine | says: September 26, 2014 at 3:08 AM

[...] or Sirenomelia, a brief history of Harlequin Ichthyosis, the history of dentures entitled "Dead Men's Teeth" that include early toothbrushes and a look at George Washington's false teeth! [...]



3. zahrabajgiran says: July 9, 2014 at 6:57 PM

Nice post!



4. Sooz says: June 4, 2014 at 11:07 PM

Hello, I just wanted yo let you know some info about the jaw with the gold wired teeth in. It's actually ancient Etruscan, about 2000 years old. This method was also used by the Phoneticians and Egyptians.

5. History A'la Carte 5-15-14 - Random Bits of Fascination says: May 15, 2014 at 11:33 AM

[...] Dead Men's Teeth: A History of Dentures [...]

6. The Sir Hans Sloane Birthday Collection: Giants' Shoulders #70 | The Sloane Letters Blog says:

April 17, 2014 at 1:00 PM

[...] objects. Under man-made (and sometimes horrifying) objects, we have Holler's copper plate, Dead Men's Teeth (a.k.a. dentures), a Time-Traveling, Vote-Gathering Miraculous Acousticon, Brunel's Atmospheric [...]



7. Sujay Kentlyn says:

M April 6, 2014 at 9:43 PM

Just encountered this in Bernard Cornwell's "Sharpe's Prey", set in 1807, where a character needing several teeth replaced had an embarassment of choice due to a recent battle. I knew that the bodies of dead soldiers were routinely plundered, but I had no idea their teeth were taken as well!

8. Sunday Morning Medicine | Nursing Clio says: April 6, 2014 at 1:47 PM

[...] Dead men's teeth: A history of dentures. [...]



9. jeanjames says: April 5, 2014 at 3:06 PM

As a nurse I have handled my fair share of other people's dentures, but I couldn't imagine what all those poor people had to go through before the advent of modern dentistry. Great informative post.

10. Morning Break: SGR 'Power-Play' Means Claim Processing Delay | Medical Device Articles says:

March 31, 2014 at 4:48 PM

[...] Men's Teeth: Dentures used to come from battlefield casualties, says The Chirurgeon's [...]



11. Ally says: March 31, 2014 at 1:58 AM

Fascinating! Thank you:)



12. MarlisB says: March 29, 2014 at 2:07 PM

Hahaha. I thought I was the only one who was afraid of Oma's teeth in the glass as a child. Apparently not. Thanks for once again a great history lesson.



13. Undine says:

March 28, 2014 at 3:28 PM

I still remember how appalled I was the first time I saw my grandmother's dentures soaking in the little container she used for them. Yikes! Plastic body parts in the house!

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Archaeology; School of Humanities, University of Southampton, 2011
Dissertation in Archaeology
Brittany Holland
How extensive was John 'Mad Jack' Fuller's landscaping at Bodiam Castle? How does this landscaping relate to his Brightling estate and the socio-political context in which it lies?
This dissertation is submitted in part-fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

deeds drawn up between Fuller and Sir Godfrey Webster concerning the sale of the site, in order to assess the reasoning behind Fuller's purchase of Bodiam. Following this, I will also carry out research into historic maps of the site, including an estate map of 1811 and the Tithe Map of 1840, in order to attempt to recognise changes made to the site over time. In conjunction with this evidence, the results from the 2010 geophysical survey of Bodiam by the University of Southampton will also be used in an attempt to identify Fuller's work archaeologically and assess its exact nature. The early historic maps are to be used in comparison with modern survey data, in order to identify underlying features within the castle landscape which reflect the types of changes made during the period of study. Historic depictions of the site, including paintings, engravings and drawings are also used as a data source in assessing how the site was perceived both before and after Fuller purchased the castle, allowing us to identify the representation of the castle as part of the picturesque tradition.

As part of this research I also aim to place Fullers work within the wider socio-political context of nineteenth century England. In order to achieve this I will initially look at the significance of the use of Bodiam Castle, followed by an assessment of the representation of estates and gardens in contemporary art and literature. What is central to this area of the research into Bodiam Castle is the idea that we should see Bodiam Castle in this context as a piece of landscaping work carried out by Fuller, which takes place in relation to the follies at Brightling Park. Alongside this, I aim to understand the motives behind Fuller's purchase of Bodiam, and what this may signify in terms of the place of the Fuller family in society and the source of wealth used to purchase the site and make changes to the landscape. What this part of the research is essentially assessing is the degree to which we can see a reflection of both nineteenth century society and landscaping traditions in Fuller's work. By aiming to understand the work carried out by Fuller in this context it is hoped that our understanding of both the significance of the work at Bodiam, as well as its relationship to the wider study of estate landscapes, will be furthered.

## 2. How extensive was John 'Mad Jack' Fuller's landscaping of Bodiam Castle?

## 2.1 Identifying work carried out at the site prior to Fuller's landscaping

Firstly, in order to assess the extent of Fuller's work at Bodiam I aim to identify changes that were made to the site in the period before Fuller's ownership, as these may affect our interpretations of the type of work which Fuller carried out. Looking at the historic descriptions of the site, it seems apparent that in the century prior to Fuller's work there was little effort to make changes to the site or preserve the castle itself. According to Curzon, who was the last owner of the castle before it was given to the National Trust in 1925, "there can be no doubt that during the greater part of the eighteenth century, while the castle was in the hands of the Webster's, little was done for its preservation and nothing for its repair" (1926: 81). However, it seems that during this period, the site did undergo some transformations. In 1778 a cottage was constructed within the castle walls, against the southern postern tower, which is said to have measured 23 by 36 ft. and the remains of which were identified in Curzon's survey (1926: 81). The cottage can also be seen in the Grimm watercolour depicting the site in 1784 (figure 2.1), where the castle is depicted as having been covered extensively in ivy and we can see two figures and animals present within the castle landscape. A number of other watercolours by the same artist also help to create an image of how the site looked before Fuller's ownership, particularly the view from the barbican which also depicts animals within the castle grounds (figure 2.2).

When the site was sold to Fuller in 1829, the Webster family had been trying to sell it since at least 1815 (Curzon 1926); this fact, in combination with the notion that the site had fallen into ruin during their ownership, suggests that the Webster family did not carry out any work of a landscaping or restorative nature during their possession of the site. According to Curzon, "a Sussex newspaper speaking of the new owner as the 'eccentric Squire of Brightling' said that [Fuller] purchased the site in order to save it from being dismantled and the stone being used for building materials" (1926: 49). This furthers the notion that little or no previous landscaping or restoration work had been carried out at the site prior to Fuller's purchase, and we should therefore be able to recognise the extent of Fuller's work through the documentary, geophysical and contemporary map evidence used in this research. There is of course the possibility that changes recognised through the discussion of the geophysical evidence can be attested to those who owned the site before Fuller; it is hoped that this

discussion as well as the use of the 1811 and 1840 maps of the site can disseminate this possibility.

#### 2.2 Assessment of the documentation

In order to measure the extent of the work carried out at Bodiam Castle by John Fuller, a number of documentary sources have been used. These sources were located at East Sussex Records Office, and the research into their data involved transcribing all of the available bills for work from the year 1829, the auction papers for the sale of the site and a number of letters of correspondence between John Fuller and those in charge of his accounts (for a sample of these documents and a full list of transcriptions see appendix). From these documents I believe I have been able to gage both the types of work being carried out during 1829, as well as the extent of the work in terms of the cost of labour and making changes to the site. What follows is an assessment of this documentary research, focusing on a number of areas and suggested changes made by John Fuller to both Bodiam Castle and the wider landscape.

Looking firstly at the auction papers for the sale of Bodiam Castle, one is made aware of the extent of the landscape purchased by Fuller. The site covered an areas of 24 acres, 3 roods and 8 perches (Curzon 1926) and was recorded as having an annual value of £26, 14s 7d (ESRO RAF/F 1/4). The purchase of Bodiam Castle included; the wharf by Bodiam Bridge, the chalk foreland by Bodiam channel, the garden adjoining and fronting the high road, the castle field, the ponds, the oak marsh, the coach road and close, the patch adjoining, the castle green and the area of the castle (ESRO RAF/F 1/4). Looking at publications such as Curzon's work, it seems apparent that the main focus in the assessment of a history of the work carried out at Bodiam is the castle itself. However, the auction papers for the sale of the site demonstrate that by purchasing Bodiam Castle, Fuller gained possession of the castle landscape. Therefore, when we assess the extent of Fuller's work at the site, the wider landscape must remain a focal point.

#### 2.2.1 The Castle Interior

The recording of a number of changes made to the castle itself by John Fuller has also been recognised in the documentation, one of the most significant of which is the removal of the cottage built by the Websters from within the castle walls. This is recorded in a note from John Fuller Esq. to John Croft and also noted on the recording of wages paid to the workers

which are dated March - April 1829. The correspondence between Fuller and Croft details the work as "taking down an old building and erecting a new cottage at Bodiam Castle. Bricklayers and plasters work, finding nails, glazing and painting the doors and window frames outside. Amounts to seventeen pounds, eighteen shillings and eleven pence" (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). According to contemporary descriptive literature from the site, dating to 1831, Fuller is also said to have restored the southern postern tower (Cotton 1831). This is likely to have been carried out in relation to the removal of the cottage itself, which was built against the southern postern tower of the castle. The bills for work at the site also detail changes made to the castle during 1829, which are detailed as "stone work on the Bodiam Ref foundations", "cleaning out well" and "building of buttress", taking place during July and December (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). Cotton also informs us that Fuller installed new folding oak gates on the doorway of the castle, at the entrance to the building, which he details as "the present proprietor has lately put up a pair of folding oak gates of strong oak, in corresponding style, and restored the south tower, commonly known as the sally port" (1831: 30). The wage accounts for work carried out at the site also detail the painting of gates, dated to November 1829 (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). According to Thackray, work of this nature by Fuller is an example of "the first positive moves to protect the ruin" (2004: 27), a sentiment which is echoed in Curzon's survey of the site (1926). A review of Fuller's work in the 'Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle' of 1831 also suggests that this is a contemporary view of the work which Fuller was carrying out at Bodiam, as it comments that "the proprietor is John Fuller Esq. of Rose-Hill, who purchased the site in 1828; and we wish that every venerable ruin had as careful an owner as that gentleman" (1831:55).

### 2.2.2 The Castle Landscape

In order to measure the extent of the work carried out around the castle grounds, I have analysed the bills for work at Bodiam Castle, dated to 1829. These documents detail the weekly wages paid to those working at Bodiam Castle, all of which are written by John Fuller and addressed to John Croft, the individual whom I believe to have been in charge of overseeing the work and accounts for Fuller's work at Bodiam. By transcribing these documents I have been able to create an account of the work carried out at Bodiam throughout 1829, beginning with the erection of a new cottage in March 1829 and culminating in the laying down of paths during December 1829. The following table is a collation of this data, demonstrating the work taking place during each month;

Date	Work Carried out
March – April 1829	Erecting a new cottage at Bodiam Castle
March – April 1829	Redoing bank work - cutting away bank and digging out
	ditch
March – April 1829	Order of plaster and composition
June 1829	Cleaning out well
July 1829	Stone work at Bodiam Ref foundations
July 1829	Order of 10 loads of stone
July 1829	Digging stone
July 1829	Order of 12 loads of stone
August 1829	5 days of digging stone
August 1829	Coping stone
August 1829	Coping of digging stone
September 1829	Coping of digging stone
October 1829	Ordered ten gallons of oil for Bodiam Castle
November 1829	Levelling
November 1829	Preparing ridges with compost
November 1829	Leashing and preparing acres
November 1829	Digging stone
November 1829	Painting gates and fence
November 1829	Plastering and painting
December 1829	Building of buttress
December 1829	Order of 7 loads of stone
December 1829	Coping of stone
December 1829	Putting down paths
December 1829	Order of 4 bushels of coal ashes

Table 1, above: collated data from the weekly account of wages paid to those working at Bodiam Castle by John Fuller. Each wage details the task for which the individual was paid; these tasks have been transcribed and arranged to represent all of the work recorded as having taken place during 1829 (ESRO RAF/F 9/28).

The bills for work detail also at least ten individuals of whom Fuller is paying to carry out work, suggesting that the labour was fairly extensive. Alongside this, the personal account of John Croft has provided some indication of the amount of capital being invested by Fuller into the work at Bodiam Castle. The following data highlights the monthly wage from John Fuller into an account managed by John Croft. It seems evident that this data represents the wage paid to John Croft himself; if this is the case, the amount being paid by Fuller to those carrying out the work is certainly high.

Month	Total
January	£2 3s 4d
February	£3 5s 9d
March	£10 13s 9d
April	£5 13s 10d

May	£3 10s 6d
June	£5 4s 3d
July	£4 13s 9d
August	£2 2s 0d
September	£2 0s 0s
October	£5 13s 6d
November	£5 13s 6d
Total	£48 16s 6d
Bill for nails	£4 16s 3d
Bill for white lead	£13 5s 10d
Bill for glazing and painting	£14 10s 3d
Bill for lead and glass	£11 6s 7d
Bill for work done at Bodiam Castle	£114 1s 0d
Building a cottage at Bodiam Castle	£17 18s 11d

Table 2, above: the monthly wages paid into John Croft's account by John Fuller for work at Bodiam Castle and the details of bills in this account (ESRO RAF/F 9/28).

Alongside the payment records used above exists a number of individual notes written by Fuller to Croft which detail more precise tasks; for example one bill details:

"Masons work for drawing the stone building by the walk, by the north walk about £120 at 11d for £66 – by Crofts estimate it will require about 200 loads of stone, the coinage of which at 2d per load is £20. Sand from the paddock about 30 loads, the coinage at 2d per load is £3.

"Allow 6 days for 2 horses fetching water at 10d per day - £3

"About three 4ths of a kiln of lime, £13 10d

"About 5s of load to dig up the main ditch, dump it (correlate and complete it) £30

"Masons work £66

Courage of stone £20

Courage of sand £3

Courage of water £3

For lime £13 10d

Digging ditch £30

Total; £135 10d"

(ESRO RAF/F 9/28)

The data collected from this documentation makes it clear that the amount of work carried out by John Fuller was extensive, both in terms of the work carried out and the money invested into the work. Looking at the records for the wages paid to each worker, it is evident that Fuller was making significant changes to the landscape, carrying out work such as digging ditches, coping stone, levelling, working on the banks of the moat, making restorations to the castle itself and laying down paths across the site. I believe that this evidence has proved that the amount of work that Fuller carried out at the site was certainly more than has previously been suggested in work such as the 2001 desk based assessment of the site (Johnson, Martin and Whittick 2001). In this publication, Fuller is mentioned only briefly in comparison with later owners of the site, and I suggest that the documentation used for this research has proved that Fuller's work has been overlooked. In relation to this, the records for work used in this research do not continue after 1829, and it is suggested that further work would have taken place after this date. If this is the case, the work carried out by Fuller is certainly extensive. The role of Fuller has, I believe, been fundamentally overlooked in the study of the history of Bodiam, and I believe that the documentation used has proved that Fuller's role at the site was substantial.

However, whilst these documents have provided firm proof that Fuller was carrying out a larger amount of work at Bodiam than previously thought, they have provided only a limited suggestion of the exact areas within the castle landscape that this work was taking place. I suggest that an assessment of the documentation used in this dissertation has proved that Fuller made significant change to the Bodiam landscape, but believe that this statement can be furthered by attempting to identify Fullers work through contemporary cartographic evidence and within the recent geophysical survey of the Bodiam landscape.

#### 2.3 Assessment of contemporary cartographic evidence

To further the research into the documentary evidence for John Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle, I have used two maps of the site, dating from 1811 (figure 2.3) and 1840 (figure 2.4; figure 2.5). As Fuller owned Bodiam from 1829 until 1834 (after which it remained within the Fuller Family), and little or no landscaping work took place prior to his ownership, it is suggested that changes seen through a comparison of the two maps will be a result of Fuller's work at the site. What follows is a comparison of land use for each area of the site, as transcribed from the 1811 estate map of Bodiam, and the 1840 Tithe Map (ESRO BAT

4453; ESRO TDE/E 99). The table highlights the different areas within the Bodian landscape, comparing their description and use in 1811 to that of 1840.

1811 Map area	Description	1840 Tithe Map area	Owner	Description
354	Castle Green	52	A.E Fuller	Castle green field; pasture
-	-	52a	A.E Fuller	House and garden
353	The Castle and Ground surrounding	54	A.E Fuller	Great moat and Castle
352	Oak Marsh	55	A.E Fuller	Oak marsh; pasture
351	Pipers Marsh	56	John Reynolds	Pipers marsh; meadow
349	The Wharf by Bodiam Bridge	57	A.E Fuller	Wharf
350	Chalk foreland	11-	(-)	-
348	The Ponds	58	A.E Fuller	Ponds Field
<b>34</b> 7	Castle Field	64	A.E Fuller	Castle bank field; pasture
345	A Cottage and Garden	65	Richard Smith	Coopers Field
342	The Coach Road, Hovel and Close	66	A.E Fuller	Castle Lane
-	-	66a	A.E Fuller	Garden

Table 3, above: a comparison of land use between 1811 and 1840 from the estate map and Tithe Map. Highlighted are areas which appear to have changed in use during this time (ESRO BAT 4453; TD/D 99).

The areas highlighted in the above table represent the areas within the Bodiam landscape which changed in function or appearance between 1811 and 1840; as Fuller was the only individual to carry out work at the site during this time I attribute these changes to be the work of John Fuller. There are two key areas which have undergone change during this period – the addition of the house and garden to the site, and changes to the coach road, which is an entrance to the site from the west. Comparing the representation of the areas within the two maps, one of the most significant changes appears to be within area 342 on the 1811 map and 66 on the 1840 map (figure 2.6). This area, known as the castle lane, is an entrance to the site from the west. In 1811 we see a formal pathway in this area, but this feature appears to have been removed by 1840. In conjunction with this, the addition of the garden at the entrance to the castle lane or coach road may hold significance as Fuller appears to have made changes to one of the entrances to the site (figure 2.7). I also suggest that Fuller is likely to have made some changes to the castle green field; this area has been

used at a number of points in order to drain the moat, but it appears that it has undergone some change during Fuller's ownership. Whilst the record for work during 1829 does not mention this area specifically, we do see a record for digging ditches and redoing bank work; this type of work is likely to have occurred in this area. Alongside this, the area added to the 1840 map known as the house and garden is a further confirmation of the addition of the cottage to the site, as mentioned in the record for work carried out during 1829. In order to further assess the evidence from the documentation and cartographic evidence I believe it is important to attempt to identify Fuller's work archaeologically in order to fully understand the extent of the work carried out during this period.

## 2.4 Identifying Fuller's work archaeologically

To further measure the extent of John Fullers work at Bodiam, I believe it is possible to identify some of the changes made to the site during this period in the recent geophysical survey carried out across the castle landscape by the University of Southampton (Barker et al. 2010). The results of this survey have demonstrated the complexity of the archaeological remains beneath the castle landscape. However, in the interpretation of these features there is little consideration of the site in its nineteenth century context, rather features are labelled as being either 'Medieval' or 'Modern' (Barker et al. 2010; figure 2.8). What follows is an assessment of key areas which are suggested to be the work of Fuller, identified in the results of the 2010 resistivity survey.

One of the key areas in which I believe we can recognise Fullers work is to the west of the castle, described as the castle bank field in the Tithe Map (figure 2.9; Figure 2.10). Here the resistivity survey has indicated a high amount of archaeological activity below ground, including a series of ditches alongside the moat. The documentary records provided evidence that Fuller was both digging ditches and redoing the bank work on the moat, and I suggest that a number of areas of high resistance as demonstrated in the survey should be attributed to the work of Fuller. Alongside this, the geophysical results have also identified the remains of a tree ring within this area (figure 2.11). This feature is not present on the 1811 map, and the 1840 map makes no records of trees within the landscape. Whilst we cannot identify this feature on the cartographic record it is a feature which remains at the site today, and a feature that one would expect to have been created by Fuller at Bodiam. According to Daniels (1988), at this time the control and ownership of trees and woodland was significant. It is suggested that iconography of woodland was used to naturalise contested social views, an act

which was articulated in the specific selection and setting of trees across picturesque parkland (Daniels 1988). If the tree ring identified in the geophysical survey is the work of Fuller, I suggest we are seeing a reflection of this concept in his work; a deliberate control and placement of trees across the Bodiam landscape.

Furthering this, in the area to the south-east of the castle, we see two areas of high resistance which have been described as the remains of a medieval bank and a medieval structure (figure 2.12). The two anomalies are not linear features, so do not appear to be ditches or bank work, but I suggest that they may represent the remains of dumping of material, either by Fuller or at a later date. If Fuller was carrying out stone work within and around the castle, as well as digging ditches and redoing the castle bank, there is likely to have been excess material redistributed in the landscape. Whether we are seeing the evidence for this to the south-east of the castle or to the west alongside the ditches themselves is not certain. However, I believe this to be an important point worth considering in our recognition of the remains of Fuller's work across the Bodiam landscape.

# 2.5 To what extent can we assess the nature of Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle? Identifying research problems

Whilst the analysis of the documentation and contemporary literature as discussed above has provided evidence that John Fuller carried out a significant amount of work at Bodiam Castle, there is a limit to the degree to which we can measure the extent of this work. The documentation used provides evidence from throughout 1829, but to the best of my knowledge there exists no record of the continuation of this work. Fuller appears to have been a meticulous recorder of his financial accounts, and I suggest that there are two distinct possibilities as to why the records used in this dissertation do not continue into the following years. Firstly, there is the suggestion that the records have simply been misplaced or are filed incorrectly, making their access and identification through the Access to Archives system extremely difficult. However, there is also the possibility that the records do not continue as the evidence used in this research comes largely from the correspondence between Fuller and Croft, who died in 1830. All of the bills for work carried out at the site were addressed to John Croft, whose account at the time of his death details how much he had been paid for the work; dated August 1830 it is detailed that Fuller paid Croft £114 10s for work at Bodiam Castle, £17 18s 11d for building a cottage at Bodiam Castle and £90 40s 3d for unnamed work (ESRO RAF/F 9/28). As Croft passed away, the records of this

#### Abstract

This research aims to assess the extent of John 'Mad Jack' Fuller's landscaping work at Bodiam Castle. Core to this dissertation is documentary research into the bills recorded by John Fuller for work carried out across the Bodiam Landscape. Through this research, it is suggested that Fuller's work at Bodiam was much more extensive than previously thought, and it is subsequently suggested that the role of Fuller at Bodiam Castle has been overlooked. This dissertation also relates Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle to his estate at Brightling and the wider socio-political context in which it lies, looking at the reasoning behind Fuller's purchase of Bodiam Castle and the use of the castle as part of the Brightling estate. I believe Fuller's work at Bodiam to be representative of an important period in the sites history, and suggest that it is vital to consider Bodiam in its nineteenth century landscaping context in any future interpretations of the site itself.

correspondence end, resulting in the records left today being representative of a years' work at Bodiam Castle. Fuller owned the site until his death in 1834, so the alterations are likely to have continued. Although we cannot create a full picture of Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle, I believe the records used in this research to have been sufficient in detailing both the nature of the work carried out by Fuller, and the degree to which changes were being made to the castle and its wider landscape. I firmly believe that Fuller's work at the site was significant, and much more extensive than has been previously recognised.

# 3. How is John Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle related to his landscaping at Brightling Park?

## 3.1 Why did John Fuller purchase Bodiam Castle?

Firstly, in order to assess the relationship between Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle and the landscaping work at Brightling Park I believe it is important to identify the reasoning behind Fuller's purchase of the castle itself. I suggest that by distinguishing the reasons behind Fuller buying the site we can begin to relate the work he carried out at Bodiam to the work which he was carrying out at his own estate, and the follies he began building upon his retirement from parliament in 1812 (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2011). In order to assess this, we must first understand how the site was perceived at the time of Fuller's purchase. Looking at the auction papers for the site, it seems clear that in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the site was already considered a picturesque ruin; it is described in the auction paper as "a very admired freehold property, the ancient castle of Bodiham" (ESRO RAF/F 1/4). The description of the castle in this auction paper also suggests that the castle was considered an admirable ruin, as it describes the property as;

"Independent of the great interest which these magnificent ruins hold for the Antiquary, the solemn stillness of their scenery, arising from the motionless waters which surround them, renders them no less than delightful for the picturesque eye than the pensive mind. Seated in low ground, like many of the ancient mansions of England, the Castle of Bodiham is environed by a large deep moat, and presents a figure nearly square, guarded by a round tower at each angle" (ESRO RAF/F 1/4).

Therefore, whilst there may be a degree of truth in the notion that Fuller purchased the castle to save it from destruction, its perception at the time as an image of the picturesque brings forward the suggestion that there was more to this purchase than previously assumed. When Fuller made the decision to buy the castle in 1828 he had already, for a number of years, been carrying out landscaping work at his own estate in Brightling. It seems evident when looking at this work that Fuller himself was aware of the trends and fashions in place concerning landscaping at this time, demonstrated through the follies constructed around Brightling Park. Therefore, I suggest that we should see Fuller's purchase of Bodiam Castle as part of this landscaping work, and attempt to understand his work at the site in terms of its relationship with his work at Brightling. I believe that Fuller purchased the site in order to incorporate it into his work at Brightling; the relationship between the two sites is, I suggest,

represented in the construction and use of the tower, a folly located at the east of the Brightling Park estate.

#### 3.2 The Tower and the Panoramic View

The Tower, built in the 1820's and measuring 10.6m in height, is located on the eastern extent of the Brightling estate and is suggested to have been constructed as a means for Fuller to oversee the work being carried out at Bodiam (Quinn and Coe 2008: 79). I believe this reasoning to be too simplistic; I suggest that the tower was built as a mechanism through which to oversee work being carried out both at Bodiam and Brightling, but as a means to 'view' the landscape in a different sense. Using current work on the use of the correct view in designed landscapes and the idea of the panoramic view (Cosgrove 1984, Barrell 1990), it is suggested that the construction of the tower was a means of promoting a specific view of the landscape, in turn related to the expression of a justification of Fuller's place within society and the assertion of political authority. In order to discuss these concepts in relation to Fuller's work I will first approach the concept of the panoramic in designed landscapes, and attempt to highlight how we can see a reflection of this in the relationship between Bodiam, Brightling and the Tower.

I suggest that the construction of the tower at Brightling Park was a means through which Fuller was able to promote the correct view of the landscape, using Bodiam Castle as a focal point for this view. In turn, I believe this to have been a mechanism through which Fuller was able to legitimise his position within society. According to Cosgrove, designed landscapes and the use of Romantic ruins acted as a justification of social order, as such structures are suggested to have functioned in mystifying social relations and legitimising the position of polite society (1984: 231). This concept works on the notion that a panoramic view, as discussed by Barrell, is a demonstration of how "a correct taste, especially for landscape and landscape art, was used in this period as a means of legitimating political authority" (1990: 19). According to Barrell, it was the ability to think in general terms and produce abstract ideas that allowed individuals to validate their position in society (1990: 19). An expression of this thinking was in the design of landscapes; the separation of the natural and the designed and the ability to promote the panoramic view. Barrell suggests that "the representation of such landscape is an instantiation of the political capability of the public man" (1990: 36). I believe this to be reflected in Fuller's work and suggest that we should see the use of the tower at Brightling as a manifestation of these ideas. Fuller began the

process of building follies and landscaping Bodiam upon his retirement from parliament, a time at which he was renowned for his forward character in parliament and strong political views. I believe that by constructing the tower, he was promoting a view of his most impressive folly – Bodiam Castle. Through this view, Fuller was able to use the castle and the view of his own estate at Brightling as means through which to affirm and legitimise his own position within society. Fuller is said to have been determined to make a name for himself in the eyes of posterity (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2011) and I suggest that he was able to achieve this by using Bodiam Castle as part of a view of a designed landscape, through the use of the tower. Therefore, Fuller's work at Bodiam is related to his estate at Brightling through the tower, and the use of the castle alongside Fuller's other landscaping work as an expression of political authority and a legitimisation of Fuller's place within society. I find Johnson's summary of the ideas discussed above to be particularly applicable in suggesting that "the medieval castle and the great house of the eighteenth century were both 'power houses'; they were both bound up with the polite culture of political authority and power in their respective ages" (1996: 154).

# 3.3 The estate and 19th century taste

If we are to see the tower as a means through which to promote the correct view of a landscape and therefore as a justification of social order, we must further explore the types of views intended to be promoted, and assess whether this seems evident in Fuller's work. According to Williamson, "in this context in is important to note how contemporary writers on landscape design frequently talked about consulting the 'genius of place'; working with, rather than against, the character of the local topography" (1999; 225). Furthering this, it was the essence of seclusion, the division between the worked countryside and the polite landscape park which held significance in the designed landscape (Williamson 1999). I believe that we can see this in the view promoted by the tower; the natural topography of Bodiam frames the castle within the wider landscape (figure 3.1; figure 3.2). I believe that the idea of the 'genius of place' holds significance, particularly in indicating Fuller's awareness of current trends in landscape design. This is a concept used in a number of other landscape parks; for example, we see the central role of the 'genius of place' and the use of natural topography to highlight features of the park at the gardens of Stowe. Alexander Pope commented on the power of natural topography in his 1731 poem upon a visit to Stowe;

57 Consult the genius of place in all;
That tells the waters to rise or fall,
Or helps th' ambitious Hill the heav'n to scale,
Or scoops in circling theatres the Vale,
Calls in the country, catches opening glades,
Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades,
Now breaks or now directs th' intending Lines,
Paints as you plant, and, as you work, designs.

(Fig. 2)

(Pope 1731)

It seems clear that Fuller was aware of this concept, and subsequently current tastes in landscape design, as the use of topography in this way is evident in the design of Brightling and the use of the tower to allow a view of Bodiam. Alongside this, by landscaping the grounds of Bodiam Fuller was actively making a transition from the worked to the 'natural' landscape, as we see the landscape before Fuller's ownership portrayed with animals within the site landscape. By removing these, Fuller was creating what was considered a natural landscape; a landscape which makes use of topography, clearly seen in the view promoted by the tower.

The tower and the subsequent view it promoted of both Bodiam and Brightling also allowed a visitor to witness the alterations that Fuller was making to his estate. According to Johnson, it was important to be seen to be actively maintaining and making changes to ones estate; it is suggested that "visitors to a great house in the eighteenth century would not just be shown round a wonderful house and garden, but would equally be impressed by the host's narratives of his illustrious ancestors, the historic past of the house, his accounts of planned improvements (all in the best possible taste)" (1996: 154). Alongside this, the presence of groups of workers on the estate, engaging in work, also held importance (Johnson 1996). The records for wages paid to the workers at the site have confirmed that Fuller had employed at least ten individuals to carry out work at Bodiam. Therefore, I suggest that the notion that Fuller constructed the tower to 'oversee' work at Bodiam Castle does hold some significance. Whilst traditional interpretations (Quinn and Coe 2008) suggest that the tower allowed Fuller to oversee work at Bodiam in a managerial sense, I believe it was in fact a mechanism through which Fuller was able to demonstrate to visitors to Brightling that he was carrying out work. Visitors would have been able to see that Fuller was actively altering the Bodiam landscape and making restorations to the castle as well as being able to view his landscape park at Brightling. Therefore, the tower plays a pivotal role in the presentation and subsequent view of Fuller's estate and Bodiam Castle.

## 4. Can we see a reflection of the socio-political context in which John Fuller's work lies?

What must be reiterated throughout this research is the extent to which we should view the garden, landscaping and the estate as a reflection of the socio-political context of this period. John Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle was undertaken, as suggested above, as part of the landscaping work of his own estate, and I therefore believe it is of importance to relate this work to its wider socio-political context in order to fully understand its significance. I find Bending's summary of this issue to be particularly applicable in suggesting that "when we ask 'what is the garden' our answer must inevitably include not only physical landscape but eighteenth century history and theory, and the recognition of the garden as an imagined space both in the lives of individuals and the cultures they inhabit" (forthcoming: 6). Further, when we consider the use of the castle within Fuller's landscape, we must take into consideration its significance as an expression of an ideology; as Everson reminds us "it is widely acknowledged... that buildings can commonly be understood not solely in terms of aesthetic taste and functional practicality, but as reflecting ideological viewpoints" (2007: 113). I believe the use of the castle to be integrated within this concept, and as suggested previously the reasoning behind Fuller's purchase of the castle itself was more than to simply save it from ruin. Therefore, when we discuss the extent of Fuller's work at Bodian and its relationship to Brightling Park we must also place the work within its wider context in order to fully understand it. What follows is a discussion of the relationship between Fuller's work and the socio-political context in which it lies.

# 4.1 The significance of the use of a ruin

Firstly it is suggested that the view of Bodiam Castle as a picturesque ruin holds significance, and it is therefore appropriate to discuss the importance of Fuller's choice to use Bodiam Castle as a folly and its significance as part of a designed landscape. Through the information provided in the auction papers for the site, alongside contemporary artwork depicting the castle, it seems clear that at the time of Fuller's purchase of Bodiam Castle the site was already considered a picturesque ruin. According to Baridon, at this time medieval ruins were used in designed landscapes as a mechanism through which to afford testimony to the ancestry of Britain's elites (1985: 85). This point is reiterated though the discussion of the view of Bodiam necessitated by the construction of the tower, whereby it is suggested by Johnson that both the medieval castle and the gentry house were important as they were bound within the polite expression of power and political authority (1996: 154). In other

words, it is the conscious decision to use a symbol of longevity and power that is suggestive of the longevity of a family; subsequently, this longevity is seen as an indicator of the rightful position of the family or individual in society. I believe this concept to be reflected in Fuller's decision to purchase Bodiam, and its use as part of the panoramic view from the tower at Brightling. Furthering the previous discussion of the view of the castle and its use in the expression of political authority, through Baridon's work (1985) we can also see the castle as a symbol of the rightful position of the Fuller family in nineteenth century society. Alongside this, Baridon also suggests that we should recognise in the use of ruins within estates the idea of symbols of decay inspiring intellectual aspirations of the age (1985: 84). According to Lucas, Fuller was a well-known supporter of the sciences, as he contributed extensively to the Royal Institution in founding the Fullerian Scholarships (1904: 380). Therefore, in Fuller's use of Bodiam Castle I believe we can see a reflection of a testimony to his ancestry as well as a symbol of his right to support scientific endeavours through investment in the intellect of individuals. This, I suggest, is an expression of both history and continuity in the use of Bodiam Castle.

## 4.2 Representation of the house and garden in popular culture

Whilst it is suggested that we can recognise the ideology of the landscape park in Fuller's work, it is important to understand how such landscapes were perceived by those experiencing them. One of the most well-known examples of this is the expression of the central role of the house and garden in the works of Jane Austen; for example, one is aware of the delight of Elizabeth Bennett at seeing how the gardens have been presented at Mr Darcy's estate at Pemberley, as it is depicted that "Every disposition of the ground was good, and she looked on the whole scene, the river, the trees scattered on its banks and the winding of the valley, as far as she could trace it, with delight. As they passed into other rooms these objects were taking different positions; but from every window there were beauties to be seen" (Austen 1994: 188). Alongside this, when Elizabeth Bennett is asked at what point she knew that she loved Mr Darcy, she responds by saying that "it has been coming on so gradually that I hardly know when it began. But I believe that it must date from my first seeing his beautiful grounds at Pemberley" (Austen 1994: 288). Here we see an example of the concept of the landscape park as a reflection of the individual, highlighting the importance of the perception of such estates at this time. We also see a reflection of the political aspect of the landscape park in contemporary poetry; for example in Hemans (1827)

'The Homes of England' we see an indication of the status of the house in political claims in the lines;

"The free fair homes of England!
Long, long in hut and hall,
May hearts of native proof be rear'd
To guard each hallow'd wall"

(Hemans 1827).

This is suggestive of the idea that the landscape park was seen as an aide to political authority, furthering the issues discussed previously depicting the use of Fullers estate at Brightling and Bodiam as an affirmation of his political stance.

The recognition of Fuller's work at Brightling in contemporary landscape painting also highlights the significance of his work in terms of its social context. The Brightling estate and observatory are depicted in Turner's 1819 'Brightling Observatory as seen from Rose Hill Park' which was designed as part of a series of view in Sussex (Figure 4.1), commissioned by Fuller himself and later published in Cooke's 1827 'Picturesque views of England and Wales'. According to Lucas, although the piece was supposed to depict views of Brightling observatory, "the observatory, being of no interest, is almost invisible" (1904: 381). Instead, Turner has focused on the Brightling landscape. Alongside this, Turner has also portrayed views of Bodiam Castle; in his painting entitled 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex' we see the castle depicted in the background of an image of the Bodiam landscape, with a bridge at the focal point of the image (Figure 4.2). The location of the castle within this image suggests that the scene has not been portrayed accurately; the topography of the site is clearly one of high ground to the north, and lowers to the south at the river Rother. The bridge depicted in the painting no longer exists, but the views from the river Rother do now allow a view as portrayed in Turner's work. As a result of this, it is suggested that the castle was recognised as an iconic symbol, and the view was manipulated by Turner in order to include the castle in his depiction of a picturesque landscape.

## 4.3 Polite landscapes and a landscape of slavery

Furthering the ideas discussed above, I believe we can see a reflection of wider social processes in Fuller's landscaping work. In the later eighteenth century, the ability of the middle classes to earn capital and increase their wealth was greatly increased. General economic expansion had spurred a recovery in the fortunes of the gentry, but it had also allowed expansion in the affluence of the middle classes, a group which Williamson

describes as "somewhat amorphous... ranging from wealthy merchants and prominent professionals down to larger-scale farmers and shopkeepers (1995: 17). As a result of this, the nature of the relations between the landed gentry and the mercantile and professional classes underwent a fundamental change during the later eighteenth century. It is suggested that "increasingly, they sought to play down differences of status and hierarchy between them, emphasising instead a collection of shared cultural values often referred to as 'politeness'; easy and affable behaviour; a knowledge of taste and current fashions; and acquisition of a particular set of social skills" (Williamson 1995: 17); this set of values was seen as an expression of the 'polite'. In turn, we see a reflection of this social transition in the changing designs and taste of garden landscaping, moving from the formal designed garden to the more natural layout of the landscape park in the second half of the eighteenth century. The design of the landscape park could be achieved by not only the landed gentry but also the rising mercantile and professional class, as the design was much less expensive than the formal garden and could be designed according to the layout of estates varying greatly in size. The landscape park, therefore, became an indicator of an awareness and knowledge of current taste, of the ability to control ones surroundings and therefore a symbol of the polite.

It is suggested that in Fuller's work at Bodiam and Brightling we can see a reflection of this concept, as a result of the Fuller family's position in society. According to Crossley and Saville, the Fuller family "occupy an important place in the political and economic history of mid eighteenth century Sussex. They held a notable role in county politics, as a benefitted and expanding landowning family" (1991: ix). John Fuller, therefore, is a representation of the rising professional classes' ability to earn capital and acquire land. Furthering this, it is the means through which the Fuller family earned this wealth, and subsequently status, which furthers the social significance of Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle; as gun founders in Robertsbridge and across Sussex (Ffoulkes and Cottesloe 2011: 77) and through plantations in the West Indies. As Crossley and Saville summarise, "After the middle of the [eighteenth] century much of their political life was directed to the defence of the west India interest and the slave trade... Stephen Fuller was agent for the Jamaica assembly from 1759 to his death and Mad Jack Fuller continued this role when a member of parliament" (1991: ix). Therefore, what we can see in the changes made to the landscape of Bodiam this time is a landscape funded by slavery. Looking at the documentation used in this research, it seems clear that Fuller was investing a significant amount of money into both the purchase and restoration

work at Bodiam Castle. Fuller purchased Bodiam for £3000.00 (Thackray 2004: 27) and invested a significant amount of money into making changes to the landscape and restorations to the castle itself. In the use of Bodiam Castle as part of the Brightling estate, we can therefore not only see an expression of Fuller's position within society, but also a representation of this position in the motives behind the purchase and the source of the wealth used for this investment. The landscape of Bodiam during this part of the nineteenth century was a landscape funded by the slave trade.

The use of wealth earned through such endeavours to fund the creation of landscapes at this time was not uncommon. It has been suggested that the landscapes themselves were used as a means through which to mask such social inequality, and as previously discussed, legitimise the position of individuals in society. According to Bermingham, "the landscape garden collapsed the opposition between nature and the cultural (social, aesthetic) processes that appropriated it" (1987: 15). Therefore, the role of the landscape park was, in part, to mask those inequalities which had helped to fund it. As Bending suggests, "in claiming the country at the expense of trade, the landowning elite could neatly divert attention from their own economic activity whilst also claiming the traditional moral high ground of the cultural debate" (1998: 261). It is this use of landscape, as a mask of inequality yet a perpetuation of power, which was described by Barrell (1983) as landscapes 'dark side'; the use of landscape by those in power to represent specific interests yet "beautifully conceal its artifice, naturalizing or rendering invisible its construction and effects in time" (Corner 1999: 15). In such landscape, therefore, we should recognise the significance of the use of surroundings in such a way as to create social message. I believe this to be represented in Fuller's work at both Bodiam and Brightling, and an element to this research which is crucial. In the landscaping of Bodiam, an act funded by slavery, we can recognise in the use of the castle a means through which Fuller was able to assert the longevity of the Fuller family, as well as his own political capability and position within polite society. However, in the use of landscape in this way Fuller was also able to mask the social inequality which had resulted in his family's acquisition of wealth, his support of slavery and his use of a large amount of money in the purchase and landscaping of both sites. Therefore, we should recognise in Bodiam at this time both a landscape of slavery, and the use of the castle as a mask of contested social views and inequalities.

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Appendix B. Sample of documentation used in this research

## 5. Conclusion

## 5.1 Final assessment of results and scope for future research

To conclude, through this research I suggest that the work carried out by John Fuller at Bodiam Castle was extensive. The data used in this dissertation has provided evidence for the types of work being carried out, the amount of money being invested into the landscaping work and to some degree the extent, in terms of its duration, of the landscaping itself. It is clear that Fuller carried out restorative work to the castle, and made a number of changes to the landscape including digging ditches, carrying out stone work, redoing bank work, building a new cottage, levelling and the management of trees across the castle landscape. The documentation used has also provided evidence that Fuller was investing a significant amount of money into making changes at Bodiam, paying at least 10 individuals over the course of 1829 to conduct work, and meticulously recording the work carried out each week. As there has been no previous assessment of Fuller's work at the site, this research represents a new interpretation of the Bodiam landscape during a period which I believe has been fundamental in changing how we perceive the site today. There exists a scope for future research in this area should one be able to identify the documentation recording the work at the site after 1829, as this has unfortunately put a limitation on the data used in this work. Aside from this problem, however, I believe the data to have been extremely informative in allowing new conclusions to be drawn about the role of Fuller at Bodiam Castle, enabling me to effectively answer the research question.

It was hoped that the three research questions would allow for not only a direct focus on Bodiam, but a wider study of both of Fuller's properties as well as the socio-political context in which the work lies. By relating Fuller's work at Bodiam to his estate at Brightling I believe we have been able to gain a deeper understanding of both the aims and significance of Fuller's work. It seems clear that Fuller had distinct aims in both his purchase and landscaping of Bodiam, and was able to directly link the site to his estate through the use of the Tower as a mechanism through which to view the Bodiam landscape. By including a discussion of the socio-political context in this research I had aimed to demonstrate that Fuller's work lies within a landscaping tradition which is directly related to, and representative of, nineteenth century society. By doing this, it becomes possible to consider the use of Bodiam at this time as part of this tradition, and therefore view the site in a context which I believe to have been neglected in previous studies of the site. Fuller's work at the

whilst we may not be able to detail the exact nature of every task carried out by Fuller, I feel the research has been successful in indicating the types of change occurring during this period. I believe this to have been the starting point of a century of change at the site, ultimately culminating in the site as we see it today. There exists a great opportunity for future research in the documentation of the changes made to the Bodiam landscape throughout the nineteenth century. It seems clear that a number of changes were made during this period, and personally I feel that this would be both a challenging and worthwhile task to undertake. I find it fascinating to see the site in this context, and believe it is fundamental to consider this period of Bodiam's history in any future interpretations of the site. Fuller's work at the site represents the recognition of a picturesque landscape, a landscape of slavery and a polite landscape in a time of transition. Therefore, we should consider Fuller's work at Bodiam Castle to have been extensive, and representative of the socio-political context of nineteenth century England.

# Figures to accompany chapter one



Image 1.1 Location of Bodiam Castle (Tele Atlas 2011)

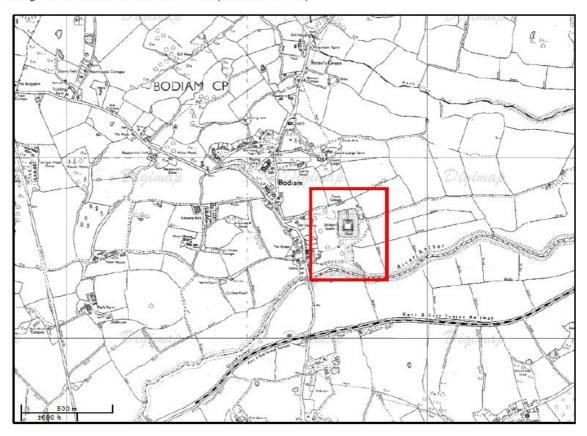


Image 1.2 Location of Bodiam Castle within Bodiam Parish (Ordnance Survey 1971)

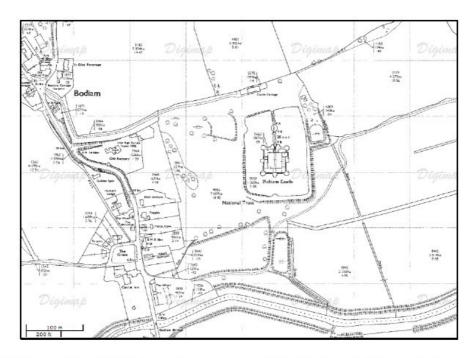


Figure 1.3 Zoom of the 1979 Ordnance Survey map, detailing the layout of the site (Ordnance Survey 1979)



Figure 1.4 Aerial photograph of the site, showing the position of the castle within its wider landscape (Tele Atlas 2011).



Figure 1.5 A photograph of Bodiam Castle, taken from the south-east (The National Trust 2011)

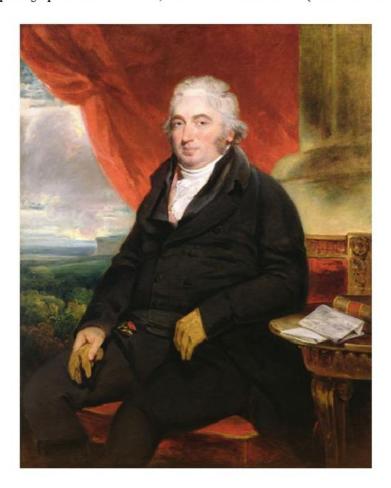


Figure 1.6 John 'Mad Jack' Fuller, the squire of Brightling and owner of Bodiam Castle. Portrait by Henry Singleton, no date (Royal Institution, London)

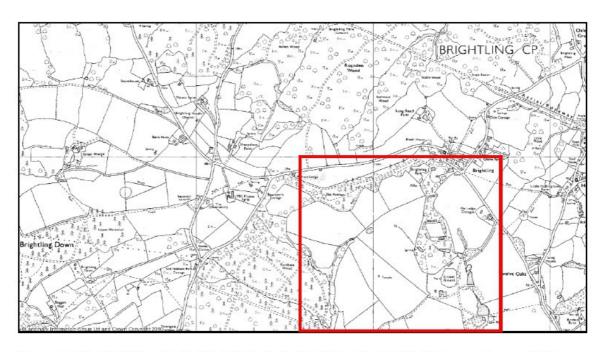


Figure 1.7 The Brightling Parish. Highlighted is the Brightling Park Estate (Ordnance Survey 1978)



Figure 1.8 Modern map showing the distance between Bodiam (A) and Brightling (B) – the distance is 4.1 miles (Tele Atlas 2011).



Figure 1.9 The south-west view from Bodiam Castle towards Brightling Park (Source: Authors own, photographed 2011)

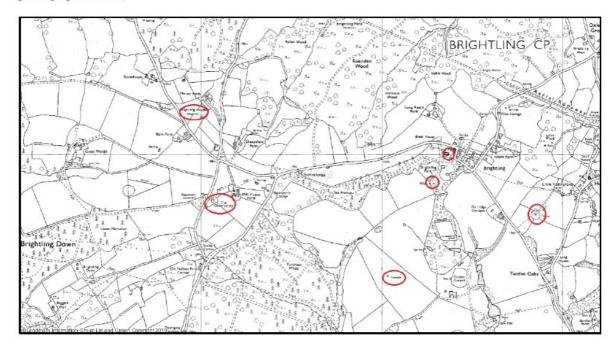


Figure 1.10 The locations of Fuller's follies across the Brightling landscape. Bodiam is located to the north-east, and the sugarloaf is located to the west (Ordnance Survey 1978)



Figure 1.11 'Brightling Observatory as seen form Rose Hill Park' by J.M.W Turner, 1819. (Cambell Fine Art 2011).



Figure 1.12 The Obelisk, or the Brightling Needle, one of Fullers follies as viewed from the south (source: Oast House Archive, photographed 2009)



Figure 1.13 The Sugarloaf, located to the south of the Brightling estate (source: Oast House Archive, photographed 2009)



Figure 1.14 The Observatory, located to the west of the Brightling estate, photographed from the east. (source: R. Webster, photographed in 2007).



Figure 1.15 The Tower, located to the east of the Brightling Estate, which looks over Brightling and allows a view of Bodiam Castle (source: both R. Webster, photographed in 2007).



Figure 1.16 The Pyramid; the place of Burial for Mad Jack Fuller, located in Brightling Churchyard (source: K. Gordon, photographed in 2009)

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Figure 2.1 Grimm watercolours of 1784 depicting the view from within the castle walls, looking to the south, and the southern postern tower. Here we can see an artistic rendering of the form of the castle before Fuller purchased the site, when a cottage was located within the castle walls (Thackray 2004).





Figure 2.2 Grimm watercolours of 1784 depicting the barbican and the view from the barbican, where we can see the presence of animals within the castle landscape (Thackray 2004).

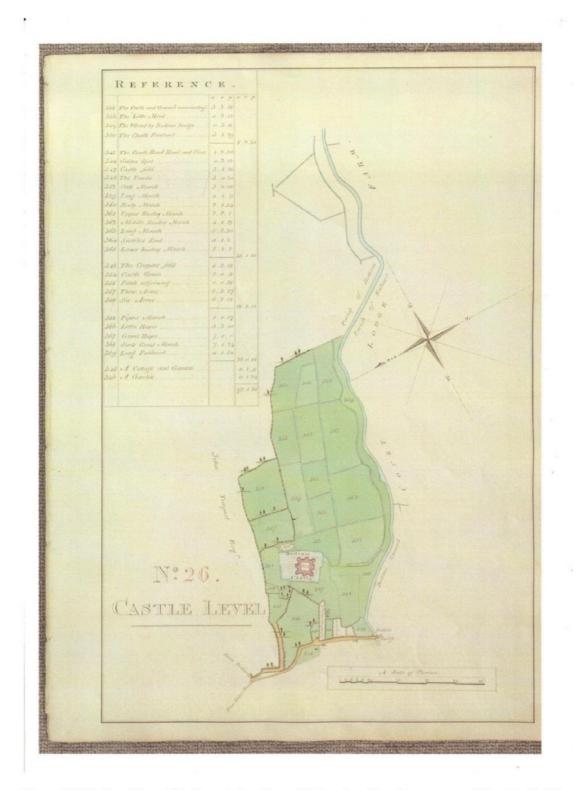


Figure 2.3 Estate Map of Bodiam dating from 1811, when the site was owned by Sir Godfrey Webster (ESRO BAT 4453 AMS 5691)

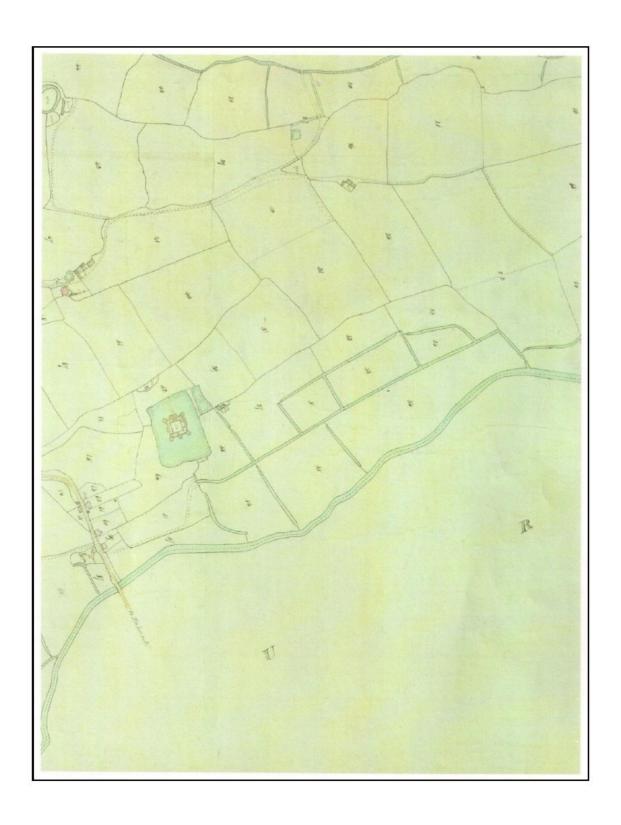


Figure 2.4 Tithe Map of Bodiam, dated to 1840 (ESRO TD/E 99)

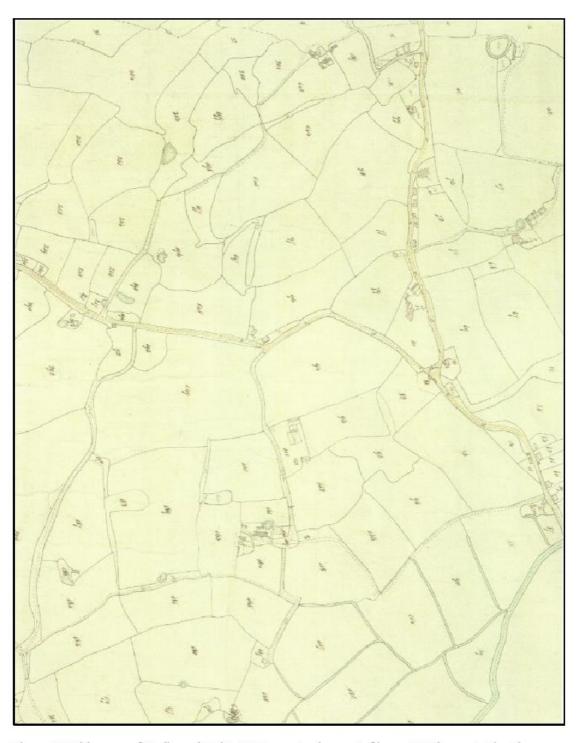


Figure 2.5 Tithe map of Bodiam, dated to 1840; area to the west of image 2.4 demonstrating the western proximity of the site and the entrance to the castle lane (ESRO TD/D 99).

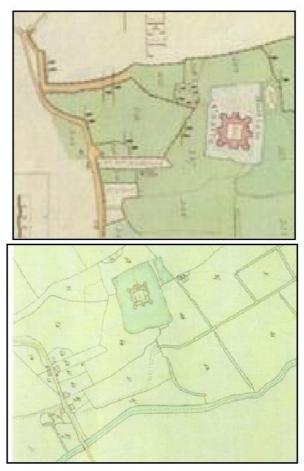


Figure 2.6 Comparison of the Castle Lane (Area 342 of 1811 estate map; area 66 of 1840 Tithe Map) where we can see a formal pathway present in 1811, but removed by 1840.



Figure 2.7 Garden area; the addition of a garden (labelled 66a) at the entrance to the coach road, an entrance to the site from the west (1840 Tithe map; ESRO TD/E 99)

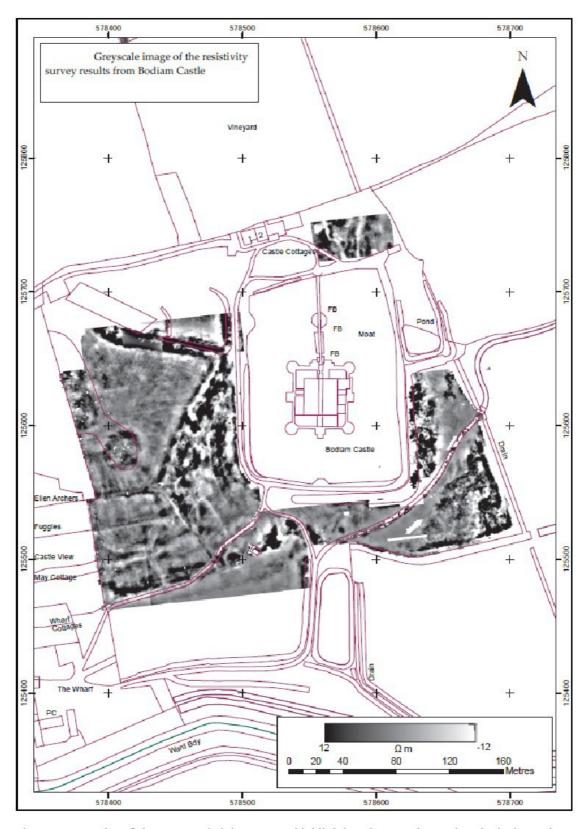


Figure 2.8 Results of the 2010 resistivity survey, highlighting the complex archaeological remains below ground at the site (Barker et al. 2010).

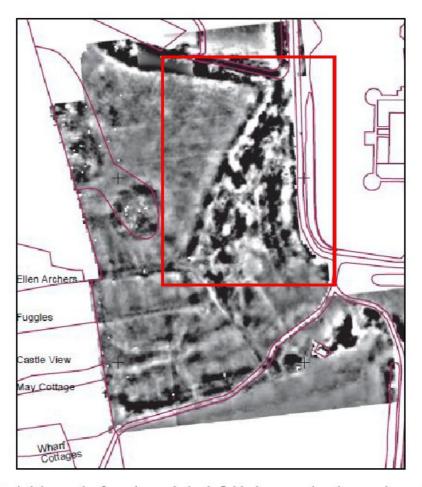


Figure 2.9 Resistivity results from the castle bank field, demonstrating the complex archaeological remains within the castle landscape. The presence of a number of ditches is suggestive of the work which Fuller was carrying out, particularly in reference to the wages paid to those working at the site for digging ditches and redoing bank work (Barker et al. 2010)

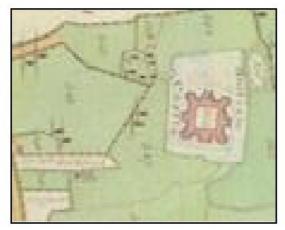




Figure 2.10 Comparison of the castle field area, as seen in image 2.9 (above). Here we can see that the area changed slightly between 1811 and 1840, suggesting that the resistivity evidence may be evidence of Fuller's work at the site (ESRO BAT 4453/ESRO TD/D 99)



Figure 2.11 Anomaly present in the resistivity results, interpreted as a tree ring. It is suggested that this is the type of work which Fuller would have been carrying out at the site, although there is no record of this change on the 1840 Tithe map as no trees are depicted on the map (Barker et al. 2010).

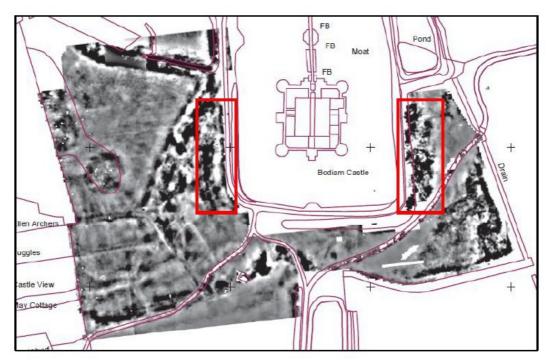
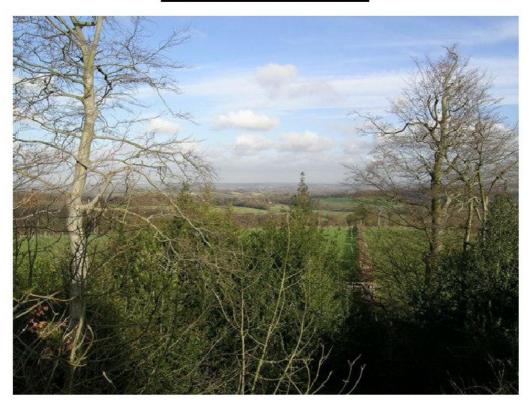


Figure 2.12 Anomalies in the resistivity results which are suggested to be the result of the dumping of excess material from work carried out at the site. The material may be the remnants of ditch work or stone work- the types of work carried out by Fuller at the site (Barker et al. 2010).

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Figures 3.1 and 3.2 The view from the tower at Brightling, looking north-east towards Bodiam. This image is hindered slightly by the fact that Bodiam lies directly behind the large tree central to the images. However, it is clear that The Tower allowed a panoramic view of the Brightling and Bodiam Landscapes (Source; Webster, photographed in 2011; Duncan, photographed in 2011)

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Figure 4.1 Turner's 1819 "Brightling Observatory as seen from Rose Hill Park" depicting views of the Brightling Park estate (Campbell Fine Art 2011)



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- Figure 4.2 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex' by J.M.W Turner 1810

Figure 4.2 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex' by J.M.W Turner, 1810. This image is suggested to have been manipulated in order to include Bodiam within the landscape, as the view from the Bridge does not allow this view (Campbell Fine Art 2011)

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# Appendix

A: Transcripts of documentation used in this dissertation.

All original documents are located at East Sussex Records Office.

#### ESRO RAF/F 9/28 Bills for work at Bodiam Castle 1829

These are daily records of the money paid by Fuller to the men carrying out work at Bodiam (and in some cases Rose Hill). The receipts are titled John Fuller Esq. and addressed to John Croft. The receipts take the form of either weekly or monthly accounts of the wage paid to each worker, divided according to the work which was carried out during each period.

#### · Main Bill, no date

Masons work for drawing the stone building by the walk, by the north walk about £120 at 11d for £66 – by Crofts estimate it will require about 200 loads of stone, the coinage of which at 2d per load is £20. Sand from the paddock about 30 loads, the coinage at 2d per load is £3.

Allow 6 days for 2 horses fetching water at 10d per day - £3

About three 4ths of a kiln of lime, £13 10d

About 5s of load to dig up the main ditch, dump it (correlate and complete it) £30

Masons work £66

Courage of stone £20

Courage of sand £3

Courage of water £3

For lime £13 10d

Digging ditch £30

Total; £135 10d

# · Small slip within this

330 yards at 6d per yard, the some of £99. Some of the stone will be the mote stone.

# 1829 July

John Fuller Esq.

To John Croft, The weekly account of Bodiam Castle

Working:

- Croft
- Croft
- Self
- Yorke
- Yorke
- Forster
- Merricks
- Edward
- Boy
- Martins
- Christians

#### 1829

(Collated information gathered from the weekly wage slips)

- 1829 March and April erecting a new cottage
- 1829 March and April redoing bank work, cutting away bank and dubbing out of ditch
- 1829 March and April 86 bushels of composition, three of plaster
- 1829 June cleaning out well
- 1829 July the bill of stone work done at Bodiam Castle Ref foundations
- 1829 July ten loads of stone
- 1829 July 26<sup>th</sup> digging of stone
- 1829 July 29<sup>th</sup> 12 loads of stone
- 1829 August five days paid for digging of stone to Martin Edward
- 1829 August coping stone
- 1829 August coping of digging stone
- 1829 September coping of stone for digging
- 1829 November 1st plastering and painting
- 1829 November levelling
- 1829 November preparing ridges with compost
- 1829 November leashing and preparing acres (wheat)
- 1829 November digging of stone
- 1829 November painting gates and fence
- 1829 December 3<sup>rd</sup> 4 bushels of coal ashes
- 1829 December Building of Buttress
- 1829 December 7 loads of stone
- 1829 December coping stone for digging
- 1829 December putting down paths

Alongside this work there is detail of work also being carried out at the Rose Hill estate; each time work at this location is paid for it is labelled Rose Hill (for example, 1829 June 6<sup>th</sup>

- paid for four days labour and plastering at Rose Hill Gardens). It seems evident that Fuller was also carrying out work at a third location entitled 'Gardens'; the exact location of this is unclear, and it is possible that 'Gardens' indicates either work at Rose Hill, or the area identified on the Tithe Map as the garden area of Bodiam.

#### 1829

John Fuller Esq. to John Croft

Taking down an old building and erecting a new cottage at Bodiam Castle. Bricklayers and plasterers work finding nails, glazing and painting the doors and window frames outside amounts to seventeen pounds, eighteen shillings and 11 pence. £17.18.11

# Small slip dated March and April

Day work to the above in conveyance of the bank work not being done in a proper manner. Cutting away bank work and dubbing out to ditch

Bases of columns, shafts, moulding, logging, labourers and plaster round to bases and sub bases

£24 16 7

(bottom of document is missing)

• John Croft (attatched to bill for cottage dated 1829 and bills starting January 1829)

From John Fuller Esq. To John Croft

Monthly bills for day work are

- January £2 4s 3d
- February £3 5s 9s
- March £10 13s 9d
- April £5 13s 10d
- May £3 10s 6d
- June £5 4s 3d
- July £4 13s 9d
- August £2 2s 0d
- September £2 0s 0d
- October £5 13s 6d
- November £5 13s 6d

### Total £48 16s 6d

- Bill for nails £4 16s 3d
- Bill for white lead (and Hail?) £13 5s 3d
- Bill for glazing and painting £14 10s 3d

- Bill for lead and glass £11 6s 7d
- Bill for work done at Bodiam Castle £114 10s 0d
- Building a cottage at Bodiam Castle £17 18s 11d

# Small Slip

Billed the 30<sup>th</sup> August 1830 of Jon Fuller Esq. by payment of Mr. Barton forty two pounds 13d – due to the death of the late John Croft and account.

£42 13s Jon Hallanday executor

# • John Crofts account

Work at Bodiam Castle £114 10s 0s

Building a new cottage at Bodiam Castle £17 18s 11d

Unnamed work £90 4s 3d

#### ESRO RAF/F 1/4 Deeds for Bodiam Castle

#### Auction Leaflet

In Sussex – the particulars of a very admired freehold property, the ancient castle of Bodiham. About 25 acres of land; also the Manor of Bodiham. Will be sold by auction by Mr Geo.e Robins at the auction mark, opposite the bank, on Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> September 1828 by direction of a man of rank.

# Lot VIII

The ancient freehold castle of Bodiham

The Walls of which exhibit a beautiful specimen of the Masonry of feudal times, with the site of the spacious interior parts thereof – the Moat surround the same – the little Moat and Drawbridge; the area includes four Acres of Land. Also;

A freehold wharf and several pieces of Brook Land

Situate in the CASTLE LEVEL, by BODIHAM BRIDGE, in the parish of BODIHAM, adjoining to BODIHAM CHANNEL, and the high road from STEEPLE CROSS towards BODIHAM viz.

- The wharf by Bodiham bridge
- The chalk foreland by Bodiham channel (both Stehpen Morris tenant at will)
- The garden adjoining and fronting the high road
- The castle field

- The ponds
- Oak marsh (all John Boddy tenant at will)
- The coach road and small close
- The patch adjoining
- The castle green adjoining the moat (all three Thomas Henly tenant at will)
- The area f the castle as above

#### Total annual value at £22 2s 3d

Also the Manor of Bodiham with its rights, royalties, privileges and appurtenances

The annual quit rents are £9 6s 3d

The annual casual profits on the average of the last seven years has been £17 7s 3d

Annual value: £26 14 7

The land tax on the manor of Bodiam is redeemed; but it is subject to a castle guard rent of 18s per annum, except in leap year, and then of £1 4s

# The following historical account of the Castle of Bodiham, it is believed, will not be thought uninteresting or out of place in this particular

Bodiam Castle, Sussex, at a small distance eastward of the village of that name, is seated near the river Rother, on the boarders of the county on the Kent side.

Independent of the great interest which these magnificent ruins possess for the Antiquary, the solemn stillness of their scenery, arising from the motionless waters which surround them, renders them no less than delightful to the picturesque eye then the pensive mind. Seated in a low ground, like many of the ancient mansions of England, the Castle of Bodiham is environed by a large and deep moat, and presents a figure nearly square, guarded by a round tower at each angle, - having gates in the north and south parts, and a quadrangular turret on the east and west sides. The North Gate is the principal entrance; and it is approached over a road or causeway which stretches across the moat, whilst it was also formerly defended by a portcullis yet hanging on its groves, and an advanced porch, part of which is still remaining. On each site of the entrance is a square embattled tower; and immediately above the gate are three escutcheons of arms carved beneath a crest of a unicorns head. The first of these are the arms of the Lords of Bodiham; the second those of the family of Dalyngrige, by whom the castle was built; and the third those of a marriage in the family now unknown.

The lodgings and offices of this castle were parallel to the main walls, leaving an open area in the centre, and the interior forms a pleasing view of the towers and walls mantled with ivy, surrounding a square of verdure ornamented by the trees upon it. On the eastern side of the ruins is the chapel, and at the south west angle is the kitchen. The abutments of a bridge are still remaining, both at the sallyport and at the principal entrance.

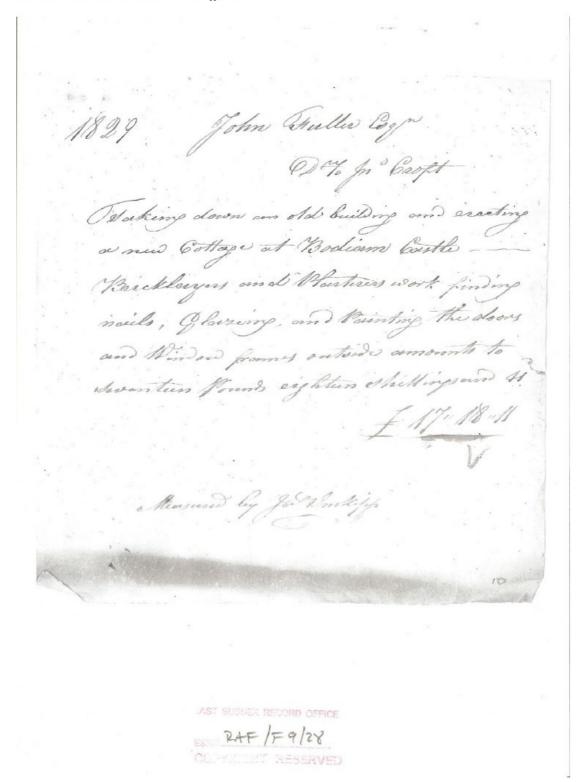
The great gate is very grand, it is flanked by two square machicolated towers. The east and west walls measure 165 feet, those forming the north and south 150 feet. On the north side of this castle, as stated by the Rev. Mr Russell, in a letter to sir William Burrell, is a very remarkable echo – the excellence consists in placing the hearers and singers at different distances from the edifice.

# • Dated 11th day of November 1828

Sir Godfrey Webster Baronet and John Fuller Esquire

Agreement for sale and purchase of Bodiham Castle, Manor and lands in Sussex.

**Appendix B**: Sample of the documents used in this dissertation. All original documents are located at East Sussex Records Office.



# 1. Introduction

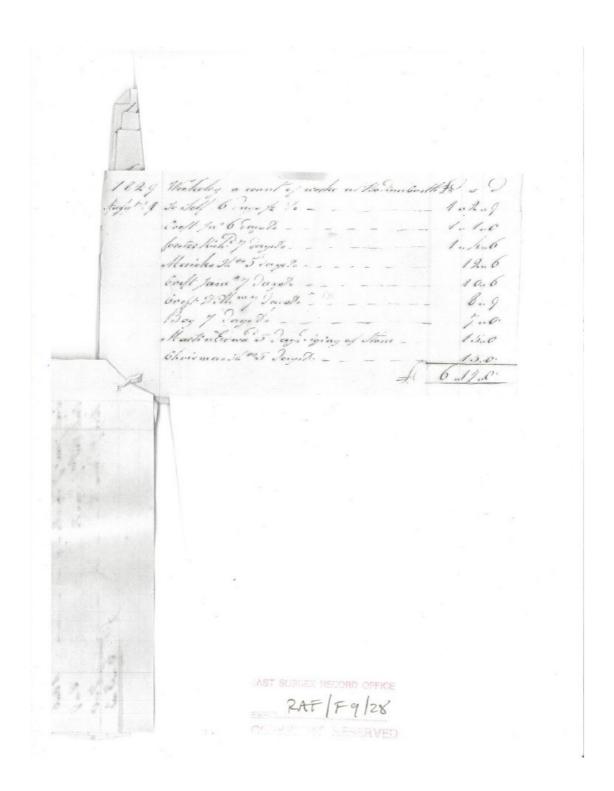
# 1.1 Aims of this research project

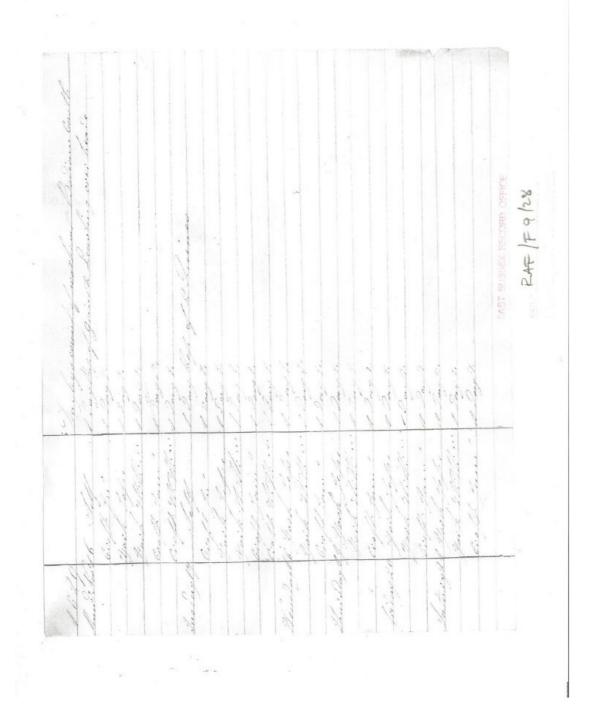
The aims of this research project are to assess the extent of the work carried out by John Fuller at Bodiam Castle, and subsequently relate this to his work at Brightling Park and the wider socio-political context. Core to this dissertation is two pieces of original research, which as far as I am aware there has been no previous publication on. The information gathered from this research therefore holds significance, as I suggests that it proves that there has been a lack of recognition of the site of Bodiam Castle as part of a nineteenth century designed landscape. Bodiam Castle has been a focus for archaeological research for a number of years, and sits at the centre of a debate over its significance as part of a medieval designed landscape. The University of Southampton is currently undertaking an extensive topographical and geophysical survey of the site, and I believe that in this publication, as well as in previous interpretations of the site, there exists a need for a consideration of the changes made to the site during the nineteenth century. Therefore, through this dissertation I will suggest the extent of the work carried out at the site by John Fuller. Through placing this work in the wider socio-political and landscaping context I believe we can further our understanding of the site as part of a designed landscape, and therefore begin to understand the changes that the site has been subject to over time. I am of the opinion that by studying the work of John Fuller, the person whom I believe to have started the process of seeing the ruin as part of a pristine, designed landscape as we do today, we can further our understanding the nature of the castle landscape itself.

#### 1.2 Bodiam Castle

Built by the knight Sir Edward Dalyngrigge, Bodiam Castle is a medieval castle located near Robertsbridge in East Sussex (OS grid reference TQ 78 25, latitude and longitude 000 32 E, 50 59 N) (See figures 1.1 -1.5). Dalyngrigge gained possession of the site in 1378 and the licence to crenellate was granted in 1385.

A fair degree of historical and archaeological work has been carried out at the site. A historical and descriptive survey of Bodiam was carried out by Curzon and published posthumously in 1926, and an archaeological survey was undertaken by the Sussex Archaeological Unit during 1983. In 1988 the RCHME carried out a survey of the site, producing a topographic record of the Bodiam Landscape and interpretations of the





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earthworks present in the results of the survey. More recent work includes an extensive desk based assessment of the site (Johnson, Martin and Whittick 2001) and a geophysical survey carried out by the University of Southampton in Easter 2010 (Barker et al. 2010). This survey detailed a full topographical survey of the Bodiam landscape, as well as geophysical surveys of a number of key areas at the site (Barker et al. 2010). Whilst the castle itself has been a focus for research for a number of years, there has been a limited amount of investigation into Fuller's work at the site. Subsequently, I suggest that as a result of this there exists a need for a consideration of how the site may have been altered during the past two centuries. I believe that John Fuller contributed fundamentally to a process of changing how the site is perceived today.

#### 1.3 John 'Mad Jack' Fuller

Following the introduction of Bodiam Castle to this research, it is necessary to introduce further key elements to the dissertation, the first of which is John Fuller (1757-1834). A member of a well-known family of landowners and gun founders, John 'Mad Jack' Fuller was a Sussex politician, landowner and builder of follies (figure 1.6). Fuller was known for his formidable character in parliament, and is described by Lucas as "a character both in London and Sussex, he was big and bluff and wealthy and the squire of Rose Hill" (1904: 380). Fuller inherited the estate at Brightling Park (figure 1.7), formally known as the Rose Hill estate, upon the death of his uncle Rose Fuller in 1777, along with plantations in the West Indies which had been a major source of capital for the Fuller family (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 2011). A well-known supporter of the slave trade, Fuller held parliamentary seats in both Hampshire and Sussex; according to Lucas, "he sat for Sussex from 1801 to 1812, and was once carried from the House by the Sergeant at Arms and his minors, for refusing to give way in debate and calling the Speaker 'the insignificant little fellow in a wig" (1904: 380). Fuller was a renowned character, hence him receiving the name Mad Jack, due to a number of factors including his outspoken parliamentary conduct; Fuller himself preferred the name 'Honest Jack' (Lucas 1904: 380). Upon his retirement from parliament in 1812, Fuller began the process of building follies around his estate in Brightling, the culmination of which was his purchase of Bodiam Castle in 1829. According to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, upon his retirement Fuller had "established himself as the local squire determined to make a name for himself in the eyes of posterity" (2011: 1), hence him beginning the process of landscaping his estate at Brightling and the grounds of Bodiam Castle.

#### 1.4 Brightling Park and Fuller's Follies

One of the achievements for which Fuller is best known is his follies, which were constructed around his estate in Brightling. Brightling Park, located in Brightling, East Sussex, covers an area of 212 hectares (gird reference TQ 6833 2093, latitude and longitude 000 23 50 E 50 57 45 N) and is located at a distance of 4 miles from Bodiam (Figure 1.8; Figure 1.9). The estate was originally laid out by Capability Brown and later landscaped whilst in Fuller's possession by Humphry Repton in 1806 (Stroud 1975, Carter et al. 1982). Fuller built his follies around Brightling Park, as well as across the wider landscape of the Brightling parish and in the parish churchyard (figure 1.10). The eye-catching monuments were commissioned by Fuller himself, but largely designed under the architect Sir Robert Smirke (English Heritage Pastscape 2011). The Brightling landscape and one of Fuller's follies is depicted in in early nineteenth century "Brightling Observatory" by J.M.W Turner (figure 1.11).

A folly, in regards to architecture, is defined as "a whimsical or extravagant structure built to serve as a conversation piece, lend interest to a view, commemorate a person or event: found especially in England in the eighteenth century", with the origins for the word from the old French follie meaning 'madness' or in modern French 'delight' or 'favourite dwelling' (Oxford English Dictionary 2011). Fuller's follies are achievements for which he is well known, and I believe this holds significance in terms of the monuments contribution to our placing of Fuller's work within the wider socio-political and landscaping context. The structures themselves take a number of forms. The most well-known of Fuller's follies are the Brightling Needle, also known as The Obelisk, which is a 20m stone tower located to the north-west of Fuller's estate (figure 1.12); and the Sugarloaf, a 10m high stone structure located to the south-west of Brightling (figure 1.13). Fuller also built a number of other structures, including a temple in Brightling Park, an observatory (as he was a benefactor of the Royal Society and a supporter of the sciences) (figure 1.14), a tower (figure 1.15) and The Pyramid – a stone mausoleum which Fuller constructed for himself, and is subsequently buried in, in Brightling Churchyard (figure 1.16).

# 1.5 The archaeology of estate landscapes

After introducing the areas of study for this research, it is necessary to relate the topic to the wider study of estate landscapes and its application in archaeology. The study of estate landscapes during this period has benefitted greatly from its position within a multi-

disciplinary research area; an element which I have integrated into this dissertation. To suggest that archaeology paints a more accurate picture of the estate landscape by looking at physical evidence is too simplistic, however, as Williamson suggests, "we should not underestimate the extent to which physical evidence, combined with that from documents, can indeed tell us things which subvert, modify or amplify purely documentary narratives" (2007: 5). The archaeological approach to designed landscapes of this period therefore places focus not only on the documentary evidence, but a multitude of other sources including cartographic, archaeological and physical evidence. This approach is said to have furthered our understanding of estate landscapes as it takes the focus away from famous designers and recognised works, as if often the case with the historical or literary approach, and is instead able to demonstrate the different regional trends and fashions within varied levels of the landed gentry (Williamson 2007). What is key to this concept, and fundamental to this research, is the suggestion that the archaeological approach to the estate landscape "can serve to widen historical imaginations, and reveal the complexity of motives underlying estate management" (Williamson 2007: 5). Whilst historical narratives have looked at the work of Fuller, there has been no archaeological focus on the nature and extent of the work that he carried out at Brightling and Bodiam Castle. Brightling has been studied as an estate, but this is largely due to the fact that both Capability Brown and Humphry Repton carried out work there (Stroud 1975, Carter et al. 1982). At the opposite end of the spectrum, whilst there has been a large amount of archaeological work at Bodiam Castle, I believe there to have been a limited amount of investigation into the site in its later historical context. Therefore, by taking an archaeological approach to the study of both sites, and furthering this with a multidisciplinary study of the wider socio-political context, it is hoped that our understanding of the complexity of motives underlying the work at Bodiam and Brightling will be increased.

#### 1.6 Data sources and methodology

In order to assess the key question for this research, the extent of John Fuller's landscaping at Bodiam Castle, a number of data sources are to be used. Firstly, in order to evaluate the exact nature of the work carried out I will carry out original research into a number of documentary sources. These include bills for work carried out at the site, which were drawn up by Fuller and used in correspondence with his accountant J. Croft, as well as the daily and monthly record of the work taking place at Bodiam. Alongside this, I have also used documentary evidence such as the auction papers for the sale of Bodiam Castle and the



shipwreck, discovered at 365 feet in Lake Michigan off Muskegon on June 5, 2015.

"All of a sudden — boom. There it was," Voss said. "The bottom out there is flat, and then this big image shows up on the printout."

Excited, Voss yelled for the others to wake up and record the GPS coordinates of the discovery. Trotter, a 40-year veteran of Great Lakes shipwreck hunting, rubbed the sleep from his eyes as he looked at the sonar image.

"Yep," he said. "That's it for sure."

It was June 5, 2015, and the grave of the John V. Moran was a mystery no more.

## 'Not a railing is missing'

Although Trotter was sure the big target on sonar was the Moran, the rest of the Michigan Shipwreck Research Association (MSRA) team wanted to be absolutely certain before ringing the dinner bell on the discovery announcement.

The Holland-based wreck hunting team had watched with dismay as a pair of treasure hunters from Muskegon had chummed the waters earlier this year with an announcement of a discovery they thought was the "Holy Grail" of Great Lakes wrecks — explorer Robert de La Salle's Le Griffon — but which turned out to be a 19th-century tugboat with boilers and steel riveting.

Diving on the Moran was the only way to know for sure. Unfortunately, the wreck is under 365 feet of lake water — as deep as the deepest wreck ever dived in Lake Michigan, the Carl D. Bradley, which rests about 380 feet down 12 miles southwest of Gull Island. Diving such wrecks requires significant technical skill and hours of decompression on the ascent.

Valerie van Heest and Craig Rich, MSRA co-directors, felt any scuba dives should wait for warmer water in August or September. In the meantime, they turned to the Michigan State Police Underwater Recovery Unit, which owns a remotely operated submersible that can operate at depths for hours. A scuba diver would be limited to 15 to 18 minutes on the Moran.

The state agreed to join the dive, which took place July 8.

"This was a good training dive for them because it was so deep," said van Heest, a Holland graphic designer, author and local historian.

When the ROV reached the wreck, its cameras showed a ship sitting upright on the bottom, entirely intact, looking for all the world as if it still were moored at the dock.

It's unequivocally one of the best-preserved wrecks in the Great Lakes, she said.

"Not a railing is missing," said Rich, a master diver and former Holland City Council member. "The mast is standing. The lights are standing. The anchors are in position. There's even glass still in the windows." "The only thing missing from this wreck is the smokestack."

#### The last voyage of the J.V. Moran

Prior to July 8, the last time anyone saw the Moran was Sunday, Feb. 12, 1899.

The 214-foot steamer, built in 1888 in Bay City, was only 11 years old when it took its final voyage — a routine, Muskegon-bound dash across an ice-covered lake that left Milwaukee at noon Feb. 9 carrying a cargo of flour, animal feed, peas, oil cake and miscellaneous freight.

Undated photo of the John V. Moran. Courtesy | MSRA

The Crosby Transportation Co. had owned the ship for less than a year. The \$50,000 cargo was the largest the Moran had yet carried. The flour on board, 9,550 barrels of it, was of a select brand destined for Amsterdam.

At some point in the voyage, ice punched a hole in the hull and the ship began to flood. As water began to overwhelm the pumps, Capt. John McLeod, fearing a boiler explosion, ordered the crew of 24 into the lifeboats.

Thankfully for the crew, the Moran had been paced across the lake by her sister steamer Naomi, which heard the distress whistle. The ship pulled alongside about 12:30 a.m. Friday, Feb. 10, and took the stricken vessel's crew aboard in -30 degree weather.

The Naomi tried for several hours to tow the ship, which was sinking by the stern. When that proved to be futile, everything of value was stripped, the cargo was transferred or thrown overboard and the Moran was abandoned to her fate.

Because the sinking occurred along a heavily trafficked route, several other ships passed by the Moran as it slowly settled into the water. The last confirmed sighting happened a couple of days later, on Sunday afternoon, when a passing railcar ferry reported the ship still afloat.

The ship's owners tried to mount a rescue mission, but an equipment failure on the dock in Milwaukee delayed the expedition.

Cold and alone, the Moran slid under the ice, not to be seen for more than a century.

#### Connecting the dots

When ships sink from a gash or immediate hull breach, wreck hunters typically find the vessel's upper decks missing — usually blown apart from the force of internal air pressure escaping the incoming rush of water.

Such is the case with the Moran's identical sister ship, the Eber Ward, which rests in the Straits of Mackinac. It sank there 10 years after the Moran went down.

The Moran, however, is remarkably intact.

"The fact that we're seeing this in such perfect condition confirms a slow sinking," which is a

very rare occurrence," van Heest said.

The MSRA team has found numerous wrecks and partnered on the discovery of others since inception in 2001. The group has a "hit list" of undiscovered Lake Michigan wrecks that include the Andaste, a steamer lost in 1929, and the Chicora, a steamer lost in 1895. Both sunk with all hands during a storm.

Because there were no casualties on the Moran, the wreck's location was better known. However, that's no guarantee of discovery. Tiny variations in the historical account can have a major impact on a potential search grid.

Side scan sonar image of the John V. MoranCourtesy | MSRA

In the Moran's case, there was debate about whether the ship was closer to Grand Haven or Muskegon. Van Heest said the group recently found primary documents during their research that helped winnow a manageable search grid.

"You're connecting the dots," she said. "You're thinking outside the box, trying to hone in on primary sources — never what someone else has written in books. You go to old newspapers, court documents, company records, enrollment papers."

The group is holding onto the ship's location for the moment. Dives are planned to answer further archeological questions and determine where, exactly, water initially breached the hull. The team also hopes to explore the ship's interior.

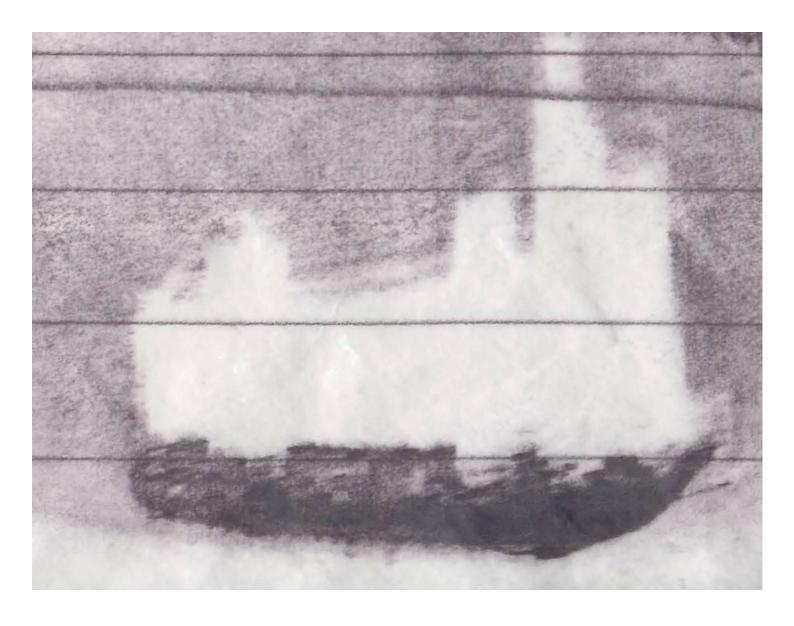
The discovery and documentation efforts on the John V. Moran, as well as other local shipwrecks, was put on display Wednesday in the exhibit "Mysteries Beneath the Waves" at the Michigan Maritime Museum in South Haven.

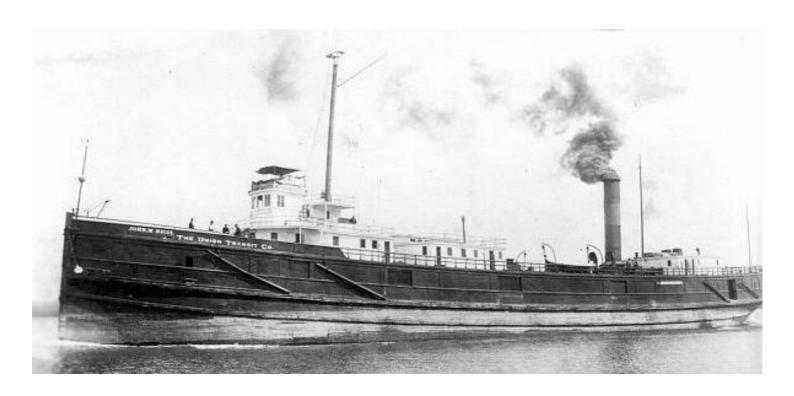
Shipwrecks such as the Moran, lost on the same Michigan-to-Wisconsin route the Lake Express ferry runs today, "help connect us with our past."

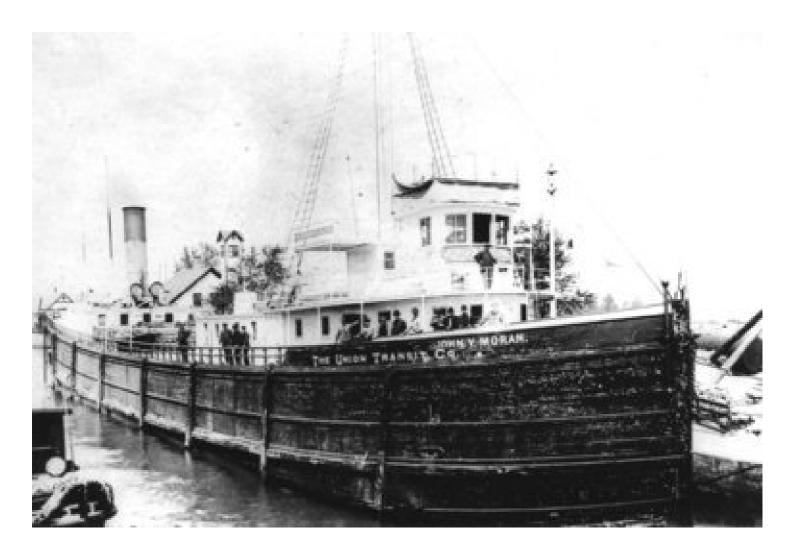
"That's one of the most extraordinary things about a discovery," van Heest said.

Garret Ellison covers business, government and environment for MLive/The Grand Rapids Press. Email him at gellison@mlive.com or follow on Twitter & Instagram

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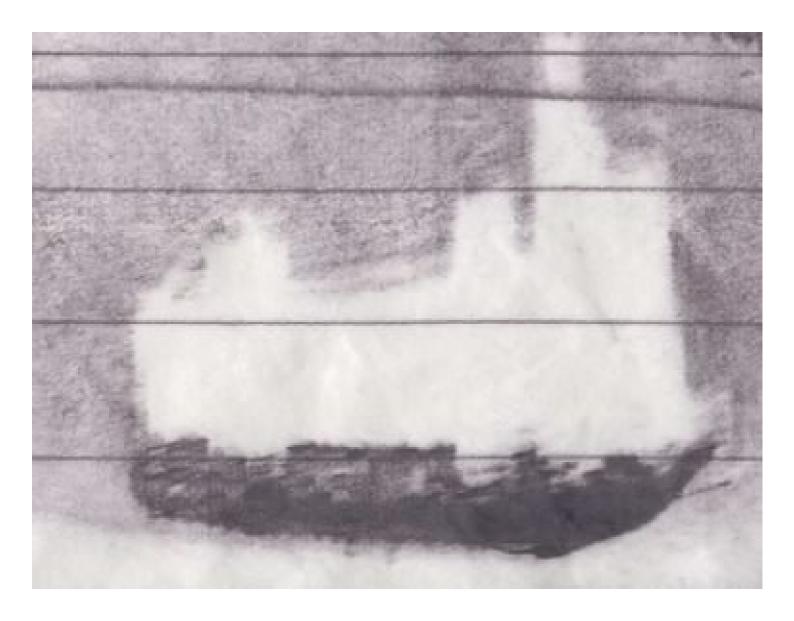










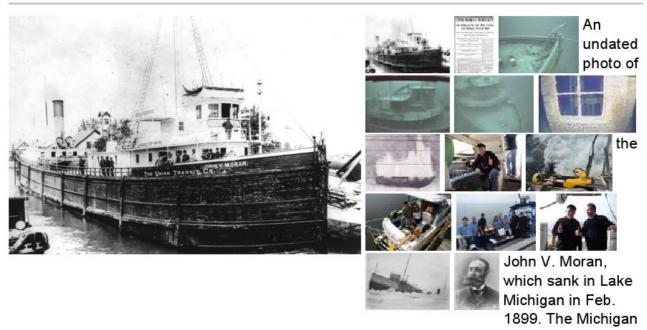




# Deep in Lake Michigan, divers find pristine shipwreck lost in 1899

By Garret Ellison | gellison@mlive.com Follow on Twitter on July 22, 2015 at 6:15 PM, updated July 23, 2015 at 12:42 PM

mlive.com



Shipwreck Research Association (MSRA) and discovered the wreck on June 5, 2015. The group says the wreck is remarkably intact in 365 feet of water 15 miles off Muskegon. (Courtesy Alpena Fletcher Library)

Garret Ellison | gellison@mlive.com

"Not a railing is missing. The mast is standing. There's even glass still in the windows" - Craig Rich

LAKE MICHIGAN — It was 3:30 a.m., and Jeff Voss was tired.

Voss, a tool and die shop owner when he's not diving on shipwrecks, had been at the wheel since midnight, kept awake by Red Bull and the monotonous duty of keeping the boat on course while simultaneously monitoring the sonar.

Somewhere below, a phantom lay waiting. Voss and his fellow wreck sleuths had been patiently combing a 10-square-mile grid of Lake Michigan off Muskegon for the past three days in a modified 25-foot Bayliner; "mowing the lawn" with side-scan sonar in search of a lost propeller steamer that had slipped gently below the icy lake surface more than 116 years ago.

Voss was about to wake fellow searchers Jack van Heest and David Trotter to hand off the boring job when the sonar picked up a structure.

Paydirt.

ROV video of the John V. Moran shipwreck Michigan Shipwreck Research Association codirectors Valerie van Heest and Craig Rich narrate an ROV video of the John V. Moran By Hiromi Tanoue and Vibeke Venema BBC World Service

- 15 July 2015
- From the section Magazine



Yasuo Takamatsu preparing to dive © Getty Images

Twice a month two Japanese men put on scuba gear and go diving. One is looking for his wife, the other for his daughter, both of whom were swept away by the devastating tsunami that struck Japan four years ago. They know they are no longer alive, but the hope of finding something - anything - gives them a much-needed sense of purpose.

Underneath the glittering waters of Onagawa Bay, in Japan's north-eastern Miyagi Prefecture, fridges, TVs, cars, trucks and fishing gear lie scattered on the sea floor, under a layer of mud.

"Imagine a big city, put it in a grinder and throw it all into the ocean," is how one oceanographer described the effect of the Japanese tsunami.



A car bumper lies in a submarine canyon 546m deep © JAMSTEC/TEAMS

Under water, things are still mostly where they were left by the violence of the waves.

In the sunlight up above, on the other hand, everything has changed.

Fishing boats are again going about their business - the Japanese diet is built around seafood and it's a key part of the local economy.

The wreckage of a thriving port has been cleaned away. In its place there is now a vast expanse of concrete - empty except for, in one corner, a modest shrine made up of some laminated pages of A4, a pink plastic chrysanthemum, and, rather incongruously, a Christmas tree.

This is where the Onagawa branch of the Shichijushichi (77) Bank used to stand and the

thirds sank just off the coast, covering the sea floor and damaging the marine environment. About a third floated away, in giant patches that could be tracked on satellite images.

Boats, buoys, propane tanks and refrigerator doors are still washing up on the shores of North America and Hawaii.



Tsunami debris - this ball has the name Yasuda Hikaru with the word "light" above it and was found on the south shore of Hawaii in 2013 © Noni Sanford/ Volcano Volunteers

But much of the tsunami debris has joined the "plastic smog" that collects in oceanic gyres. Marcus Eriksen, from the 5 Gyres Institute, led an expedition to the debris field in June 2012 - 3,800 km east of Tokyo they spotted buckets, laundry detergent bottles, half a boat, and a still-inflated truck tyre. "One day a shoe drifted by," says Eriksen. "What was eerie was that the laces were still laced at the top - it left us thinking."

The bodies of more than 2,000 people, of the 16,000 estimated to have died, have never been recovered.

So what

Yasuo Takamatsu preparing to dive @ Getty Images A car bumper lies in a submarine canyon 546m deep @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS The shrine to 77 Bank employees in Onagawa © Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu with their son Yohei, now 25, and daughter Rina, now 22 © Hiromi Tanoue The bank employees became trapped on the roof by the rising water @ Yoshinori Hara Onagawa was devastated @ Getty Images A satellite image of Onagawa shows an empty space where once there were homes and businesses @ Google Earth Just a couple of buildings were left standing in this area of Ishinomaki @ Getty Images Getting around was almost impossible, bridges and roads were blocked @ Getty Images At 15:25, Yuko tried to send the message: "The tsunami is disastrous" © Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo Takamatsu at home with his family albums © Hiromi Tanoue It took months to clear the wreckage in the Onagawa port area © Junichi Aoki It took months of training for Yasuo Takamatsu to obtain his National Diver's licence © Getty Images Masaaki Narita and Yasuo Takamatsu get into the water © Masaaki Narita / Getty Images Yasuo Takamatsu training for his diving licence @ Getty Images Tsunami debris - this ball has the name Yasuda Hikaru with the word "light" above it and was found on the south shore of Hawaii in 2013 © Noni Sanford/ Volcano Volunteers Tsunami debris - a plastic toy soldier that came ashore in Hawaii (Photo: Mark Kimura from University of Hawaii) Tsunami debris - the slipper has the name Kaori Watanabe written on the strap, and was found in 2012 on the south shore of Hawaii @ Noni Sanford/Volcano Volunteers A fishing net in a submarine canyon 745m deep pictured using a Remotely Operated Vehicle @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS Feather stars grow on marine debris 500m deep off the coast of Tohoku @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS Yasuo Takamatsu (left) Masaaki Narita (centre) his wife Hiromi and other bereaved families gather in front of Emi's portrait @ Narita family Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu © Hiromi Tanoue

about those missing from Onagawa - how far could they have travelled? Not far, says Hiroshi Kitazato from the Japan Agency for Marine-Earth Science and Technology. "I think they sank immediately in the bay. I talked to fishermen in Onagawa town, they said that in the past couple of years they've found no bodies in their fishing nets. This means that in the first two or three years they dredged up dead bodies."

Kitazato points out that, coming from a small community, those fishermen would probably have known who they had fished up. 'They would have felt very bad," he says.

Four years on, this is less likely to happen - organic matter will have mostly "returned to



Tsunami debris - a plastic toy soldier that came ashore in Hawaii (Photo: Mark Kimura from University of Hawaii)

nature", says Kitazato. "Now, we seldom find bodies or their belongings during research activities."

Kitazato's work is aimed at helping ecosystems recover, but after the tsunami many people "felt awful about the sea" he says, and part of his remit is to explain to them how the ocean works. His team goes into schools to show its positive side - "how ocean organisms are beautiful and how the oceanic system is useful for human life."

Many of Onagawa's citizens moved away to escape their memories of the disaster - and to find work. Takamatsu stayed, and, through diving, has a new-found appreciation of the sea. "I found creatures which I had

Yasuo Takamatsu preparing to dive @ Getty Images A car bumper lies in a submarine canyon 546m deep @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS The shrine to 77 Bank employees in Onagawa © Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu with their son Yohei, now 25, and daughter Rina, now 22 © Hiromi Tanoue The bank employees became trapped on the roof by the rising water @ Yoshinori Hara Onagawa was devastated @ Getty Images A satellite image of Onagawa shows an empty space where once there were homes and businesses @ Google Earth Just a couple of buildings were left standing in this area of Ishinomaki @ Getty Images Getting around was almost impossible, bridges and roads were blocked @ Getty Images At 15:25, Yuko tried to send the message: "The tsunami is disastrous" © Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo Takamatsu at home with his family albums © Hiromi Tanoue It took months to clear the wreckage in the Onagawa port area © Junichi Aoki It took months of training for Yasuo Takamatsu to obtain his National Diver's licence @ Getty Images Masaaki Narita and Yasuo Takamatsu get into the water @ Masaaki Narita / Getty Images Yasuo Takamatsu training for his diving licence @ Getty Images Tsunami debris - this ball has the name Yasuda Hikaru with the word "light" above it and was found on the south shore of Hawaii in 2013 Noni Sanford/ Volcano Volunteers Tsunami debris - a plastic toy soldier that came ashore in Hawaii (Photo: Mark Kimura from University of Hawaii) Tsunami debris - the slipper has the name Kaori Watanabe written on the strap, and was found in 2012 on the south shore of Hawaii © Noni Sanford/Volcano Volunteers A fishing net in a submarine canyon 745m deep pictured using a Remotely Operated Vehicle @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS Feather stars grow on marine debris 500m deep off the coast of Tohoku © JAMSTEC/TEAMS Yasuo Takamatsu (left) Masaaki Narita (centre) his wife Hiromi and other bereaved families gather in front of Emi's portrait @ Narita family Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu © Hiromi Tanoue

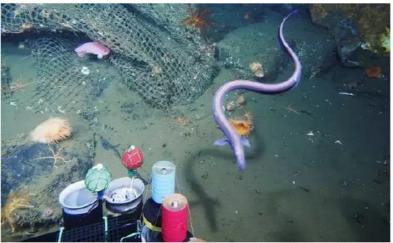


Tsunami debris - the slipper has the name Kaori Watanabe written on the strap, and was found in 2012 on the south shore of Hawaii © Noni Sanford/Volcano Volunteers

never seen, beautiful fish such as lumpfish," he says. "You cannot see such worlds usually."

Despite the seeming hopelessness of their task, Takamatsu and Narita have no intention of giving up. "I still have a hope we can find something - maybe a human body, regardless of whether it's my daughter's or not," says Narita.

His only memento of Emi is a



A fishing net in a submarine canyon 745m deep pictured using a Remotely Operated Vehicle @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS

painting he commissioned after her death, which has pride of place in the living room - all of his own photographs were lost, along with the family home.

"I want to search for my daughter as long as my body allows me to. If I just give up, there's zero chance. If I keep searching, I might have a chance at least."

Takamatsu feels the same way. "I want to continue my search as

long

as my

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Feather stars grow on marine debris 500m deep off the coast of Tohoku © JAMSTEC/TEAMS

strength lasts, even though the chances of finding her are slim. I know that she has already passed away, but I don't want her to be left alone under the sea.

"Honestly, I still want to find her and bring her home."

Yasuo Takamatsu appeared on Outlook on the BBC World Service. Listen again to the interview on iPlayer or get the Outlook podcast.

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Yasuo Takamatsu (left) Masaaki Narita (centre) his wife Hiromi and other bereaved families gather in front of Emi's portrait ⊚ Narita family



Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu © Hiromi Tanoue

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The shrine to 77 Bank employees in Onagawa © Hiromi Tanoue

shrine is there to commemorate it.

When the tsunami warning sounded at 14:50 on the afternoon of 11 March 2011, the bank's employees were busy tidying up the damage caused by the earthquake that had shaken the building a few minutes earlier.

Their manager was out seeing clients. Driving back along the coast he could see the sea sharply withdrawing - a sure sign of an imminent tsunami. As soon as he walked in he told everyone

to stop and to climb on to the roof of the two-storey building as quickly as possible.

Sure enough, as soon as they got there, they heard the siren and the municipal broadcast warning people to evacuate to high ground - just a few hundred metres away were the steep slopes of Mount Horikiri, where some people were already seeking shelter.

One employee asked if she could go home because she was worried about her children. The manager said he couldn't stop her, so she ran to her car, which was parked 300m away, and drove home.

The manager told those remaining to watch the sea, just 100m away in normal conditions, and to listen out for further news. The radio warned that a 6m-high tsunami would hit at 15:10.

Among the 13 bank employees up on the roof that day was 47-year-old Yuko Takamatsu. Her husband Yasuo had dropped her off by car that morning, though they only lived a few minutes' drive away. During the short journey they had talked about what to have for dinner. "Don't say: 'Anything is fine!" she had said.



Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu with their son Yohei, now 25, and daughter Rina, now 22 © Hiromi Tanoue

## Find out more

- Yasuo Takamatsu spoke to Outlook on the BBC World Service
- Listen to the interview on iPlayer

With Yuko on the roof was her colleague, 26-year-old Emi Narita, from the neighbouring town of Ishinomaki, where her father Masaaki ran a fish-processing

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plant. She had seen him just the night before, when she went over to pick up her dinner - her grandmother still liked to cook for her.

As the workers stood nervously on the roof they debated whether there was time to flee to the nearby hospital - a much taller and stronger building, but they decided to stay. After all, a 6m-high tsunami would only reach the first floor. Some went down to get their coats - it was cold, there was still snow on the ground.

Yuko sent her husband a text message: "Are you safe? I want to go home."

The tsunami swept into Onagawa moments later. Footage filmed by a survivor shows how the dark water moved swiftly and relentlessly into town, pushing over everything in its path. Buildings gave way and cars and trucks were picked up like toys, and acted like floating battering rams adding to the wave's destructive power. Within minutes the sea had engulfed areas that were once considered safe.

The bank flooded quickly - it took just five minutes for the water to fill half the building. The

workers decided to climb up even higher on top of an electrical room standing on the roof of the two-storey building. As they climbed the 3m vertical ladder the strong wind almost blew them off.



The bank employees became trapped on the roof by the rising water © Yoshinori
Hara

Many people witnessed their desperate bid to escape to safety. A Facebook post reads: "We get a lump in a throat every time we think about the female bankers who, wearing skirts, had to climb the ladder with unimaginable fear, and male bankers who threw off their coats at the last minute regardless of the cold weather, their fear, despair and regret."

The tsunami turned out to be far, far bigger than anyone expected.

The town's defences had largely been based on the worst tsunami in living memory - a 6m-high tsunami in Chile in 1960. But this one reached more than three times higher.

As a consequence many designated shelters were inundated - even the hospital was flooded, killing four people in the building itself and an estimated 16 in the car park.



Onagawa was devastated @ Getty Images

"Onagawa was one of the areas hardest hit by the tsunami," says Tsutomu Yamanaka, a relief coordinator who arrived a week after the disaster for the aid organisation Japan Platform.

The coastline of the region is a series of submerged river valleys shaped "like the teeth of a saw", he says, and tsunamis reach great heights as the water funnels into the crevices.

A town has little chance in this battle

between ocean and mountain. Satellite pictures show how the sea reached in and clawed the town away. More than 5,000 buildings were washed away or damaged beyond repair.

"Buildings had been torn from their foundations," says Yanamaka, describing the scene he witnessed when he arrived in Onagawa. "A train had been swept to the hill far from the station."



A satellite image of Onagawa shows an empty space where once there were homes and businesses © Google Earth

The morning after the tsunami Yasuo Takamatsu made his way to the municipal hospital to find Yuko. He soon had to abandon the car and push a path through the wreckage.

He was stunned to find she wasn't there.

"There were lots of people taking refuge there, but I was told she'd been taken away by the tsunami," he says. "After that I just couldn't stand

up. I'd lost all my strength like it had been washed away."

It took Emi Narita's father, Masaaki, longer to find out about his daughter's fate in the chaotic days after the disaster.

He himself had only just driven to safety with his mother-in-law, the tsunami "coming over a few cars behind us".

For four days he was unable to contact his wife, who was working as a nurse away from home. It was she who told him Emi was missing. "I couldn't believe it. I can't believe it even now," he says. "Until that moment, I had no doubt that she would be safe."

Local authorities were overwhelmed by the scale of the disaster, the staff reeling from their own personal losses, on top of massive practical and logistical problems.



Just a couple of buildings were left standing in this area of Ishinomaki © Getty Images

Almost one in 10 of the town's residents was dead or missing. The majority of survivors were staying in special accommodation for evacuees. They spent their days searching for loved ones, picking through the chaos and walking for miles along the breakwaters on the shoreline.

Takamatsu was there too, looking for his wife, Yuko. "I

Yasuo Takamatsu preparing to dive © Getty Images A car bumper lies in a submarine canyon 546m deep © JAMSTEC/TEAMS The shrine to 77 Bank employees in Onagawa © Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu with their son Yohei, now 25, and daughter Rina, now 22 © Hiromi Tanoue The bank employees became trapped

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Getting around was almost impossible, bridges and roads were blocked @ Getty Images

searched everywhere for her, but she was nowhere to be found," he says.

The only thing that was eventually recovered was Yuko's mobile phone, found in the parking lot behind the 77 Bank building. At first, Takamatsu thought it wouldn't work because it had been soaked with water, but months later, he took the phone out and tried it.

Miraculously, it came to life. Then he saw she'd tried to send another message that never reached him. It said: "The tsunami is disastrous."



At 15.25, Yuko ined io send ine message. The isunami is disasilous © Allom. Tanoue

Of the 13 people on the roof, one, amazingly, survived - he held on to floating debris and was swept out to sea, almost losing consciousness in the icy water before he was rescued by a fishing boat hours later. The bodies of four bank staff were found, but eight are still missing, Emi and Yuko among them. The worker who left the building by car survived.

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Yasuo Takamatsu at home with his family albums © Hiromi Tanoue



It took months to clear the wreckage in the Onagawa port area © Junichi Aoki

her one day, as long as I kept diving Yasuo Takamatsu, Tsunami widower couldn't understand why they escaped to the rooftop," says Narita. "There's no more escape there. If they had escaped to the mountain, they could have climbed to a higher place. I thought evacuation to the mountain was a matter of course."

The 77 Bank was cleared away along with all the other buildings in the port area, bar one, which was left as a memorial. Although the town began to rebuild, for the bereaved families it was hard to move on.

"We are still stuck in 2011," says Narita.

Takamatsu is haunted by the message Yuko sent. "I have this feeling that she still wants to come home," he says.

I felt like I could meet

"I wish I had gone to pick her up at the bank after the earthquake struck, but I'm still not sure what would have been the right decision. The tsunami warning told us to stay away from the shoreline, and if I'd gone down to pick her up, chances are I would have been taken out by the tsunami as well.

"But at the same time, I wish I'd gone and saved her."

Two years ago, when he saw divers from the Japanese Coast Guard out searching for the remains of the missing, it gave him an idea: he could do the same, and perhaps bring Yuko home.

"So I learned to dive. I felt like I could meet her one day as long as I kept diving," he says.

Takamatsu needed to qualify for a diving licence, and he began taking lessons at a diving school. When he talked to Narita about it, and offered to look for Emi too, Narita decided to join him.



It took months of training for Yasuo Takamatsu to obtain his National Diver's licence © Getty Images

Learning to dive was a challenge for these men, both in their mid-50s. Takamatsu was terrified by the thought of his oxygen failing, and having to come up for air. "At 5m below, I could swim up without much trouble, but at 20m deep it gets dangerous - thinking about those things always scared me," he says.

Narita had other problems. "I didn't get scared, but I

Yasuo Takamatsu preparing to dive @ Getty Images A car bumper lies in a submarine canyon 546m deep @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS The shrine to 77 Bank employees in Onagawa © Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu with their son Yohei, now 25, and daughter Rina, now 22 @ Hiromi Tanoue The bank employees became trapped on the roof by the rising water @ Yoshinori Hara Onagawa was devastated @ Getty Images A satellite image of Onagawa shows an empty space where once there were homes and businesses @ Google Earth Just a couple of buildings were left standing in this area of Ishinomaki @ Getty Images Getting around was almost impossible, bridges and roads were blocked @ Getty Images At 15:25, Yuko tried to send the message: "The tsunami is disastrous" © Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo Takamatsu at home with his family albums © Hiromi Tanoue It took months to clear the wreckage in the Onagawa port area © Junichi Aoki It took months of training for Yasuo Takamatsu to obtain his National Diver's licence @ Getty Images Masaaki Narita and Yasuo Takamatsu get into the water @ Masaaki Narita / Getty Images Yasuo Takamatsu training for his diving licence @ Getty Images Tsunami debris - this ball has the name Yasuda Hikaru with the word "light" above it and was found on the south shore of Hawaii in 2013 © Noni Sanford/ Volcano Volunteers Tsunami debris - a plastic toy soldier that came ashore in Hawaii (Photo: Mark Kimura from University of Hawaii) Tsunami debris - the slipper has the name Kaori Watanabe written on the strap, and was found in 2012 on the south shore of Hawaii @ Noni Sanford/Volcano Volunteers A fishing net in a submarine canyon 745m deep pictured using a Remotely Operated Vehicle @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS Feather stars grow on marine debris 500m deep off the coast of Tohoku @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS Yasuo Takamatsu (left) Masaaki Narita (centre) his wife Hiromi and other bereaved families gather in front of Emi's portrait © Narita family Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu © Hiromi Tanoue

couldn't control my body under the sea at all," he says. He found it hard even to regulate his breathing. "I never considered quitting, but I struggled."

After months of training, the two men qualified last summer, and have since completed more than 80 dives. The search has given them purpose and lifted their spirits.



Masaaki Narita and Yasuo Takamatsu get into the water © Masaaki Narita / Getty Images

"I couldn't do anything before I started diving, but after I decided to find my daughter by myself, I could become positive about it - a bit. I get encouraged by searching for her," says Narita.

"It was depressing not doing anything," says Takamatsu. "At first I just wanted to find my wife, but now I hope I can find others too."

> lt's hard

Yasuo Takamatsu preparing to dive © Getty Images A car bumper lies in a submarine canyon 546m deep © JAMSTEC/TEAMS The shrine to 77 Bank employees in Onagawa @ Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu with their son Yohei, now 25, and daughter Rina, now 22 © Hiromi Tanoue The bank employees became trapped on the roof by the rising water @ Yoshinori Hara Onagawa was devastated @ Getty Images A satellite image of Onagawa shows an empty space where once there were homes and businesses © Google Earth Just a couple of buildings were left standing in this area of Ishinomaki @ Getty Images Getting around was almost impossible, bridges and roads were blocked @ Getty Images At 15:25, Yuko tried to send the message: "The tsunami is disastrous" @ Hiromi Tanoue Yasuo Takamatsu at home with his family albums @ Hiromi Tanoue It took months to clear the wreckage in the Onagawa port area © Junichi Aoki It took months of training for Yasuo Takamatsu to obtain his National Diver's licence @ Getty Images Masaaki Narita and Yasuo Takamatsu get into the water @ Masaaki Narita / Getty Images Yasuo Takamatsu training for his diving licence @ Getty Images Tsunami debris - this ball has the name Yasuda Hikaru with the word "light" above it and was found on the south shore of Hawaii in 2013 Noni Sanford/ Volcano Volunteers Tsunami debris - a plastic toy soldier that came ashore in Hawaii (Photo: Mark Kimura from University of Hawaii) Tsunami debris - the slipper has the name Kaori Watanabe written on the strap, and was found in 2012 on the south shore of Hawaii © Noni Sanford/Volcano Volunteers A fishing net in a submarine canyon 745m deep pictured using a Remotely Operated Vehicle @ JAMSTEC/TEAMS Feather stars grow on marine debris 500m deep off the coast of Tohoku © JAMSTEC/TEAMS Yasuo Takamatsu (left) Masaaki Narita (centre) his wife Hiromi and other bereaved families gather in front of Emi's portrait @ Narita family Yasuo and Yuko Takamatsu © Hiromi Tanoue



Yasuo Takamatsu training for his diving licence © Getty Images

work. The bay is very deep and most objects are buried under a thick layer of mud, which, when disturbed, also makes it hard to see.

They have good days. On one they found a child's calligraphy box with his name on it, and a wedding album. Anything with a name goes back to the owners. Wallets, bank books, and stamps are handed to the police.

Photographs can often be restored.

An estimated five million tonnes of debris was dragged into the sea by the tsunami. Two-

# Does the US Need a Nationwide Exorcism?

by PATTI ARMSTRONG ncregister.com

# In light of the spiritual housecleaning in Mexico in May, clergy weigh the efficacy of exorcising an entire geographic area.



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Can — or should — an exorcism be done for the United States, as was done in Mexico this past May?

Cardinal Juan Sandoval Íñiguez, the archbishop emeritus of Guadalajara, performed the rite, together with priests from across Mexico, at the Cathedral of San Luis Potosí in a closed-door ceremony. The purpose: to drive away the evil responsible for skyrocketing violence, abortion and drugs in that predominantly-Catholic nation.

Such "exorcisms ... have helped bring awareness that there is such a thing as sin influenced by Satan," said Msgr. John Esseff, a priest for 62 years in the Diocese of Scranton, Pa., and an exorcist for more than 35 years.

"The devil has much to do with [influencing people in] breaking the law of God," he said.

But an exorcism over the United States is unlikely, according to Msgr. Esseff.

Instead, he said such action can be done diocese by diocese, and he encourages each bishop to do so. "Every bishop is the chief exorcist of his own diocese," Msgr. Esseff said. "Anytime anyone with the authority uses his power against Satan, that is powerful. Every priest and bishop has that power."

During the exorcism of a diocese, Msgr. Esseff explained that the bishop calls on the power of Jesus over every court, every single institution, every individual and every family. "The whole country would have such

power if bishops would exorcise their dioceses."

In 2013, Bishop Thomas Paprocki of Springfield, Ill., performed a minor exorcism at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Springfield in response to the governor's signing same-sex "marriage" into law on that day.

The bishop explained that the minor exorcism, which takes place at every baptism and confirmation, is a ceremony to renounce Satan. (A major exorcism is directed at the expulsion of demons or to the liberation of a possessed person.) He said the prayer service was "not meant to demonize anyone," but was "intended to call attention to the diabolical influences of the devil that have penetrated our culture."

## 'As Faith Diminishes, Superstition Increases'

take a hint; kicking the Holy Spirit out doesn't work & pretending the great I Am is just your buddy doesn't cut it. Many people believe in spiritualism (ghosts, aliens, other dimensions), but they aren't seeing the true power in the church so they go looking elsewhere. When believers in the USA abdicated their duties to overarching groups of clergy, started denying the power of the Lord (2 Timothy 3:5 "Having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof..."), is when evil was allowed to gain more of a foothold.

Stop relying on someone 'above' you to fix this. It starts in your house, in your life, with your family making a commitment to read and seek to understand the Bible though the revelation of the Holy Spirit.

#### 2 Chronicles 7:14

if my people, who are called by my name, will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and I will forgive their sin and will heal their land.

Posted by Kathleen on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 12:42 PM (EDT):

The St. Michael prayer should be returned to be recited after Mass.

People have to realize the power of satanic cults...which many clergy themselves do not wish to acknowledge.

We had a deacon come to our parish. He felt the same until he saw things happening at this deliverance prayer. There are about 700,000 people involved in Satanism and about 180,000 consider it...within the USA.

Our bishop consecrated the diocese to the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

People should talk to those religious in monasteries or those who have worked in the foreign missions and hear their experiences.

Posted by anon on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 12:01 PM (EDT):

the abuse, rape & seduction of youth, the practice & glamorizing of sodomy, the destruction of the family, the vilification of the mother & child, these open the portal to hell.

Posted by Mauloa on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 10:18 AM (EDT):

Rather than a "geographical" selection - I believe the "exorcism" needs to take place in the body of "elected representatives" of America - from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue - clear through the Halls of the Capital and the Supreme Court. The evils coming upon this great nation are emanating from there. Politically correct is replacing the "word of God" and politics replacing religion. Since God will not be mocked - we are in for some real hard times if we don't change. The old proverb - "the fish stinks from the top" is true for governing a nation - we have seen civilizations' destroyed because of the decadence of the leaders. We are well on our way to our demise too.

Posted by gaar on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 10:15 AM (EDT):

It was bad enough when the Christians were running the show, but it is even worse now with the Marxist religion now running the show.

Posted by Mary on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:05 PM (EDT):

@Mike Herman - "I'm afraid the Vatican needs its own exorcism. A communist Pope is an oxymoron"

Insulting our beloved Pope will not accomplish anything, the Pope asked for prayers.

Posted by Mary on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 8:48 PM (EDT):

Swellgh - Obviously you are Not Catholic, when you are saying exorcism expels the illegal immigrants.... like Deoacveritati7 said "your ignorance is too much to take."

Posted by Rick Montz on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 8:15 PM (EDT):

Although it is needed by many in the country, there is no precedent for such in scripture. That is one reason that we are in the shape today; there have been too many instances through the years where officials veered from the Word of God and made up "solutions and procedure" from man's thinking. What is needed in the U.S. is mass repentance for, "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." 2 Peter 3:9.

Posted by Andy on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 7:12 PM (EDT):

"The average Joe reading this might think, 'Oh, there must be a bunch of people possessed who need to be exorcised," said Father Driscoll

Um, no. The average Joe will think "wow, there's people who still believe in demon possession in the 21st century! That's insane!"

Posted by Mike Herman on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 5:35 PM (EDT):

I'm afraid the Vatican needs its own exorcism. A communist Pope is an oxymoron.

Posted by YarplyTwelve on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 5:29 PM (EDT):

Nobody expects the Spanish Inquisition!

Their chief weapon is Surprise! Surprise and Fear! Well two chief weapons, Surprise and Fear!,, and being ruthlessly efficient. Well three, Surprise Fear and being ruthlessly efficient! and having an almost fanatical devotion to the pope.

Posted by Joan on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 4:29 PM (EDT):

A group of us began saying the St. Michael prayer after mass. This was after all was done, final processional over, music finished. We were not interrupting anything. We were merely Catholics exercising our free right to pray a Catholic prayer together in a Catholic church. The priest told us to stop praying after mass. When asked why, he said it was not good to set a tone of negativity. Some were for going on anyway, as what could he do? But the majority agreed we must "obey" the parish pastor. This over-deference to authority, an excessive passivity, in the Church is what allows evil to triumph, whether from child abuse, liturgical abuse, or demonic influence.

Posted by Hiram D. Walker on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 3:45 PM (EDT):

With several "Christian Churches" now accepting gay marriage, and several ministers of those churches performing gay marriages, there are many Christian churches that need a good exorcism before trying it on a country full of amoral non-believers.

Posted by Steven Barrett on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 3:44 PM (EDT):

C'mon, this is got to be a joke. This sounds more like a Pat Robertson-like schtick to raise cash in a hurry because he knows he can whip up enough fear of whatever bogeyman who's occupying his mind, esp. when he can smell an opportunity to find more sheople to shear. Folks, let's calm down and stick with what we know best to do; follow the Pope, Magisterium, our local Ordinaries and of course Parish Priests. We're Catholics, and have something to stand on, not the latest fad in some special Bible created for a speical bible study course concocted by some evangelical minister who knows how to shear sheople, too. Stick with our Masses, our Rosaries, etc. And we don't need any foolish national exorcism. Who would you have in mind, Fr. Corapi, if he's still a priest, could at least give off the impression he could scare the Hell out of the guy who has a mortgage on Hell. C'mon ... take a deep breath and relax. Sun's coming up tomorrow, rain or shine. And no, I didn't get this from God. It comes from faith, good old fashioned faith.And if I can be confident, anybody else can, too.

Posted by CDR on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 3:38 PM (EDT):

The country could certainly use a spiritual housecleaning and I would encourage it, but as the OT shows such things are only temporary at best when the leadership of the people is serving the other side.

Posted by Barb on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 2:51 PM (EDT):

Excellent Idea! Each and every Bishop should perform an exorcism in his Diocese.

1 Peter 5:8 - Be sober-minded; be watchful. Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour.

Posted by Doris on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 2:00 PM (EDT):

"Bishop Thomas Paprocki of Springfield, III., performed a minor exorcism . . . in response to

the governor's signing same-sex "marriage" into law on that day." Did Bishop Paprocki also perform exorcisms concerning murders, rapes, home invasions, etc. in the same area, or is his concern only with same-sex marriages?

Posted by RobertELee7 on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 1:35 PM (EDT):

The entire country is in the grip of Satan. I hope clergy has the moral standings to perform the exorcism.

Posted by Falcon195 on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 1:26 PM (EDT):

The major theme in all of this is the steeply negative trajectory of our leadership. It is as if evil is in control and only very God can intervene. The business of turning to God in humility and repentance is a personal responsibility that made in mass would change the course of our nation and the world. However, the Hebrew prophets are clear that persistent human depravity brings global tyranny and horrific war at the end of days. Simply put, time is running out and you must turn to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and his son Jesus Christ, for the salvation of your soul:

"The priests and the captain of the temple guard and the Sadducees came up to Peter and John while they were speaking to the people. They were greatly disturbed because the apostles were teaching the people, proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection of the dead. They seized Peter and John and, because it was evening, they put them in jail until the next day. But many who heard the message believed; so the number of men who believed grew to about five thousand.

The next day the rulers, the elders and the teachers of the law met in Jerusalem. Annas the high priest was there, and so were Caiaphas, John, Alexander and others of the high priest's family. They had Peter and John brought before them and began to question them: "By what power or what name did you do this?"

Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said to them: "Rulers and elders of the people! if we are being called to account today for an act of kindness shown to a man who was lame and are being asked how he was healed, then know this, you and all the people of Israel: It is by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified but whom God raised from the dead, that this man stands before you healed. Jesus is 'the stone you builders rejected, which has become the cornerstone.'

Salvation is found in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given to mankind by which we must be saved."

Acts 4:1-12 NIV

Posted by Robert Mole on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 1:17 PM (EDT):

The St. Michael prayer and Archbishop Carroll's prayer would surely help the USA in its present crisis.

PRAYER FOR GOVERNMENT

We pray, Thee O Almighty and Eternal God! Who through Jesus Christ hast revealed Thy glory to all nations, to preserve the works of Thy mercy, that Thy Church, being spread through the whole world, may continue with unchanging faith in the confession of Thy Name. We pray Thee, who alone art good and holy, to endow with heavenly knowledge, sincere zeal, and sanctity of life, our chief bishop, Pope N., the Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the government of his Church; our own bishop, N., all other bishops, prelates, and pastors of the Church; and especially those who are appointed to exercise amongst us the functions of the holy ministry, and conduct Thy people into the ways of salvation. We pray Thee O God of might, wisdom, and justice! Through whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted, and judgment decreed, assist with Thy Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness, and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides; by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion; by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy; and by restraining vice and immorality. Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of Congress, and shine forth in all the proceedings and laws framed for our rule and government, so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge; and may perpetuate to us the blessing of equal liberty. We pray for his excellency, the governor of this state, for the members of the assembly, for all judges, magistrates, and other officers who are appointed to guard our political welfare, that they may be enabled, by Thy powerful protection, to discharge the duties of their respective stations with honesty and ability. We recommend likewise, to Thy unbounded mercy, all our brethren and fellow citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law; that they may be preserved in union, and in that peace which the world cannot give; and after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal. Finally, we pray to Thee, O Lord of mercy, to remember the souls of Thy servants departed who are gone before us with the sign of faith and repose in the sleep of peace; the souls of our parents, relatives, and friends; of those who, when living, were members of this congregation, and particularly of such as are lately deceased; of all benefactors who, by their donations or legacies to this Church, witnessed their zeal for the decency of divine worship and proved their claim to our grateful and charitable remembrance. To these, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and everlasting peace, through the same Jesus Christ, Our Lord and Savior. Amen

Posted by Alex on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 1:17 PM (EDT):

An exorcism may take many days or years to perform at times depending on the amount of demons or djinn occupying that individual, house, or land. the person who is being exorcised has to choose freedom from these evil entities and cast them out with Latin prayer. Remember that performing an exorcism or cleansing will be like poking a tiger with a stick where you are just gonna piss it off and make it come back with a vengeance. That's why some exorcisms have been performed continuously day after day until the person is free. We need to live like Jesus told us, love your brothers and sisters (even demons are our brothers and sisters from long ago who have lost their ways and we need to help them back to the Holy Trinity of Love. So perform the exorcism, but know that it may take many cleansings to heal such a vast geographic area. Especially because of all the lost souls who practice

satanism and other types of magic (all magic is witchcraft) instead of being endowed by the Holy Spirit. Look at the overall messages of good instead of specifics in the Scriptures that will allow yourself to treat others how you want to be treated and forgive others who wrong you.

Posted by Preciso on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 1:15 PM (EDT):

When Reagan was President and John Paul II was Pope, we were a far more respectful and charitable country, but things have happened that have seemed to help the evil one to flourish. What it was I don't respectfully know for sure. But an exorcism probably wouldn't hurt.

Posted by jerbear on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 1:03 PM (EDT):

Of Course try it. We need it. An exorcism. At least several dedications to Our Beautiful Mother Mary. How about start a campaign to get the Statue of Our Lady of America put into its rightful Place So America may be saved under that title as promised. Instead after the Seer died who was receiving the Apparitions of Our Lady of America and willed them to a friend to finish out Our Ladies promises. She tied them up in court because she wants copyrights and so we see Satan smoke has infiltrated again. Save America...or copyrights. I guess the copyrights are more important. Mammon...what is she going to do with the money anyway when the Shamitah climaxes in Sept. Gold will be thrown into the Streets says the Holy Spirit. A days wage for a loaf of bread. Hang on to your money if you want. It will be worthless within a year....and possibly by Christmas. Oh and I will throw this in. Christmas as we knew it was last year. Never again will it be the same. Its over. cant you read the harbingers. the Shamitah. Discern the times you live...its like telling the weather. everything through Mary...viva Christore' you know what I mean.

Posted by Lorraine on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 12:59 PM (EDT):

Thank you for this article.I can testify that evil spirits and fallen angels are real beings.I've personally experienced their attacks (including physically) and needed the help of an Exorcist.I can testify that G\_D works through HIS Catholic Priests.Oh,if only we in the Church realized the sublime dignity of the Office of the Priesthood and the tremendous power G D has given them including the ability to expel evil, the world would be changed overnight. We do have a duty to pray for them and to Praise and Thank G\_D everyday for them, and I hope you will fight for them - offering prayers and sacrifices for them. Fight and help them - including the ones who appear to have strayed in some way from the narrow road. The enemy has to obey Catholic Priests, and the enemy loves when we do not obey Priests, or when we question their authority or ability, or when we complain or are negative in any way towards them. Please do not help and serve satan. Remember that every Catholic Priest represents Christ Jesus, and every Catholic has the potential to drive away the demonic.Our hearts are a battleground. We need to make a choice (G D or Satan) and every part of our life needs to reflect that choice. It's a choice we need to make each moment of our life. I hope you choose Jesus and reflect HIS Light into this dark world, driving away the demonic which cannot stand the Light.We possess the gates of our enemies as G\_D had promised to Abraham (GEN 22:15-18). Christ Jesus fulfilled this promise - so be of Good Cheer and do not give your

rights, authority, and power to the enemy. G\_D Bless you.

Posted by john on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 12:30 PM (EDT):

If we've gotten to the point that a national exorcism is actually being discussed, then it's time for all Christians, Catholic and Protestant alike, to acknowledge that the demon we allowed to creep into our society decades ago now has taken control of secular society and has even infected the churches. Christians need to start talking about what's happening to us- the silence from the pulpit is deafening!

The apostle Paul tells us clearly that our battle is against principalities and powers, and it should be readily apparent to any discerning Christian that those principalities and powers are hard at work against God's people. A revival of Christianity has never been needed more than right now!

Posted by david on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 11:50 AM (EDT):

NO...we only need churches to stand up and LEAD. The people and the liberals are the only one leading are desperate for leadership

Posted by Hike on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 11:45 AM (EDT):

I'm not sure the entire nation needs and exorcism but I am definitely convinced that our Federal Government does. Probably most State and Local Governments also. I know that those Governments that I live under in the USA do definitely need an exorcism.

Posted by Gale on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 11:29 AM (EDT):

I'm an Evangelical Protestant. I sent a link to my pastor. I think this is absolutely right on, from discerning Catholic leaders. Indeed we are visited these days with vileness that was unimaginable before the 60s brats emerged. Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft. I'm heartened that Catholics are addressing our believer's role in warfare in the heavenlies. I do wish you would invite spiritually discerning Protestant leaders to join you. And yes, this is something circumspect and quiet, not pearls for the swine. Many are like the inhabitants of Capernaum who received Jesus' rebuke, possibly a hindrance to the effecatiousness of the task.

Posted by robert miers on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:57 AM (EDT):

Yep, We sure do. Instead of concentrating on daily housekeeping, raising kids, making money, going to church, and all the normal stuff. We need to take dead aim at electing people of Faith. Constitutional government, and western ideology. Vote importation, as practiced by currant administration will transform the greatest country and government in the world.

Job exportation ruins families and flimsy retraining is a boondoggle excuse. Most importantly, pray, pray hard for protection and guidance in this endeavor.

Posted by Kent Jerome Nauman on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:57 AM (EDT):

I am an independent nondenominational charismatic monk I think in your terms. I agree with all the above comments but wish to point out that you Catholics are ignoring the power of cross. Please read the reports of the Spanish General Hernando Cortez to his CEO Queen Isabella about conquering Mexico with the cross then watch the YouTube video on BuenAventura, the violent chief port of Columbia. I have been visited by Satan twice and wear a red cross front and back to repel him.

Posted by Glenn on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:55 AM (EDT):

What we need is as return to our roots. We were founded on Biblical principles. The Founding Fathers almost to a man indicated they believed in a Supreme Being that gave instructions for his creation to follow. Today we are violating every law God ever gave. A return to God will bring us back. Not a national exorcism.

#### 2 Chronicles 7:14

if my people, who are called by my name, will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and I will forgive their sin and will heal their land.

Posted by Emilliani on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:34 AM (EDT):

The rationalistic skepticism—voicing itself in derision—voiced by many is further evidence of the failing faith of Christians. They mistakenly believe that human beings are solely responsible for the evil around us because they don't allow themselves to believe in supernatural beings of complete malevolence.

I don't know about the efficacy or appropriateness of a country-wide exorcism. I'll let our bishops figure that out. However, that demonic inspiration is behind much of what is going on I don't doubt in the least bit. Satan has always had a special place of hateful contempt for marriage and family, and can recent events be anything other than his influence?

And while I wouldn't go out of the way to publicize a nation-wide exorcism, nor would I conceal it. What we do, we do in the full light of day—for the benefit of the faithful. If people mock it, so what? They mock the Eucharist and everything else we do. Who cares what they think!!

Posted by Stephen Green on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:31 AM (EDT):

It would take at least 100 priests working swing shifts 50 years to perform an exorcism on the USA. We'd be spinning our head and throwing up for at least that long. And that would only cover same-sex marriage.

Posted by Kathleen on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:12 AM (EDT):

When in doubt with a Pope...consult your catechism.

Our faith is centered on Christ, not men. Look at St. Peter. He even backed off from his original position of liberality when S. Paul confronted him.

The Church is mother and guide of our faith...not the end of our salvation.

You look at men, irregardless of their faith and rank...you will lose your faith.

As Christ said, those who endure to the end will be saved.

Follow the full deposit of faith defined in the catechism and go to Mass.

Posted by Diane D on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:08 AM (EDT):

How many American pastors does it take to take a public stand against evil people in government? Answer: we don't know, it has never been tried. Well, actually there is one. Liberty Pastor Chuck Baldwin. You can watch him every Sunday.

Posted by Connie on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 10:02 AM (EDT):

When the Catholic churches & clergy in all religious institutions fail to preach on what is & is NOT a sin then what do you expect? The priests & clergy have been silent on issues political while knowing FULL well that those issues are also moral issues. When socialists/democrats/libs are allowed to speak at Black Christian churches & fill the heads of people that same sex marriage (it's all about LOVE which is nothing but a lie), coveting other people's stuff/\$\$ (calling it "equality"), demanding climate change IS the terrorism of today which is nothing but an evil way of taxing those w/hard earned \$\$ in the bank & giving it to those THEY think should have it (dictators get it NOT the citizens of the socialist countries) but the catholic church & other mostly white churches are too afraid to speak out on immorality & political issues - THIS is what you get - immorality rules. disrespect of human life, disrespect of the elderly, authority (cops).

When Ireland of all countries voted overwhelmingly for same sex marriage (ssm) I knew the Catholic Church had rendered itself irrelevant. THAT is happening all over the world; ssm is an abomination to our creator.

Posted by Preciso on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 9:53 AM (EDT):

I believe if we are all just a little bit good the evil one has no chance. I've never had any use for the devil or his followers, the democrats, and I never will. If a majority of Americans will adopt my thinking America will do just fine.

Posted by Preciso on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 9:16 AM (EDT):

When Pope John Paul II and Ronald Reagan were in their respective offices, the world and the USA enjoyed an unprecedented time of great leadership. There was no war on terrorism, no confusion about what's right and what's wrong, and no using the words of the Pope to support evil as we see today. Hopefully, the American voters will do the right thing and

perhaps Divine Providence will visit wisdom, maturity and sound judgement on the Vatican.

Posted by zonable on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 9:06 AM (EDT):

Not only does this nation need a spiritual exorcism, so does the Vatican. As a Catholic I am appalled at what Pope Francis is doing and saying. Everything that's coming from his mouth now seems to be right in line with Karl Marx, which only goes to show that popes should confine themselves to spiritual items and not political ones. I find his political stances of pro global warming, pro wealth distribution, and pro socialism absolutely disgusting, which speaks volumes about how his mind has been twisted by the fascist-leaning politics of his homeland, Argentina. What a mistake the Cardinals made by putting this guy into power. I will never abide by his political stances, which are mainline left wing.

Posted by zuccchini on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 8:57 AM (EDT):

Not nationwide. Not an exorcism....just get rid of the contents of the White House and most of all this will go away. Its a dark shadow fueled by negative thinking.

Posted by Jeff Johnson on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 8:41 AM (EDT):

Msgr. John Esseff is an amazing priest... I have spoken on the phone with him more than once.

See locutions.org for the truth about what is happening...he is/was the spiritual director for that soul getting messages from Our Lady.

Posted by Thomas Poovathinkal SSP on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 8:24 AM (EDT):

Please perform an exorcism on the BISHOPS of USA who cannot proclaim God's Word in the SPIRIT OF TRUE APOSTLES. If we have too many useless Bishops who have not been touched by the SPIRIT OF JESUS THE LORD, the World will soon be overtaken by EVIL GROUPS.

Posted by Iroy on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 8:18 AM (EDT):

Not sure if it would help, but worth a try. If it doesn't work, hopefully we won't be worse off than we are right now.

BUT...I fear there are certain countries that need it even more right now.

Posted by Penn on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 7:37 AM (EDT):

I'm not sure about the exorcism, (although considering some recent and past actions by presidents, it may be necessary) however, an honest look at our own personal sin, and how it contributes to the current problems certainly is in order. We can't really change another person, only the Holy Spirit can. We can, however, repent for our own sin, and resolve to let the Holy Spirit change us. I think this is where it ought to start.

Father Gary Thomas, pastor at Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Saratoga, Calif., and the exorcist for the Diocese of San Jose, said he has seen notable improvements after exorcising homes and when he re-dedicated a church.

However, he is cautious about the idea of exorcising an entire country.

"I'm not really sure about the efficaciousness of that," he said. "I think there are too many implications we cannot back up if we start saying we are going to exorcise a country." He also cautioned against making a public announcement when exorcising a geographic area because there is usually backlash in the form of skepticism and ridicule.

"I'm not saying it's a bad idea — just that, if it's done, it should be done quietly."

According to Father Thomas, demonic activity has been increasing in the United States because people are choosing to be dissuaded away from God and opening portals such as New Age and witchcraft that are gateways to the demonic. "When faith becomes thin and Satan and agents of Satan move in, there are going to be effects," he said.

"It was Pope Benedict XVI who said that as faith diminishes, superstition increases."

Father Mike Driscoll, chaplain of St. Elizabeth's Medical Center in Ottawa, Ill., and author of the new book *Demons*, *Deliverance*, *and Discernment*, explained that, in addition to possession, demons can infest a place or thing.

"The average Joe reading this might think, 'Oh, there must be a bunch of people possessed who need to be exorcised,'" said Father Driscoll, who is a licensed counselor.

"But part of the exorcism ritual is casting out evil spirits, and it includes a blessing for protection of a place." He said that when demons are driven out, it may not have obvious results to everyone, but it gives God more authority, and priests and laypeople are fortified.

### Territorial Battlefield

Father Patrick (not his real name) is a parish priest and also an exorcist for his U.S. diocese. He said that there are differences when exorcising a place rather than a person.

"With a person, an exorcist investigates to identify the true nature of the problems," he said. "With a place, the exorcist looks at a territorial battlefield where good angels have lost their authority because power has been given over to demons through rejection of God's authority."

According to him, exorcising a place is done to re-establish God's authority. "We want to shift superiority over an area to the angels, but there is still the ground level [response] that needs all the priests to engage in battle too."

Father Patrick said that he has seen holy priests turn their parishes around when the angels were called upon and God was given authority.

Posted by KikiEm on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 7:31 AM (EDT):

Evidently, Cardinal Juan Sandoval Íñiguez's exorcism worked. The exorcism was perfomed to: drive away the evil, responsible for skyrocketing violence, abortion and drugs in that predominantly-Catholic nation. The "evil" was driven out of Mexico, poured across our Southern borders and continue their "evil criminal activity" here, in the land of the constrained and home of the spineless.

Posted by Edmond Day on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 7:05 AM (EDT):

It needs to start in Washington.

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DC is a cesspool of evil.

Posted by Deoacveritati7 on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 6:37 AM (EDT):

Amazing the IGNORANCE of many in here who are NOT Catholics about Exorcism. Yes America should be exorcise and I hope we get some brave Bishops and priests considering to exorcise their archdioceses and their own parishes.

To the Protestants who don't know or understand what Exorcism is, you better be quiet and don't give opinions on subjects you know nothing about because your ignorance is too much to take.

Posted by Jesus Is God! on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 6:33 AM (EDT):

now that this country is killing babies and our highest court has gave a green light to reprobates we are now living as in the day of Sodom and Gomorrah. God have mercy on this country!

Posted by Harumph on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 6:32 AM (EDT):

There's no down side, just do it. And do it before the election, please.

Posted by Rita on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 6:21 AM (EDT):

This is our country in a nutshell currently: I shall commit adultery, I shall take the Lord's name in vain, I shall have other God's before you (Money, sex, alcohol); I shall bear false witness against my neighbor, I shall steal (which why the way includes stealing of time from our work); I shall not honor my Mother and Father - and on an on.

Atheism and "unchurched" is on the rise - People in this country cannot give 1 hour a week in a house of worship because" They are lazy, they don't think they have to; they do not think that religion or saving their soul is that important; they don't feel that God is worth worshiping and on and on.

My how times have changed - since 1960 and the assault my Madalyn Murray O'Hair's with her lawsuit against prayer in school tell me, are we better off morally in this country???

Posted by Brent Taylor on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 6:06 AM (EDT):

No need for an exorcism. God is in the works of giving America a clear lesson when we reject His wisdom. And the signs couldn't be anymore clear or the danger any more apparent.

We will have reaped what we have sown.

Posted by Chris on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 6:04 AM (EDT):

The morality of our country has disintegrated the further we have moved left. Just as in Europe - when socialism and big government takeover peope abandon God snd Faith because the government will be the provider. We are reaping what we have sown. Throughout history aggregated, abusive, unchecked power has caused more human suffering then anything - and once again we are blindly plowing down that path. Sadly, the Catholic church is now pushing us down this disastrous path. I doubt seriously my comments will be aired.

Posted by Swellgh on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 5:51 AM (EDT):

If the exorcism expels the illegal immigrants from America, do it.

Posted by Debbie on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 5:12 AM (EDT):

Our nation is being destroyed; and it is not being destroyed by the evils of capitalism—but by those who want to impose a variation on a form of government that others all over the world have been forever trying to escape! There are not calls for a fence at our borders to keep millions in-but to keep millions out. Our country certainly hasn't been perfect; after all, it's made up of all of us—poor sinners even at our best. But it has provided throughout its history the best environment for the care of the poor, the generous gift of self to others in countless ways, and the nurturing and propagating of the Christian faith. All of that is being systematically stripped away, and we hear nothing of any real substance from our Catholic leadership. Franklin Graham has shown ten times the courage I've seen any priest or bishop demonstrate. Have any of you seen what he has said regarding the recent Supreme Court decision? Does anyone think he doesn't know the world is laughing at him? He knows full well! But our leaders are quiet as mice. Or they group-sign some statement you can read on a website. Are we, as a Church, afraid of being thought of as backward, unsophisticated? Are we afraid of being ridiculed, scorned? Have we become too lofty for our own good, unwilling to risk rejection in our love of Christ? We must speak the truth in love; but we're getting too shy to speak the truth at all, and that is not loving. None of us will slip through the cracks unnoticed by God. Not one. And if we're ashamed of him now, he will be ashamed of us when he returns (LK 9:26). Frankly, we can say all the rosaries in the world, go to Adoration and Mass and receive the Eucharist and the Blood of Christ each morning; but if we are unwilling to even attempt to die daily for the one who died for us-to become what we consume in eating and drinking his Body and Blood—then we're doing all other things in vain. I cannot help but marvel at our inability to get real, to stop pretending we are addressing issues when we're mostly standing on the sidelines wishing the opposition

vanquished at the sign of the cross or the sprinkling of holy water.

Posted by Mary on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 12:59 AM (EDT):

Once a week is not enough. If the Bishops care about souls they would recognize it as a duty to call on any and all heavenly help at this point. Or are they going to wait until Christian's in this country become martyrs. Evil has been unleashed. Fatima is reaching it's zenith, Russia has spread her errors throughout the world now, secularism. If not now, when? The faithful need support.

Posted by Intellect on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 12:58 AM (EDT):

Nothing short of Jesus Christ's second coming will help the United States of America. The Nation was built on Judeo-Christian Principles. The Constitution of the United States was clearly written with the Christian mindset. This has been destroyed by the diabolical and stupid people. People that are not inspired and are mindless, such as , this President and Vice President has run America into the cesspool. This administration is diabolical. Obama pushed birth-control pills and homosexual pseudo marriages from the Bully-Pulpit. He also race baited from the Bully-Pulpit. With the likes of Al Sharpton also a demon. Biden is also diabolical because he also supported and voted for abortion on demand up to and including the 9th month. Biden also pushed and announced ,from the second highest office of the land, same-sex pseudo marriage. Both men in the highest offices of the Nation promoted and sanctioned diabolical actions.

'The Affordable Care Act" a.k.a. Obamacare includes abortion on demand, sterilizations, Sex Changes.(every tax payer is forced to participate with tax dollars) That is clearly diabolical. The Government stacked it that way purposely. Health Insurance Premiums are up and deductibles are so high, you won't be able to use your insurance. Actually, health insurance is not affordable.

The homosexual pseudo marriage was sanctioned by the Supreme Court to be Nation-wide. This allows homosexuals to adopt orphans which denies the children a Father and a Mother. The government is robbing the innocents of the children by forcing them to learn from K-12 that homosexual marriages are equal to a man and a woman getting married which is a Big Lie. Teaching children this perversion and abomination, when they are under-age, is criminal. These people belong in jail.

These two Intrinsically Evil actions by top government officials are the worst, however, there are other horrendous stunts and lies that they have

pushed onto the unsuspecting American citizen. All with tax dollars. These are too numerous to mention in a comment.

The Government of the USA has become diabolical and only Jesus Christ can save America.

Posted by Thomas on Saturday, Jul 11, 2015 12:23 AM (EDT):

Exorcism begins at home. Start with the Pope. What in God's name is the Pope doing? The Catholic Church was, years ago, a force against Godless Socialism. Now the Pope has gone beyond tolerating socialism. He embraces it, he encourages it. The world is surely failing. I must turn away from this Pope as he turns away from God.

Posted by Vance on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 11:40 PM (EDT):

I'm all in for an exorcism of America. We need it.

Posted by Mary on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 11:32 PM (EDT):

A bunch of nonsense, otherwise known as an exorcism, won't accomplish anything.

If you are not Roman Catholic of course is a bunch of nonsense but if you are faithful Roman Catholic it is NOT a bunch of nonsense.

Exorcism, prayers and specially Mass and Communion, adoration and all what Our Beloved church teaches we should do.

"The only thing for the triumph of evil is for good men do nothing" - Edmund Burke

Posted by Jason on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 11:16 PM (EDT):

Yes I believe we do! Evil has been rampant the devil is taking advantage of the godless. I also agree with other comment that we need to get rid of all the illegals co thought the border!

Posted by Avid Reader on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:52 PM (EDT):

We all need conversion. Start with a sincere confession of sins. Living in the state of Grace is the best protection against the devil. And may God bless America!

Posted by LuJr on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:40 PM (EDT):

No. What America needs is to go back to traditional and moral values; following the rule of law, & the U.S. Constitution, which made this nation the greatest nation on Earth.

Posted by ChestyPuller on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:15 PM (EDT):

If an exorcism can help America get rid of Liberalism, Socialism and, Progressives, I am all for it, surely they are Evil..I will hold'em and someone spray Holy Water on them.

If something is killing our country thats it... I remember my oath as a Marine, to defend my country from all enemies Foreign and Domestic...

Domestic...thats the Obama Administration and all the trickle down

Posted by Jon on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:08 PM (EDT):

I believe the principle of what is being suggested here is good. However, the use of the word exorcism is going to make this unpopular in many denominational circles. What is being suggested here is not a Hollywood "exorcism" but simply prayer to empower the angels in a land and to bind the demonic forces of a land. I know the title with exorcism had me immediately thinking this was another group of clergy overemphasizing how much power

Satan has until I read the article.

There is no need to make this sound strange or weird. Drop the word and emphasize the process.

Posted by Brian on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:03 PM (EDT):

As a US citizen, I think that when Mexico is free from the Violence, Drugs and Abortion that were exorcized there is when people should start to consider doing something similar in the US.

Posted by Dorothy on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:01 PM (EDT):

I'm all for exorcism but I would want the Holy Spirit to do it rather than priests or ministers because they're human too. It needs to be supernatural "housecleaning". We are seeing the consequences of America allowing the Bible and prayer to be banned from our educational system, abortion to be legal, the Ten Commandments off our walls, separation of God and state (not church and state), sexual perversion, X rated movies, magazines, videos and the whole nine yards. When spirituality is rejected, evil is accepted.

Posted by Nonna on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 9:36 PM (EDT):

Much of this nation has blatantly rejected God's authority and those who mock God seem to have a free reign, while those who wish to honor Him are increasingly harassed. Our country is soaked with the blood of millions of unborn children, which is demonic...and the country is filled with filth and perversion, disgusting media, and occult practices, and filthy greed while millions starve elsewhere. So I would think the bishops should consider exorcism, whether locally done or , if that is theologically and canonically sound. Or at least widespread Eucharistic processions and rosary rallies, which historically have had huge impacts in times of distress and still do. Anyone remember the one presidential debate last time when Obama was almost crippled in his delivery and seemed to be totally off kilter...well, it's no accident that the bishop of that area had made a Eucharistic procession around the venue before that debate. Please, bishops, do this! I wonder if we'd done this around the Supreme Court before Obergefell, maybe we would have gotten one vote the other way and it would have gone differently.

Also, a note to David Hendricks: I think you have a mistaken idea of what Catholic exorcism is. Exorcism is not some ritual chant. It is calling upon the power of Christ Jesus to cast out demons. It is not a denial of the fact that Christ is the only Savior - it is an acknowledgement of the fact that Christ, our only Savior, is almighty and has already conquered hell and Satan. I take it you are a Protestant of some kind...so you surely are familiar with the fact that in Sacred Scripture the Apostles cast out demons - Christ gave them that authority, telling them to go out and heal, cast out demons, preach the word. The bishops have received that authority as well because they are the successors (literally)of the Apostles, and then certain priests in turn have received that power from the bishops as their delegates. Even Protestants have deliverance prayers...

Posted by ann on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 9:06 PM (EDT):

I encourage everyone to pray the Rosary! Give up 15 to 20 minutes a day and pray the rosary. Do you want peace in the world, peace in your family, peace in the workplace, peace in your neighborhood, peace in your heart? Then start praying! Let's encourage others to pray. Amen!

Posted by Lynn on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 8:56 PM (EDT):

I don't know about a nationwide exorcism. But I can say my priest has us pray after each Mass the St. Michael prayer. This is a very powerful prayer and would be good if all churches and families prayed it. The lay faithful started praying the Divine Mercy Chaplet after all Masses a few years ago, both would be good for all churches to pray. We need all the help we can get.

Posted by Richard on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 8:39 PM (EDT):

Bring back the St Michael the archangel prayer that all would recite together after each Mass.

Posted by PracticingCatholicismWithoutMixingPolitics/Ideolog on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 8:31 PM (EDT):

Yes! It should be done. I see some people rather don't have it. Why?? Self-righteousness? Self-sufficiency? Not trusting in God's providence? Those are sins too and very inspired by the enemy of our souls). What is it that the word itself causes such rage and panic among some?? If you are a true Christian you know that Jesus performed individual exorcisms on a daily basis (and massive ones too). And people ran to Him to have them done!

Posted by Kevin on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 8:24 PM (EDT):

I suggested to our Pastor to Bring Jesus to the People Street by street the Monstrance during the Night 2am to 4am in a Van.Bless everyone in Christ name! Let Christ give them Peace and Blessings and plant seeds to heal their families

Posted by Auntie Vyris on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 8:09 PM (EDT):

I'm not certain, but I think exorcism only works if the subject is repentant. There's not a lot of repentance in America.

Posted by Kate on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 8:02 PM (EDT):

We can all do our part by getting on our knees and asking God for forgiveness for how far we have fallen from Him and ask His forgiveness.

Posted by Jim on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 7:48 PM (EDT):

Attempting to exorcise a country or perhaps even a geographic area would be futile. There is no geographic place on earth where Satan doesn't have a home because unbelievers are

everywhere. We're just going to have to wait for the return of the Lord.

Posted by Steve Fenster on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 7:26 PM (EDT):

Not only the the USA need such an exorcism, but the entire planet does also. This is what the Second Advent will bring. As far as the United States goes in needs to start in Washington D.C.

Posted by John Holladay on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 7:09 PM (EDT):

So what changed in Mexico after?

Posted by Jeff on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:47 PM (EDT):

Ridiculous. Yes, the Devil is working to destroy human souls, but the solution is to preach the Gospel, in the hope that God will grant repentance to those who hear it. This is obvious from II Timothy 2:25-26. A bunch of nonsense, otherwise known as an exorcism, won't accomplish anything.

Posted by Cebes on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:35 PM (EDT):

In a word, yes.

Posted by Erin Gibson on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:32 PM (EDT):

It will only help those who want to be helped. That means that the demoncRAT left will just get angrier, and start frothing at the mouth, and do much more evil. Only God's intervention will help us now. That is what we all should be praying for.

Posted by Lynn on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:29 PM (EDT):

We need lots of prayer and should all be praying for our country. We're definitely under attack!

A Rosary brigade would be very helpful. Remember the Blue Army and how people prayed many rosaries for the conversion of Russia? We should do the same now for our own country. It seems to resemble the Soviet Union more and more.

Posted by Kathleen on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:17 PM (EDT):

Yes, every bishop needs to invoke prayers against evil for his own diocese. Likewise, all Catholics need to pray more deeply and with penance for our priests...and make use of ember days...prayers and penance for those abused within the Church.

Our archbishop consecrated our archdiocese to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. My son went downhill in 1996. Went into extreme substance abuse. Attending the Mass and praying the prayers for healing of the family tree...as well as the support and prayers by others, he has turned his life around...a miracle.

Posted by theodore martin on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:15 PM (EDT):

America's sins can be forgiven, but the consequences of our actions will not be eliminated. We got the consequences of 55 million abortions to deal with. Its gonna be a rough ride.

Posted by mortonjay on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:08 PM (EDT):

Will the "average" diocesan priest be fearful of a liberal backlash of parishioners should he even mention diabolic influences in our current culture, let alone a need for exorcism? My experience in a half dozen parishes across the country leads me to believe many priests and bishops are more fearful of "offending" parishioners than speaking the plain truth about demonic influences in our daily lives.

Posted by r a Mann on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 6:03 PM (EDT):

How about the Vatican?

Posted by Art Granda on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 5:59 PM (EDT):

Only creatures with a soul can be possessed, so it's pointless really to exercise a country, a building, or a breadbasket.

Posted by Craig Heaps on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 5:44 PM (EDT):

All I have to add to the discussion is one word: nonsense.

Posted by Nick on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 5:35 PM (EDT):

Spiritual housecleaning is an individual matter within ones heart. It's not something you can do in a country to clear the air of spirits.

Posted by chris kingsbury on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 5:29 PM (EDT):

The Pope meaning good, should stick with doctrine like his predecessors, and to venture into social issues with care. Instead, Pope Francis, while meaning good goes to the extremes. Global warming has been cooling down for over 15 years, there have been little ice ages from 1300 to the 1940's. And the attack of capitalism is a two edge sword, without it, the poor wouldn't have the jobs and/or charitable contributions.

Granted seeking wealth to forsake all other things in life is bad.

No mention of Obamacare, where birth control and abortion coverage is mandated, yet he goes out of his way those that shoot for sport.

Posted by R.Bradley on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:59 PM (EDT):

They are called revivals. Repentance from everyone including the clergy, maybe beginning with the clergy. Admission that we have strayed from the word of God and have not kept his commandments. Repent from our evil ways and maybe he will save our land.

Posted by John (magnum) on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:58 PM (EDT):

"Does the US Need a Nationwide Exorcism?"

Nope, just 47%

Posted by David Coker on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:39 PM (EDT):

We should start with the estimated 60 million so called christians that have been taken over by the demon of Zionism. Make no mistake about it. Christian Zionist is an oxymoron. Instead of asking themselves, "What would Jesus do." they instead worship at the feet of Satan himself when they applaud the actions of Israel and the IDF. Christians applauding the slaughter of Palestinians. Christians cheering while Israel drops white phosphorous on women and children as they run for cover. Every stinking person that calls themselves a Christian Zionist should have to look at the pictures of women and children that have been burned alive by white phosphorous dropped by the terrorist Israelis.

Posted by JCMeg56 on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:32 PM (EDT):

Ms. Armstrong, the final scripture citation in your article should be Matthew 18:19.

Great article! I hope many bishops and priests take it to heart, as well as parents in their homes where THEY are the authority who can pray protection over their children and guests.

Posted by rockeggroll on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:25 PM (EDT):

We need to humble ourselves before Yahweh and esteem others better than ourselves as stated in scripture. Sadly, the world (and the church) is a long way from that.

Posted by Clifton on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:22 PM (EDT):

I don't know about an Exorcism, but at least an emema.

People seem to be sinning at record rates today. And I know the universal relativists out there will be asking, "What is sin?" and "You can't defince sin for everyone." (Yah, whatever. Hang a right at the boiling pit of tar on your way to the sulfur and brimstone lounge room).

It is most likely that it appears that people are sinning like never before since we are in the age of knowledge and communication and everyone is compelled to act on the most ridiculous impulse for selfish reasons.

I sometimes think that if they had electronic communications back during the Roman empire they would have ceased as a world power quicker than they did.

Jesus used the sheep as analogous to humans.

That is one reason why I love Jesus. He is so forgiving.

I would have equated us to mentally challenged sheep.

I have absolute faith that God will deal with America as He best sees fit.

I don't call Him Father for no reason. He is definitely the only adult in the room.

Posted by Rosemarie Kury on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:09 PM (EDT):

Exorcism would be a good thing but who would do it? I doubt that the UCCB would as a group. Some of them don't even believe in this. I thought the Popes assault on capitalism was bad too but now I'm having second thoughts. Many of these companies have manufacturers in China and other countries paying slave wages. I was particularly upset when after the SCOTUS decision, many large companies including Coke, Pepsi, Target, Chase Bank, Apple and others proudly and publicly celebrated this decision. And I believe Wal Mart was one of the sponsors of the Gay a Pride Parade in New York. And yes, the silence from many of our clergy is defeating, as well as the Vatican. I am so disappointed that Pope Francis who is supposed to be promoting families is silent about this. Maybe we do need an exorcism of the whole church!

Posted by Maureen on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 4:03 PM (EDT):

Our Lady of America gave the answer to the Bishops of the United States....we still wait for her request to be fulfilled.

Posted by Tom EE on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 3:57 PM (EDT):

They should start in their own house!

I had hoped with the ordination of Pope Francis that Catholic Church would have begun to become an example for all, especially Christianity. Pedophiles, abortions, and gay "marriage" are destroying Catholic Church and Christianity as being moral examples for all.

All pedophile priests must be exposed from within, AND all those that had the opportunity to expose them, and refused, must also answer for their wrongdoing.

Abortion is murder. Those that support or defend abortion, are just as guilty. The Church, all churches must stop making excuses and condemn the murder of innocent lives!

Gay "marriage" is an atrocity on humanity. There is NO wiggle room! The Bible makes it clear that homosexuality is sinful. Supporting, or even not renouncing this, is accepting sinful behavior!

Posted by Bob Sackimanow on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 3:47 PM (EDT):

I'm a practicing Catholic but not for much longer. Between the Pope's frequent comments and now another religious media editorial suggesting an exorcism for the U.S. No doubt the Church or should I say the supposed learned clergy have clearly drank the Kool Aid. Francis keep making your absurd comments and yes the. Her h will grow in third world countries while still in decline in countries where heaven forbid capitalism reigns. From me to my church, goodbye

Posted by Cranios on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 3:32 PM (EDT):

Not a bad idea. Interesting that the Bishop I concerned about homo-marriage at the same time his boss (the Pope) is no doubt ready to declare it as something good, in his headlong rush to buy the world's favor.

Ultimately, Father Thomas said the battle is fought in each person, since God doesn't interfere in free will. "If people are not invoking the angelic, they fall away from the faith and live secular lives," Father Thomas said. "Then what is the optic they [use to] judge how they act?"

Msgr. Esseff also stressed the power of prayer to discern and lead holy lives among laypeople.

"In families, there's nothing like a parent in prayer. The mother and father should claim their children for Jesus, and they will not lose them."

He also said people should remember that Jesus said that if two on three agree in prayer, it will be done in heaven (Matthew 18:19): "People do not need to fear, but to trust and respond to God's love."

Register correspondent Patti Armstrong writes from North Dakota.

### View Comments

## Comments

Posted by jo ann on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 8:32 PM (EDT):

Il Chron 7:14 - if my people, who are called by my name, will humble themselves, pray, seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven and heal their land. Applies to all believes - as long as we live in a sinful state, we will see the consequences in our country. Christ is coming for a bride without a spot or wrinkle.

In Daniel, the prophet found his prayers were hindered when the angel who came to him told him he was held back by demonic principles. Satan is known as the prince of the power of the air.

Both angles should be addressed - the personal and the demonic principles and powers.

Posted by Debbie on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 6:29 PM (EDT):

@Ann: Re: your comment about losing interest . . . please don't! If you are the same Ann that wrote the earlier post on July 10th, I want you to know that I think yours was one of most articulate posts written here, and that it has probably been helpful to others in ways you may never know:) People are just frustrated. Times are very hard and they're letting off steam. I'm not trying to make excuses. It's just that people, including myself, want those who claim to be leaders to actually lead! As for myself, I've been thinking more and more that regardless of so many of us feel "alone" perhaps this is a perfect opportunity to move closer to Him, to trust in God alone, and allow Him to draw us into a holier, a more intimate union with Him. Anyway, whatever you decide, you are a very inspiring writer. You have much to contribute here; and I wanted you to know that:)

Posted by Tinfoil Hat on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 4:30 PM (EDT):

The clergy need to take a peek into their own house for some cleaning. Corruption has

Posted by Ursula Riches on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 3:12 PM (EDT):

Abortion child aacrifice, human sacrifice, immorality, LIES and warmongering and bearing false witness against others and other nations would be very good things to pray against(and not just for the US). Financial corruption, greed and power and wealth, especially with the most powerful and the most wealthy. Using charities for harm and self interest. The pollution and bad farming practices of our agriculture and food production which affects our land our wild animals, our domestic animals and ourselves. The education sectors our schools and universities are corrupted. Our medical services and medicines are doing even more harm than good. Financial institutions and the banks, how our money is created and how we should issue our own money under the sovereignity of humanity. Pray against the sovereignity of satan, the red dragon (whore of babylon) who is sovereign of our world financial institutions and pray for the souls who worship them. You need to reclaim your dollar, to issue the dollar of liberty for the people and leave the satanic filth owned by the fed quite alone.

Posted by Tim Temple on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 3:11 PM (EDT):

Yes, America, the biggest source of Christian missionaries, needs deliverance for what our enemies have placed upon us. After all, most Marxist leaders are Satanists. Hinduism, Islam and witchcraft have been brought in. A good script to start with is: orderofsaintpatrick.org/salt/pray-for-america.htm. For the church, a good place to start is the Christians who make it up. A good script is: orderofsaintpatrick.org/salt/pray-for-christians.htm.

Posted by Randolph Phillips on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 3:01 PM (EDT):

The Drudge headline which led me to this site was somewhat misleading. It conjured up a vision of a great religious movement to remake The United states into a more "christian" nation.

I wanted to set the record straight. The United States government is not a theocracy. The Constitution, not the bible, is our political law of gravity, so to speak.

The Constitution enshrines the right to freedom of religious expression and worship for everyone and every religion, and for atheism for that matter. But it separates religious practice from government, and government from religion.

Our Constitution is under threat in matters of faith right now. There are those who wish to remove constitutional protections to freedom of worship. Others, both left and right, actually want more religion, or at least more Christianity, in government. Conservative religious groups want to ban gay marriage and abortion on grounds of faith. Liberal religious groups want an immigration border which welcomes anyone into the US who wants to come here because "We are all God's children" or "it's the christian thing to do" regardless of the actual consequences of that policy of running the government like a church pantry.

Any effort to "cleanse" the country through religious precepts should be regarded with

concern and skepticism, and a keen adherence to the US Constitution instead of church teachings..

Posted by Mary on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 2:59 PM (EDT):

Definitely. And then follow up with the renewal of Christian baptismal and confirmation promises. Come Holy Spirit come. Jesus is alive! Once evil is driven out we must pray that God the Holy Spirit come in to fill that void so as not to allow evil to seep back in.

Posted by Dan on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 2:50 PM (EDT):

Yes, and we need one fast.

Posted by W Yep on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 2:25 PM (EDT):

Every nation in the world needs serious exorcism. The catholic church is probably the largest group promoting; however, having followed their rituale romanale, the procedures used indicate a very major disconnect as to what a demon is and the processes to permanently eliminate them!

Unless the demon is really defined by the priests - what good would actual exorcism result in?? Although American evangelists have failed miserably at this - the major fault circled back to the erred doctrines applied. Without real theology, the effects of applying erred doctrines is unimaginable!

There are probably only 5 Christian group that have studied the theology and correct erred dcotrines in North American. We have talked with the diocese designated exorcists, even those from African and they are clueless!! Do it right and get the correct theology! Yes, it works and works, BUT LESS THAN 0.01%! cut23

Posted by Bob Suyak on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 2:23 PM (EDT):

Do we need nationwide exorcism? Nope, just the clown in our White House.

Posted by Arthur on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 2:06 PM (EDT):

The following quote is from the article: ""I'm not saying it's a bad idea — just that, if it's done, it should be done quietly."

I full understand his reasons for saying that, re ridicule and a negative push-back. But I do not believe that is the right way to go about it. That outcome is the nature of the Christian presence as foretold by Christ (e.g today's gospel—9th July—on being persecuted for his sake.) Part—a large part, as I see it—of the problem today is the decades long absence of catechesis for Catholics who, while believing they are being faithful, have "drunk the kool aid" of society and see little or nothing wrong with many of society's abominations, incl homosexual coupling.

Even worse, for not understanding the nature of the battle, I have seen polls—admittedly 5 or

more years ago, but it cannot have gotten better since—that say only about 1 in 4 Catholics believe in Satan as a real person, but rather as just our iconic symbol of evil, exactly as the father of lies would want it to be.... sorta as Lewis said was Satan's plan as Lewis wrote in his Screwtape Letters.

Posted by james hubbard on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:58 PM (EDT):

Most religions believe that marriage is between a man and a woman only. Therefore the support for gay marriage is anti-God and puts those supporting it at war with God and looking at history, at best on a dubious path...

Posted by KDR on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:57 PM (EDT):

An exorcism of sorts.. What we need is a qualified person in charge !!! which we haven't had for the last 2 terms!!

Posted by Jeremy on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:53 PM (EDT):

I don't think there are enough priests on the entire planet, to even make a dent in the evil that has taken over the U.S.

Posted by Kurtwm on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:53 PM (EDT):

Yes, we desperately need an exorcism, but only in the White House.

Posted by Rafael Espinosa on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:49 PM (EDT):

Yes the US does need a exorcism, but so does the Vatican. God help us!

Posted by Uncle Jo on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:47 PM (EDT):

I think we need professional help. I would be in favor.

Posted by Mary on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:40 PM (EDT):

That is great that in Mexico was done an exorcism. I hope that it will be done in the U.S.A. this nation should have been exorcised since 1973 and now 2015 and remember 2011. This country really needs this exorcism.

Posted by Steve Lee on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:40 PM (EDT):

if an exorcism would remove Obama and those of his ilk-I am definitely for it.

Posted by yays on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:36 PM (EDT):

Why not reintroduce the Leonine prayers at the end of the Mass for the conversion of the USA? Why not abolish communion in the hand and start to rebuild respect for the blessed sacrament? Why not build a chapel next to every abortion clinic and homosexual advocacy group and have perpetual adoration? Why not follow Vatican II and celebrate Mass in Latin

and reintroduce Gergorian chant so people have a radical option to the secualr world?

Posted by Mike on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:34 PM (EDT):

Nationwide, probably not. But Washington DC for sure.

Posted by JoeKidd on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:34 PM (EDT):

Father Merrin (Max von Sydow in 'The Exorcist') can start with the Obama White House.

Posted by Maud St James on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:32 PM (EDT):

Exorcism? What we need is to vote out every socialist liberal in our government, from city to national, whatever their party and vote in Constitutional conservatives. If you call that an exorcism, you might be right. It's the only way to save America.

Posted by joan on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:31 PM (EDT):

There is only one exorcism needed and it I not nation wide. Start with DC, things should start to look up once those demons are gone.

Posted by Lynne on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:31 PM (EDT):

I have long been troubled on how to pray for the United States. Last week I received Divine Mercy Daily it stated that the Lord wanted St. Faustina to pray for her homeland. He told her to pray the Litany of the Saints. I took the prayer she wrote and inserted America and then asked all the Saints in heaven to intercede, adding, abortion, gay marriage and our government, terror attacks, interior and foreign. I added these intercessions in the litany. Then I pray the long St. Michael prayer at the end. I believe the church can do a nationwide exorcism. If everyone prayed the above prayers for one week and each priest performed an exorcism at the same time according to their time zone, the country

would be covered. When I pray these prayers, I believe all of heaven is interceding for the United States. The Catholic Church can do this. If the exorcisms cannot be approved, Faustina's prayer and the Litany of Saints and the Long St. Michael's prayer should be a must for every Catholic.

We must do our part. Ask and we shall receive. Prayerfully in Christ, Lynne

Posted by desert on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:26 PM (EDT):

Great idea....Start with the White House! then the Congress, then the whole communist administration....!!

Posted by Father Ed Wade, CC on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:24 PM (EDT):

Having done them in the past, I would "yes"...

Posted by Jason on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:23 PM (EDT):

REPENT OF ALL SIN....Make Jesus Christ your King and Savior....then Satan will flee.

Posted by Bruce Allen on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:21 PM (EDT):

It is about time.

We have been sitting back doing nothing for waaay to long now, failing to take action both in the Natural World and Spiritual world.

Jesus commanded us to be active in spreading the Gospel.

It is also written:

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness ...

Like the old High School typing classes used to teach as a typing skills lesson: All that is required for evil to triumph is good men to do nothing.

I have been led to pray for the entire body of Christ lately, also. There is a reason all this is happening now and it would seem is going to get a whole lot worse before it gets better.

Glory to God.

Posted by potvin on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:20 PM (EDT):

Nationwide exorcism? No, just in the White House.

Posted by Jim on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:19 PM (EDT):

The only question is... Who ya gonna call?

Posted by David Hedricks on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:15 PM (EDT):

No, I don't need some Catholic priest to speak any kind of ritualistic chant over me for the sake of my soul. I, and America, need to depend on Jesus Christ and his sacrifice on the cross for us. That's the only way to salvation and the only thing that will turn this country around - changed hearts and changed lives.

Posted by Guilia on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:09 PM (EDT):

We need an exorcism of the entire Federal Government.

Posted by toledofan on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:09 PM (EDT):

I think the solution is really simple, each and every Catholic, Christian and believer needs to stand up and say enough. The 'Clergy' need to just say no to the things that are objectionable to their faith, like gay marriage, abortions on demand, and any other deviant behavior. Stand firm and don't participate.

Posted by Ann on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 1:03 PM (EDT):

My Catholic church needs its' own exorcism.

The leadership is COMPLETELY off track. The Pope is preaching about global warming being a threat to mankind it is really a scam to redistribute wealth, otherwise known as 'SOCIALISM'. I realize he doesn't understand capitalism, that he was raised as and appears to be a socialist/Marxist, but perhaps he should be open to new ideas.

He preaches AGAINST capitalism. Capitalism is based on individual rights, personal responsibility freedom, free will, it is the most compatible with Christianity, Jesus teaches us these values.

Capitalism has allowed America to be the GENEROUS nation in the world. We work hard, play hard and VOLUNTARILY share our wealth. No other nations' people donate more of their private wealth to charities, disasters and people in need than AMERICANS! Capitalism promotes equality, ANYONE who works hard and applies themselves can be successful, perhaps in a billionaire.

Unfortunately, the church promotes sanctuary for illegal aliens, which is anti-American, it violates the rule of law, it robs Americans of their rights and freedoms. Jesus taught us to obey the law. Just because you feel sorry for someone's situation, doesn't mean that aren't breaking the law. Perhaps it would be best to promote freedom, liberty and capitalism in the countries from which people are trying to escape, rather than DESTROY America!

The church does not teach us that abortion is murder, 50% of American Catholics think that abortion is should be legal in all or some cases.

The church is not speaking out against the government and SCOTUS and their rulings against religious freedom and liberty, the silence is DEAFENING!

Perhaps the Pope, Monsignors, and Bishops should focus on Catholic doctrine, rather than politics.

I pray, and pray for America specifically and the world in general, to turn back to God, but without strong leadership who do not fear retribution and will stand against evil, we are doomed.

Posted by Brenda on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:54 PM (EDT):

Shouldn't Priest, Pastors, clergy be renouncing Satan everyday? Maybe if they would do it everyday as they should, things would be better. The church has become a social club and most have cut Sunday night services and as far as I'm concerned they lost the love of helping to save Souls. They've stopped preaching about "sin". They preach pretty messages and because they do, even a rapist, murdering sinner can sit through one of their messages without feeling one ounce of guilt. Truth with set you free. Truth can be painful but if it changes you for the better I'd rather have truth. We should pray EVERYDAY for this Country.

Please have mercy on this evil nation is what I pray everyday.

Posted by Mark on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:51 PM (EDT):

Soundly reject progressivism, relegate it to obscurity and the problem will solve itself. The left requires a moral vacuum in order for their ideology to thrive.

Posted by Michael on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:46 PM (EDT):

when demons are driven out, it may not have obvious results to everyone, but it gives God more authority, and priests and laypeople are fortified.

Remember the words of Jesus:

23 He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.

24 The unclean spirit when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest, and finding none, he saith, I will turn back unto my house whence I came out. 25 And when he is come, he findeth it swept and garnished.

26 Then goeth he, and taketh to him seven other spirits more evil than himself; and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man becometh worse than the first. Luke 11:23-26 (ASV)

If, afterwards, the Holy Spirit does not occupy, the last state is worse than the first.

Preach the Gospel.

Posted by andy on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:42 PM (EDT):

Where will all the libs seek sanctuary?

Posted by GlitterUnicorns on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:41 PM (EDT):

Washington, DC needs the exorcism.

Posted by Dorothy Smith on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:31 PM (EDT):

Thank you for this article. Maybe something like this will help our country - especially our evil, corrupt, lying politicians, Media, etc.

Posted by Greg Goetz on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:25 PM (EDT):

The only exorcism this country needs is a Constitutional Convention of States.

Posted by John Breland on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:25 PM (EDT):

The people of the United States are desparately in need of a spiritual awakening, and any measure that hinders the power and influence of Evil is welcome. However, I am convinced that the real answer lies in prayer and confession. "If my people who are called by my name humble themselves, pray, seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and heal their land." 2 Chronicles 7:14.

Posted by Grey Dread on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 12:20 PM (EDT):

There's no such thing, biblically. What this nation needs is nationwide repentance - turn from your sins and turn to God. We need another Great Awakening.

Posted by Rod on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 11:52 AM (EDT):

"The Devil goes about as a roaring Lion: Resist him steadfast in the Faith!" 1Pt.

He has been roaring a lot lately! No matter what we have to resist him, and if it takes a sacramental to help us then we should go for it... Wish our Bishops here in Canada felt as strongly! we need all the help we can get... we are so stodgy! Pray for us dear Brothers and Sisters!

Posted by Kristina on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 11:42 AM (EDT):

The sooner the better! When people justify their crimes over false pretenses, you know satan is alive and well; twisting truth and virtue into immoral, unconscionable acts making them APPEAR good. More so, when they've admitted giving their souls over to him even for white witchcraft.

Posted by Andy Eppink on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 11:30 AM (EDT):

"Does the US need a Nationwide Exorcism"

Yes, pretty obviously. Two or three. One a month till things improve.

Posted by Giovanni Colombo on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 11:20 AM (EDT):

We all need exorcism, and all the most famous Saints suffered from strong attacks by different demons. Thus, what is wrong in finding some protection from evil? God bless us all, now and forever.

Posted by Carolyn on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:34 AM (EDT):

Perhaps maybe starting out small such as praying the St. Michael prayer at the end of each mass. Also, Father could instruct indivdual families on how to make their homes Holy and safe havens for spiritual life by using sacramentals like holy water and praying the rosary together. I am sensing that even members of my extended families who have left the Faith seem to appreciate the gift of Holy medals and prayer cards. If given in the spirit of love and faith, not superstition and fear, small gifts like these can be an opportunity to wittness to the power of Our Lord and His Mother's great Love for all of us. I believe this is where our Church shines.

Posted by rev. emmett coyne on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 10:17 AM (EDT):

Sad that the RCC is still promoting the devil, evil spirits, exorcisms, etc.

The celebration of the Eucharist is evidently insufficient for good to triumph evil!

Posted by Teresa on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 9:58 AM (EDT):

Innocence is being expunged from society and it is sold to the highest bidder. There was a day when the majority would stand up to prevent the loss of innocence. I look back at my own life & realize that I was so ignorant when I came of age. Making the bad look good through creative word smithing, advertising and peer pressure is one of the easiest way to worm your way into a young Christian heart. We all have our weak sides.

The best resource for the next generation is a husband & wife that live their faith and pray together with their children.

Time to wake up and acknowledge that we have allowed this to happen. "When faith becomes thin"!

Any exorcisms would be a positive step. We are too afraid of being called midevil fairie tale believers. Satan is not holding back, why should we???

Posted by DJ Hesselius on Friday, Jul 10, 2015 9:20 AM (EDT):

Exorcism? Well, how about we start with Bishops and priests (and deacons and CDC/catholic school teachers) who actually teach the faith?

# National Catholic Register

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become the norm.

Posted by McGehee on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 4:05 PM (EDT):

Start with Washington, D.C., then the largest cities in order of population. Couldn't hurt.

Posted by Quo Primum on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 3:05 PM (EDT):

Francis speaking of the hammer/sickle crucifix (posted on AP 7/13)

After taking into consideration the time in which he lived, Francis said: "I understand this work. For me it wasn't an offense."

Francis added that he brought the crucifix home with him.

Posted by DBrown on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 3:01 PM (EDT):

I would appreciate it very much if they would do for the US what they did for Mexico. God knows, we need it.

Posted by AKA on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 1:21 PM (EDT):

(final continuation from previous post) Another thing the faithful must be told, now and repeatedly (it bears continual repeating, as wartime communications to general citizens during WWII demonstrate), is that we ARE, in fact, at war. Of course, we always have been, but for Westerners living in what was until recently CHRISTENDOM, and particularly U.S. citizens, up until recently living in a nation explicitly founded on, and a culture deeply steeped in, a Christian worldview, that was all too easy to forget. We have forgotten it, most of us, and we have become so ingrown into the creeping culture of mammon that we've failed to recognize how the thorns have grown up around us. We're now waking up to the fact that we're caged in them, and there's a pitched battle forming all around us. We need to slash our way out of those thorns, arm ourselves "with the whole armor of God," and get ready for the persecution Christ warned us would be our portion, but also that he told us would be our BLESSING.

Our priests must remind us, at every opportunity, that we are at war, we live in occupied territory, we are the resistance—"not peace but a sword"—and help us to learn how to resist as Christians, not as belligerent, obnoxious Americans "fighting for MY rights," but as Christians fighting for the eternal souls of those we face—fighting "NOT against men, but against principalities and powers." We have no experience doing this, and far too many examples (we are constantly bombarded with images in our media) of people attacking EACH OTHER. We must remember that the PEOPLE who APPEAR to be our opposition (e.g., those politicians you view as "the other side;" the activists you view as "against" your beliefs) are as desperately loved by our Savior as we are. We "fight NOT against them," but against a real and present, but not as easily PERCEIVED, enemy. We cannot attack them, much as we may feel ourselves attacked by them, and call ourselves Christians. We need to truly "know our enemy," and we need to be equipped for resistance IN CHRIST—for it will avail us nothing if we win some kind of human battle against other PEOPLE, made in the image of

God and for whom Christ died, like us; if we beat down our brother we may both be lost.

Posted by AKA on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 1:20 PM (EDT):

(continued from previous post) The faithful should be invited to add regular prayers for the support of exorcists to their daily prayers (I intend to!), as well as being invited to fast and perhaps make other offerings specifically for the support of exorcists—in general. The less said about specific events, the better—certainly until AFTER the event is over, but even then, because spiritual acts are not time-bound, it is probably better not to reveal specifics of any operation like this, for the same reasons that highly sensitive operations in wartime are not announced beforehand OR afterwards, until many years after the war is over.

Posted by AKA on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 1:16 PM (EDT):

According to the referenced article about the Mexican exorcism, "High levels of violence, as well as drug cartels and abortion in the country, were the motivation behind the special rite of exorcism, known as exorcismo magno (the great exorcism)."

I had no idea that this could be done for entire towns, regions, or nations, as opposed to only one individual at a time. If these (quoted above) are sufficient reasons, then the U.S. is far overdue. I don't see why it would be appropriate for each diocese to do separately, but NOT for the exorcists to come together regularly to do this for the entire nation. Indeed, I hope it is already being done regularly, and we just are not being informed about it.

When it IS done (and I pray it IS being done regularly!), the entire event, even the fact that it is being done, should be kept secret, for the physical and spiritual safety of the exorcists. Our nation is in the grip of some truly terrifying "principalities and powers," and the "special forces" soldiers in the vanguard fighting this enemy need every advantage they can get, including the advantage of secrecy so that demonic forces cannot be (wittingly or unwittingly!) marshaled against them beforehand. When I say "unwittingly," I refer to people who think, for example, that they are "atheists," but who would direct their hatred and contempt toward the event, which constitutes a spiritual assault, giving ammunition to the enemy even though they don't believe there is such a thing.

Posted by Magdalen on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 1:12 PM (EDT):

Each bishop could re-institute recitation of the St Michael prayer after each Mass. That doesn't mean that each priest will do it, but if it is in the form of a command, they should. The laity could petition our bishop to do this. And also urge all to form groups to pray the rosary.

Posted by Kevin on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 11:55 AM (EDT):

To ANN an Ex subscriber

I worked in a Catholic Paper in a Large Archdiocese. I studied subscriber surveys for the past 30 years. You Know what was #1 in every survey and Last!

#1 was letter to the Editors where people could feedback. The Last was the Bishops corner.

When they began to Offer a Digital Version of the weekly paper the writers vehemently protested about the comments section after their article

They also demanded that Letters to the Editor be removed from the Print Edition. The Socialist oriented Editor complied with Both request, as Fate would have it the Print Edition which was in a slow Tailspin because to hire more writers and cut Expense The Publisher eliminated the High paying Circulation Mgr position. They depended on 4th thru 8th grader to sell their subscription. Their format was the same as when they had 3 times the student population. The Management ignored the Private schools which had doubled in size in last 30 yrs.

The Paper imploded from reader apathy the average age of readership 65 they ignored young school families. The Print Paper was closed the complaining writers and Editor and publisher were all jettisoned. The Letter to the Editor is back as well as the Comment section under the article. In the old days they took a 3 week reprieve in July one week for Thanksgiving another two for Christmas and New Year one week for Holy week, Today being 100% Digital they Publish twice weekly 52 weeks a year! Now it is a manageable expense instead of a constant unbudgeted LOSS of a Million. This is why the REGISTER probably accept your Comment proposal. Plus this paper is supposed to be an evangelizing TOOL both for Educating Catholics and Protestants! Thats a GOOD thing!

Posted by Dean on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 11:46 AM (EDT):

A nationwide exorcism can't hurt.

Posted by Son of Uncle Sam on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 9:10 AM (EDT):

Although I am not Catholic, I think a nation wide exorcism might be a good idea. As a police officer for 29 years I have seen a continued decline in the moral fabric of our country. Even in my own family I have seen good Christian parents who raised their children in the church only to have those grow up to be some of the most evil godless people I have ever seen. The millennial generation, covered in tattoos, piercing all over their bodies are a blasphemy to everything in our society less alone the word of god. So in short what do we have to loose at this point it just might change the tide.

Posted by Sal on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 7:49 AM (EDT):

Just go ahead and do it. Forget what the Protestants say. They don't understand Catholic exorcism.

Will someone also tell the Pope and archbishops around the world to set a day or several days a year as a special prayer campaign - recitation of the Holy Rosary and fasting? The Pope, the bishops and the people have forgotten that the Blessed Virgin Mary came to the help of people who united to say rosaries for special emergencies. The Battle of Lepanto and the Austrian campaign, which was started by a priest to drive out communist Russia from Austria, are two examples.

We're in a spiritual battle, and the world is not getting spiritual leadership and guidance.

There seems to be no zeal. We're depending on our human strength.

All that we get is talk, talk and more talk from our most senior clergy (some of it very

controversial, even unBiblical)

- Sal

Posted by Johnson on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 2:48 AM (EDT):

Yes, we need to clean out all people who dont follow the bible and the ten commandments and stop following crooked priests.

Posted by Ann on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 1:02 AM (EDT):

To the editors of the Register: as a former long-time subscriber, let me take this opportunity to tell you why we've lost interest and have not renewed our subscription. When everything's online now—and usually weeks before the print edition—why should we pay for the paper? And why keep asking for donations when you're giving it all away for free? Frankly, I miss print-only days because there was no temptation to look at comments from wackos like those found in response to this article. What possible use do these comments boxes serve when anybody in the world can have their uninformed, ignorant, sometimes downright crazy and almost always badly written opinion published? It must take some employee's time to go through and approve these for posting: I don't want my donation going towards this nonsense. If you show discretion in choosing letters to the editor in the print edition, why isn't more discretion shown in what you allow people to post online? This is a Catholic publication after all, and many of the comments here should not be allowed to stand without comment or correction. If anything, comments ought to be reserved to those who are actually paying customers of the Register. I guarantee the intelligence, charity, and clarity of the posts will improve tremendously. And we might actually renew our subscription.

Posted by Ann on Monday, Jul 13, 2015 12:18 AM (EDT):

Mike Herman, how can you say such an evil thing, implying that our Pope is possessed by the devil? If you're Catholic, you'd better get to Confession. And if he were a Communist, do you think he would have scolded the president of Bolivia for giving him a Crucifix with a hammer and sickle on it? He said, "That's not right." There's enough real evil in the world without people having to attribute evil where there is none.

Posted by Beatitudes on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 11:01 PM (EDT):

Simply put:

YES !!!

Posted by Israel on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 10:03 PM (EDT):

Tragically, our society is riddled with a growing cancer that started in the early 1960's, and is now spreading quickly throughout society, and threatens us with world destruction – Heaven Forbid. As any competent doctor would do, we need to search for the root cause of the malady, which will hopefully inform us of the best and quickest cure.

Careful examination of our educational system, the nursery of all society, reveals a major change in 1962, when the U.S. Supreme Court ordered all vestiges of faith be removed from

America's public schools. Overruling centuries of American wisdom and tradition, the Court transformed our educational system from one that provided children with a well rounded education, to one that only prepared students for material pursuits, explicitly devoid of food for the soul.

For anyone who has seen the kind of random violence that has taken hold of our once great cities and countries, it is now plain to see that a healthy body requires a healthy soul. Before we spread blame around the world for brutal violence throughout the globe, let's recall that world terrorism began with a small band of Palestinians - hijacking airplanes and blowing up buses filled with children. Instead of abiding by the civilized laws of the ages, our "new thinkers" in Washington knew better and rewarded these actions with no end of concessions, and persist in doing so even today!

Every crisis we face can be traced back to this upside-down educational system that is in clear violation of the Constitution – to "secure the Blessings of Liberty to us and our posterity." A nation that respects the right of its citizenry to reside, work, shop, travel and entertain, with minimal government intrusion, must not intrude between parent and child. The sooner we implement universal school choice, the sooner will we begin healing this spreading disease, and bring boundless blessings to us all.

We must empower ALL parents to send their children to quality schools of their choice. At the federal level there is the proposed DC Civil Rights Act for Equal Educational Opportunity, which will empower all District of Columbia parents to send their children to quality schools of their choice for half the cost of deficient and overpriced DC Public Schools. Despite the magnificent success of the DC Opportunity Scholarship Program – a pilot program that is saving lives – not one in Congress (202-224-3121

) has seen fit to sponsor the bill that will transform education from top-down government control to bottom-up parental control – at half the cost!

Posted by Marion (Mael Muire) on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 7:53 PM (EDT):

I would invite all those accusing the Pope of being a Communist or of being a Socialist, or other insults, to hold their whisht awhile, and use their noggins. Think. Think about the moment when you stand before the Judgement Seat of Almighty God and are asked to give an account of your life. Your entire life. Every idle thought. Every idle word. Every thoughtless deed. Account for them all to Pure Holiness itself.

If you believe, as you say you believe, that there is a God in Heaven, you might remark that you don't agree with something the Holy Father said, or that you don't understand something he said, but if you dare to call him foul names, such as Communist, then you conduct yourself as an unbeliever. And it shall go hard with you on That Awful Day.

Don't do it. And if you did it, stop doing it, and tell God you're sorry and you won't do it again.

You know the difference between hearing someone say, "I think Jim (or Joe or Steve) missed the mark when he said thus-and-so," versus hearing them say "I think Jim is a Communist."

Big difference. Learn it. Live it.

.

This is the Vicar of Christ we're talking about. He may have opinions different to yours; he may sometimes express himself in ways that make it hard to understand the point he's making; he may go off in more directions than you and I are prepared to follow . . . but, by God! He is the Vicar of Christ, and no one who dares to call himself a Catholic ought to offer personal insults against his character.

God bless us every one.

Posted by AJ on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 7:14 PM (EDT):

At first glance, the art that accompanies this article shows a guy who looks stereotypically like the devil. Could have chosen a better infographic.

Posted by Tim Mitchell on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 5:37 PM (EDT):

Don't "weigh" it. Just do it. People have been quietly doing this for years without fanfare or media attention. Shakuntala Modi is the one I am familiar with.

Posted by Dave In Arizona on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 4:06 PM (EDT):

Absolutely! We need drastic action to reduce the demonic evils of liberalism and progressivism.

Posted by KERRY on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 3:46 PM (EDT):

The United States needs national REPENTANCE. Without repentance there is no forgiveness of Sin, no reconciliation with God through Christ, no victory over Satan. Our only hope is to turn to God and away from sin.

Posted by Oroses on Sunday, Jul 12, 2015 2:25 PM (EDT):

I wouldn't do it. We're warned in scripture that unclean spirits can be cast out only to return with a vengeance (Luke 11:26, Matthew 12:45). Not only do I not agree with the Catholic ritual based practice of exorcism, but to try and send off demons from a country as a whole when so many people either A.) Deny An Unseen World Exists or B.) Don't Want Things To Change Anyway is stupid and dangerous.

If you want to clean up the country start in your own life and lead by example. You can't force others to accept Christ, but you can show them what living in His way looks like. Whether or not anyone else decides to follow Christ is between them and the Lord; that is not something to try and foist upon a country. It will only fail and be even worse when the evil is invited back for another round (if it leaves at all in the first place).

A true revival will only come to the USA if/when the church (I'm talking the individual believers) start acting in faith again and speaking the truth. When so many young people are using Ouija Boards and "playing" that Charlie, Charlie game you'd think the church would

# THE USE OF HISTORY IN DRACULA TOURISM IN ROMANIA

### Tuomas Hovi

Abstract: Dracula tourism in Romania combines fiction with history. It is centred on either the fictional Western vampire Count Dracula or the historical Dracula, the fifteenth-century Romanian ruler Vlad the Impaler. These two characters are also often conflated, or sometimes even forged together, into one Dracula figure in Dracula tourism. Besides the history concerning the ruler, Vlad the Impaler, through Dracula tourism the guides and travel agencies also tend to offer much more history and tradition of Romania in their tours. In this article I will examine what kind of history is told and what is left out. I am especially interested in the history and tradition (as it is manipulated) that is not connected to Vlad or Dracula. I look at the types and eras of history used and emphasised in Dracula tourism in Romania, and the reasons for the choices. I am also interested in the idea of how the seemingly superficial and fictitious Dracula tourism can be used as a gateway into Romanian history and culture.

**Keywords:** Dracula tourism, local heritage, Romania, the use of history, tour narrations, tradition

Dracula tourism in Romania is an interesting combination of history, tradition and fiction. In Dracula tourism tourists visit locations connected to the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, the ones described in Bram Stoker's novel Dracula, and some other locations in Romania that the different tourist agencies want to show to the tourists. There are many foreign and domestic tourist agencies that offer different kinds of Dracula-themed tours around Romania. Although the reaction from the Romanian government towards Dracula tourism has been ambivalent or even hostile towards the fictional side of tourism, the official website of Romanian tourism does have information about both Vlad the Impaler and the fictitious Count Dracula. There is, however, no section about Dracula tourism on the main page or even on the page for the main attractions in Romania. There are some pieces of information about Dracula that can be found under the pages about specific locations, but the information there is fragmental. The information about Dracula tourism is found on a page titled "Special interest", so although there is information about Dracula on the official website of Romanian tourism, it is not considered a main attraction in

and the whole Dracula phenomenon hardened. The label "Dracula" was also applied to Ceauşescu in the Western press in a negative way, which reduced the government's eagerness to associate itself with the Western Dracula even further. The Romanian government also began to view Western tourists with suspicion, and foreigners became the subject of careful surveillance by the regime. The number of tourists visiting Romania declined significantly, and by the end of the 1980s it was no longer a very attractive destination for Western tourists (Ionescu 1986: 25; Light & Dumbraveanu 1999: 901; Light 2012: 82).

After the 1989 revolution, tourism in Romania started to grow, but at first this growth was erratic. By the mid-1990s, tourism was actually in a state of stagnation and decline (Light & Dumbraveanu 1999: 903-905). The decline reached its bottom in 2002, when Romania received fewer foreign visitors than in 1989. However, after 2008, the number of foreign tourists started to grow again, and in 2008 visitor arrivals reached 8.9 million, which was the highest figure ever recorded, although the economic crisis caused a small decline in arrivals soon after that (Light 2012: 120). After 1989, Dracula tourism also started to grow. In the early 1990s, Dracula tourists continued to visit Romania, but their numbers were far lower than before the 1980s. After 1993, their number started to increase, partly because of the success of the film Bram Stoker's Dracula. Many of the tourist agencies that offered Dracula tours were foreign, and the ones in Romania were still offering tours themed around the life of Vlad the Impaler. The Transylvanian Society of Dracula, originally a Romanian nonpolitical, non-profit, cultural-historical non-government organisation founded in 1991, started to organise Dracula tours in the early 1990s. Initially they worked in partnership with a private travel agency in 1992, and from 1994 onwards through their own travel agency, the Company of Mysterious Journeys. The company added new elements to its tours, particularly evening performances in the village of Aref, which included traditional dancing and telling of local folktales about Vlad the Impaler, as well as witch-trial performances and various tests of knighthood; it also added locations, stories and features about the fictitious Dracula, as well as other traits derived from the vampire myth in general (ibid.: 124-125). Several other Romanian travel agencies copied many of these activities for their own tour itineraries. Today Dracula tourism in Romania is operated by a number of different travel companies, both foreign and domestic.

## THE HISTORY OF VLAD THE IMPALER IN TOUR NARRATIONS

Although tourists can visit Dracula sites on their own, most of the Dracula tourism is based on tours that visit different sites connected with either the fictional Count Dracula or Vlad the Impaler. The majority of these tours start in the capital city, Bucharest. After Bucharest the tours visit sites that may or may not include the monastery island of Snagov, where Vlad is thought to have been buried, the princely ruins in Târgovişte, Sighişoara, the alleged birthplace of Vlad the Impaler, the medieval city of Braşov, which Vlad famously attacked, and the castle of Bran, which is marketed as Dracula's castle, the ruins of the Poenari citadel and the village of Aref, where people still tell stories about Vlad the Impaler, the monastery in Curtea de Arges, the Transylvanian cities of Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca and Medias, which all have some connections to Vlad the Impaler, and Hunyad castle in Hunedoara, where Vlad was held prisoner. All of these sites are more or less connected with Vlad and not with the vampire Count Dracula. Actually there are only two sites clearly connected with the fictional Dracula, which are visited on Dracula tours, namely the city of Bistrita with its famous hotel, Coroana de Aur, and the Hotel Castel Dracula near the Borgo (Tihuta) Pass. These two hotels were built in the 1970s and 1980s clearly to cater for Dracula enthusiasts who were looking to see more Dracula-themed sites in Romania (Light 2012: 76-78). Some sites that are visited on Dracula tours seem to have no connections to either Vlad the Impaler or to the Dracula of fiction (Hovi 2011: 82). These sites include Peles Castle, the fortified church in Biertan, the city of Turda, the Danube delta, and the painted churches of Moldavia. I find these sites especially interesting because of lack of connection between them and either of the two Draculas.

At the sites that are connected with Vlad the Impaler, the tour guides usually focus on the history and tradition of the voivode. This can be traced to both history books about Vlad and to the German, Russian and Romanian fifteenth-century legend tradition. In Bucharest, where most Dracula tours start, the travel agencies usually organise a sightseeing tour around the city centre. Although Vlad has strong historical connections with Bucharest, the emphasis in the tour narrations on these sightseeing tours is actually much more on the history of Bucharest and Romania in general and especially the revolution of 1989 than it is on Vlad. All that is told about Vlad in connection with Bucharest is the fact that the city was first mentioned in a document signed by him (Treptow 2000: 182), and that Vlad either built or reinforced the fortress there. Other than these two points, Bucharest in Dracula tourism seems to function more as an orientation towards Romanian history, culture, and the whole Dracula tour than an actual Dracula site as such. The reasons for the emphasis on the 1989 revolution might lie in the fact that this is still fresh in the memory, there are many places in Bucharest with direct links to the events of the revolution, and it is seen as a very important moment in Romanian history. The fact that there are no locations connected with Vlad other than the palace ruins might also be of consequence.

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Close to Bucharest is the island monastery of Snagov, which is visited on most tours. Snagov is the supposed burial place of Vlad the Impaler, and most of the tour guide narrations concentrate on the stories connected with Snagov and Vlad's alleged tomb, and around the history of Vlad's death. Before 2011 there was no bridge to the island and the only way to get there was by boat, which added to the mysterious feel of the visit. Since the bridge was built, it is much easier for tourists to visit the island. Tourists visit the monastery church and are shown Vlad's presumed burial place, and then walk around the church and the small island before heading back. In Târgovişte, in the ruins of the Poenari fortress and in the village of Aref, the focus is clearly on the legends of Vlad the Impaler as well as the history of fifteenth-century Wallachia. Many of the story variants from German, Russian or Romanian traditions are connected with either Târgovişte or Poenari. For example, the famous Romanian story about the construction of the fortress by noblemen from Targoviste connects these two sites together and is also told on several tours. In Târgovişte the tourists visit the ruins of the princely court and especially the sunset tower, which has a small exhibition about Vlad the Impaler. The tour guides tell stories about Vlad and Targoviste as the tourists walk around the ruins or visit the exhibition (which is only in Romanian). The stories told in Târgovişte are known in all three traditions - German, Russian and Romanian. In Poenari the tourists climb the stairs (about 1480 steps) up to the ruins of the citadel. During the climb and while visiting the ruins, the tour guides usually tell stories about Vlad that are connected to Poenari, like the one about the construction of the citadel. Another famous Romanian story is about the suicide of Vlad's wife and his escape from the Poenari fortress (Ene 1976: 583). This story is also told in Poenari, even to the extent that the actual place where Vlad's wife must have killed herself is shown to tourists. Most of them deal with the punishments inflicted by Vlad the Impaler or about Vlad's strict sense of justice.

Yes, because when they arrived in the citadel of Poenari, they were surrounded by the Turkish army. And his wife was a very pretty woman, this is the story, and I suppose she was a very pretty woman; she preferred to die instead of remaining a prisoner of the Turks. And she jumped straight down from the wall of the citadel. And this was a cruel moment in the life of Tepes.

The Transylvanian cities of Braşov, Sighişoara, Cluj-Napoca, Mediaş and Sibiu all have various connections with the history of Vlad the Impaler. Visits to these cities usually involve a sightseeing walk around the city centre, during which the tour guide talks about the site. Surprisingly, the actual emphasis in tour guide narrations in these cities is not on Vlad but on the medieval histories of

these cities in general; while the cities share some history related to Vlad, it seems that it is not enough to build the whole tour around it. This is notable, for example, in the cases of Cluj-Napoca and Medias, which both have only a weak link with Vlad. Sibiu's main connections with Vlad the Impaler are that his son Mihnea the Bad was buried there and that he attacked the outskirts of the city in the fifteenth century; the tour narrations here are also about the culture and history of the town in general. Sighişoara is the alleged birthplace of Vlad the Impaler, where his father lived before he became the voivode of Wallachia, but other than that the city does not have much of a connection with Vlad. Sighişoara is one of the Romania's seven UNESCO World Heritage Sites and is often branded as the "best preserved fifteenth-century walled town of Europe" or "one of Europe's most beautiful and still inhabited fortified cities". In Sighişoara, the tour narrations often focus on the history of the town as well as the cultural meaning of the town as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and also emphasise the town's medieval history. Besides, Sighişoara is the place where most of the Halloween parties are organised if the tour takes place during that time.

Of all the Transylvanian cities Braşov may have the most pertinent and famous history relating to Vlad the Impaler. It was an important and rich medieval city close to the border with Wallachia. The wealthy Saxon merchants of Braşov exercised a great deal of influence in Wallachian politics, which caused tension between the Wallachian rulers and the Saxon merchants and councillors of Bragov. This was also the case during Vlad's time and, after several incidents with the merchants and councillors of Bragov, he attacked the city and punished them. This attack is depicted in one of the most famous German stories about Vlad, in which he is said to have had his breakfast in the midst of several impaled victims from the city (Treptow 2000: 100-101, 217). Despite this history and the obvious connections, the tour narratives again emphasise the city as a medieval Transylvanian town and its later history, and not the connections with Vlad the Impaler. Vlad is mentioned as having attacked Bragov and impaled many people from the city on Tâmpa Mountain, which looms over the city, but other than that there really does not seem to be anything else to tell about Vlad in the tour narrations in Bragov. Bragov and Sighişoara, although important places in the history of Vlad the Impaler, seem to be marketed more as medieval Transylvanian cities that are important to Romanian culture and history, and not as actual Dracula sites. The Middle Ages are emphasised because at some of the locations the connections with Vlad the Impaler may be too thin and, on the other hand, because there are a number of stereotypical impressions of the Middle Ages, which also fall in line with the stereotypical images of Vlad. Most of these impressions come from

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popular culture and are expected to be known to tourists. Most of the tourism in the abovementioned places focuses on history and could be categorised mainly as cultural or heritage tourism rather than literary tourism, movie-induced tourism or dark tourism, with may be minor exceptions in the cases of Sighişoara (especially during Halloween), Târgovişte and partly also Braşov, where parts of the tours might also be considered as dark tourism. One of the highlights on the Dracula tours during Halloween is a Halloween party, which is usually, although not always, organised in Sighişoara. During the parties the tour guides as well as the tourists dress up in different Halloween costumes and partake in various activities suited to the theme, such as, for example, the ritual killing of the living dead, Dracula's wedding, or a tournament. Here the tourists partake in the lighter side of dark tourism. In Târgovişte and Braşov the tour narrations partly focus on the alleged atrocities committed by Vlad the Impaler, and can therefore be seen as dark tourism.

### FICTION IN TOUR NARRATIONS

Fiction plays a major role in Dracula tourism for obvious reasons, and it is also used on the tours. Tour guides make use of fiction in their narrations in two ways. Sometimes it is stated or brought up explicitly, and sometimes only hinted at. On the two Dracula tours by the Company of Mysterious Journeys that I participated in, the distinction was made clearly in the tourist guide narrations by stating explicitly that the group was leaving behind history and reality and crossing into the domain of the fictitious Count Dracula, as, for example, on the itinerary from the company's Classic Dracula Tour:

Proceed to the buffer-zone separating Count Dracula's domain (the county of Bistrita-Nasaud) from the rest of Transylvania. Prince Vlad dims out into history; Count Dracula emerges from nightmares, terror and fright.

Fiction is mostly used on the route from Sighişoara or from Braşov to Bistriţa and to the Borgo Pass, or, in other words, from the sites that are associated with Vlad the Impaler to the sites that are associated with Bram Stoker's book. So the tour guides tend to make a clear distinction between what they perceive as real Romanian history and fiction and Western popular culture. In the Castel Dracula Hotel in the Borgo Pass, the focus on fiction is also quite obvious. Here the tour narrations revolve around the idea of the hotel as the home of the fictional vampire, Count Dracula.

Some of them prefer to sleep there instead of sleeping in the castle. Some of them are afraid of what can happen in the castle after midnight. And for this, nobody can condemn them.<sup>10</sup>

Even when Count Dracula is not explicitly mentioned, the tour narrations usually play with the idea of the myth of Transylvania as a place. According to Duncan Light, a place myth is a culturally constructed idea about the nature of a certain place, regardless of its character in reality. Place myths are formed from sometimes exaggerated or incomplete images of the place, often based on stereotypes or even prejudices, and are maintained by different forms of popular culture (Light 2012: 20). Bram Stoker created or at least consolidated a powerful and enduring place myth of Transylvania as a marginal, backward, sinister and supernatural location (ibid.: 80). The place myth of Transylvania is used in tour narrations quite clearly to constantly emphasise the fact. The tourists are told that the many crosses that can be found alongside the roads are there to protect them and that one should not wander beyond them. Similar things are told in the Castel Dracula Hotel, where the tourists are warned not to wander around the hotel.11 It is clear that the tour guides assume that the tourists share this idea of the place myth of Transylvania as being something dangerous and superstitious. On the tours, Bistriţa and the Borgo Pass are also often referred to as Dracula County, or the Count's domain.

The Coroana de Aur (Golden Crown) hotel in Bistriţa was built in the 1970s and it shares its name with the hotel in which Jonathan Harker slept overnight and ate in Bistriţa on his way to Dracula's castle in Bram Stoker's book (ibid.: 76). In addition to the name, the hotel has one special dining room called 'Salon Jonathan Harker', which is decorated accordingly. The hotel is usually visited only briefly on the way to the Castel Dracula Hotel, but some tours stop there for a longer visit, and tourists can eat the 'same meal' as Jonathan Harker did in the novel, called the Jonathan Harker menu. Other than the name, the dining room and the special menu, the hotel has little to do with Dracula tourism in terms of decorations or activities. The Castel Dracula Hotel was built in the 1980s near the top of the Bârgau (Borgo) Pass, more or less where the castle of Count Dracula was situated in Stoker's novel (ibid.: 101–104). Although it has a tower and an inner courtyard, the hotel itself is not a real castle as such, but a hotel made to look like one. It is actually an interesting mix between the socialist architecture of the 1980s and a medieval castle.

The hotel is decorated with a Dracula theme up to a certain point, but to many tourists it is actually a bit of a disappointment. Many of the tourists that I interviewed were disappointed with the hotel and felt that it did not live up to their expectations and that it could also have had much more potential as a tourist site. One tourist mentioned that the tourist industry would need to re-work the interior and "goth" or "Disneyfy" the castle up, meaning to make it more acceptable or marketable to its core target group. There is a cellar in the hotel where tourists can go and visit Dracula's coffin. Usually, while the

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tourists are down in the cellar, the lights suddenly go out and "Dracula" escapes from the coffin, frightening the tourists. After this the tourists usually go outside where they are greeted by Dracula (a hotel worker in a Dracula costume), and led to a fireplace where they can partake in activities and listen to ghost stories around the fire. There is also a small (real) cemetery near the hotel, which is sometimes visited. Occasionally, Halloween parties are also organised in the hotel. After the tour leaves the Castel Dracula Hotel and Bistrita, the emphasis of the tour narrations turns back to the historical and cultural aspects of Romania. The tours that are held during Halloween also tend, however, to emphasise the fictional side at other locations than just Bistriţa and the Castel Dracula Hotel. Tourism in Bistrita and in the Borgo Pass is a mix of dark tourism and media tourism. Tourists are clearly told that this is the setting for Bram Stoker's novel and that they are actually following Jonathan Harker's footsteps. So tourists can, in a way, re-enact or perform parts of the novel or the movies in 'actual' settings (Light 2009: 198-194; Reijnders 2011: 13). The dark tourism part comes with the scare elements and spooking of the tourists. In addition to Bistrita and the Borgo Pass, the fictional element on the tours can sometimes also be found when visiting Sighişoara and Castle Bran. Because Vlad the Impaler is thought to have been born in Sighişoara, the idea that it is the birthplace of Dracula is sometimes played upon. This is especially the case during the time of the Halloween parties that are organised there. Castle Bran is also a place where the lines between history and fiction are sometimes blurred. It was dubbed "Dracula's castle" for American tourists in the 1970s and the name has stuck ever since, even though the castle has nothing to do with Count Dracula and has only a minor historical link to Vlad the Impaler. Yet Bran is sometimes mentioned as being Dracula's castle, or as being the inspiration for Dracula's castle in Stoker's book, or as the location where many Dracula movies have been filmed.

## ADDITIONAL HISTORY USED IN TOUR NARRATIONS

Despite their name, Dracula tours do not focus solely on the two Draculas. As mentioned earlier, there are several sites that are visited on the tours, which have nothing to do with either Vlad the Impaler or Count Dracula. These sites include the castle of Peleş, the fortified church in Biertan, the city of Turda, the Danube delta and the painted churches of Moldavia. The reasons for sites like these to be included in the Dracula tours vary, but one of the main justifications is that the organisers want to show them to foreign tourists. This is the case especially with Peleş Castle, which is visited on tours organised by both the Company of Mysterious Journeys and Transylvania Live.

Yes, because like I've said, we want to present also what is good in our history, and Peleş Castle is one of the most beautiful 19th-century castles in Europe. And because it's very beautiful, we try to present it also to our tourists, to show also the other face of Romania, the romantic face of Romania.<sup>13</sup>

Well, yeah. Well, I would say yes, yes, because you're still in Romania, and from my point of view you should, you should learn a few things about Romania, too. And plus we are passing next to the place, we know that it's a unique... it's like, like you said like Peleş Castle, it's a unique place in Romania and there won't be too many like that around Europe, so from my point of view it's a very good thing.<sup>14</sup>

Peles Castle, which is a castle built for the Romanian royal family at the turn of the twentieth century, is shown to tourists because it is considered as something important for Romanian culture (Hovi 2011: 83). The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are also seen as a kind of a golden age in Romania and Peleş Castle is a reminder of that era. As the tour guide from Transylvania Live told me, it is important for him that tourists learn something about Romania while they are there, even if they are in Romania just because of Dracula. The addition of these sites and tour narrations may also function as a way to connect Romania, through its history, to Western Europe, and emphasise the fact that before the communist times Romania had stronger connections with the West. After all, the Romanian royal family came from Germany and therefore shares a link with other European royal families. The fortified church in Biertan and the painted monasteries in Moldavia are UNESCO World Heritage Sites, so it is easy to see why the travel agencies also want to show them on Dracula tours. Important sites for Romanian culture, both past and present, like Peleş, Biertan, and the monasteries in Moldavia, are willingly brought into conjunction with western and foreign vampire and horror thematics. According to Pekka Hakamies, it is not unusual that in some cases people have been clinging to old traditions as a form of silent protest against a dominant ideology and government, which have been regarded unfamiliar or foreign. At the same time, this kind of protest has worked as a unifying force that has strengthened local identity (Hakamies 1998: 11). Similarly, the addition and marketing of these kinds of sites can be seen as a local cultural protest against a foreign and unfamiliar image of Romania. And, at the same time, this can be seen as a way to strengthen local identity and culture against a foreign (and in this case a cultural) threat (Hovi 2011: 83).

Bucharest is interesting as a Dracula site, because, as I stated earlier, it does not actually function as such. It seems to operate more as an orientation

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Dracula site as such. In fact, the emphasis of the tour narrations in Bucharest seems to be on the events of the 1989 revolution. This is not entirely surprising since the effects of the revolution can still be clearly seen in the street scenes in Bucharest. In addition to the history of the city and the events of the revolution, the tour narrations also relate the development of Romania since the revolution up to the present day. The tour narrations associated with the revolution focus on various buildings and events that took place at different sites in the city, such as the Palace of Parliament, the Memorial of Rebirth in Revolution Square, which commemorates the struggles and victims of the revolution of 1989, and University Square. One reason for the emphasis on the 1989 revolution might also be the fact that in the aftermath, Romania fell more in line and became connected with Western Europe and the Western world. Maybe the tour guides want to emphasise this change as well.

This part of the tours and visits to the abovementioned locations is more cultural and heritage tourism than media or dark tourism. The city of Turda is visited on some Dracula tours, and it also has no connections to either of the Draculas. It is, however, a mix of cultural or heritage tourism and dark tourism. The main location to visit in Turda is the old salt mines, which is an important historical as well as a heritage site. However, the place where tourists stay is a hotel called Hunter Prince Castle and Dracula Hotel, which is often marketed as "a medieval fantasy with beds". The hotel has hunting-themed, as well as Dracula-themed, decorations, with a special dining room called Dracula's Castle, which is filled with Dracula- and horror-themed decorations. In there, tourists can eat a special themed menu and have their photos taken beside a life-sized figure of Vlad the Impaler, or by an "executioner's block".

Besides Bucharest and the sites that are not connected to either of the Draculas, there are also tour narrations that are told between sites. Because the distances between some of the Dracula sites are long, plenty of time is spent sitting on a bus. These moments are usually spent listening to the tour guides, sleeping, watching movies or talking to other tourists. Depending on the tour guides, most of the tour narrations between the sites are stories about various Dracula sites, about Romanian history and culture in general, personal views and experiences in Romania on the part of the guides, and modern Romania in general, so the tour narrations may consist of more or less anything about Romanian history, culture and modern everyday life. Whether or not they are interested in hearing about other matters than those related to Dracula, Vlad, vampires and Transylvania depends on the tourists: some are not interested at all, whereas others are very interested in the overall history and culture of Romania. \*\*Decause the usual tour itineraries go from Wallachia to Transylva-

nia and back, tourists also get to see geographically varied parts of Romania; according to one tour guide that I interviewed, this is seen as important for the guides that tourists gain a better image and understanding of the country.

#### CONCLUSION

What kind of history is used and what eras of history are related in the tour narrations in Dracula tourism in Romania? The answer can roughly be divided according to four historical eras. The first is the time of Vlad the Impaler and the Middle Ages in general. These tour narrations are used at the sites connected to Vlad and at those that may have a looser connection to him but anyway have medieval history attached to them. The reasons for focusing on this era of history are quite self-evident and self-explanatory. The second era is the turn of the twentieth century; this era is used in the tour narration in Peles Castle and also in Bucharest. This tour narration functions as a reminder of Romania's shared past with Western Europe. The reason for this focus seems to be a desire to recount this period as one of importance for the history of Romania, and to establish a connection between Romania and Western Europe through history. The third era is socialism and especially its demise with the 1989 revolution. The tour narrations about this era are usually told in Bucharest as well as on the road, in between the different tour sites. In Bucharest the narrations are linked with different buildings and events that took place around the city. The reasons for including this era are probably that the socialist era is still relatively fresh in the memory, and the fact that such a different system intrigues tourists, especially Western tourists, to whom the socialist system is unfamiliar. The fourth era is the present day. These tour narrations are more unofficial by nature and therefore also more difficult to conceptualise. They are usually told in between the different sites and their content depends on the tour guides. Usually they are about the personal experiences and opinions of the guides. This era is included because it gives information about the current state and culture of Romania, which is both interesting to the tourists and felt as important for the guides to tell. The history that is left out on the Dracula tours seems to cover the period in Romanian history before the Middle Ages, as well as most of the time between the sixteenth and the late nineteenth centuries. Also, the early twentieth century, with the far-right movement in Romania, as well as the first decades of the Communist rule, seems to be missing in the tour narrations. Romanian history before the Middle Ages is probably not seen as that interesting in this context, and the same applies to some other time periods. So the eras that are seen as important enough to be told to the tourists are Vlad's

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Romania by the Romanian National Tourist Office. There are several tourist agencies that concentrate on Dracula tourism, but they are private companies and are not affiliated with the official tourist agency of Romania. This makes the research about the connection between the fictional Dracula and Romanian history, heritage and culture, even more interesting. In this article, I explore how this somewhat controversial history culture has been developed, negotiated and represented by various agents in Romania. Although there are similar types of tourism in which historical and mythical figures have been used, I find Dracula tourism quite unique because unlike many other cases it combines a certain historical figure with a fictional character that comes completely from outside of the history and culture of the original historical figure.<sup>3</sup>

In this article I will examine what kinds of history and tradition are used and told in Dracula tourism in Romania, and which eras of history are highlighted and why. I am also interested in the negotiations between fiction, tradition and history, and how seemingly superficial and fictitious Dracula tourism can be used as a gateway into Romanian history and culture. History, and especially the use of history, is an important element in tourism. Many tourists want to find out about the history of the country they are visiting. Similarly, many local actors are eager to present their destination in a certain way and give as favourable a history or story of the locations visited as possible. History is definitely never objective; nor is the use of history in tourism. What I mean by history is the shared and widely acknowledged interpretations of the past, within given groups. These interpretations may also differ within the community and between academia and laymen. The main point is to understand that history is not the same as the past, but consists of interpretations of the past. In tourism the use of history is always a subjective decision. What eras of history are highlighted in different tourist sites and what are left out? These decisions are made by different actors that include national tourist boards, ministries of tourism, travel agencies (both foreign and domestic), the owners of locations and various tour guides. This is also the case with Dracula tourism in Romania.

What I mean by fiction in this case is everything that is connected with the fictitious vampire Count Dracula and with the image of Romania and Transylvania in popular culture in general. Although fiction can be described as something feigned or invented by imagination and specifically as an invented story, the line between history and fiction is not always very clear. Therefore it would be difficult and maybe even pointless for me as a researcher to differentiate between fiction, history and tradition used in Dracula tourism in Romania. For example, the history of Vlad the Impaler, which is used in the tour-guide narrations, is partly based on the legend tradition about Vlad, which, although to an extent based on historical events, is also more or less fiction. In this case,

era, the era in which Romania first grew closer to the West, the socialist era, which is seen as something strange and negative, and the present day, which is seen as more modern, free and western, especially after the era of socialism.

It is by no means a revelation that tourists are told about the history and culture of their destination in general, not even when they are participating in a themed tour, such as a Dracula tour. It is, however, interesting to see how and why this is done. In the case of Dracula tourism in Romania, it actually answers the second question raised in my article: How can the seemingly superficial and fictitious Dracula tourism be used as a gateway into Romanian history and culture? Dracula tourism, although indeed seemingly superficial, can be used as such a gateway by adding sites that have nothing to do with Vlad the Impaler or the fictitious Count Dracula, by recounting the history and culture of Romania in general and not just focusing on the Middle Ages, and by trying to separate the fictional side of Dracula tourism from the history side. Dracula tourism may be used, and actually is used, as a marketing tool for Romania. So we might even say that through Dracula tourism one can find the "real" Romania, which of course is much more than just the "land of Dracula". The reason for adding places like the castle of Peles, Biertan, or the salt mines in Turda, is to give the tourists an image of Romania that is as extensive and positive as possible. By telling Romanian history and culture in general and by showing different historical, cultural and geographical sides of the country, travel agencies want to offer their version of Romania alongside the fictional Dracula's country.

Although the Dracula theme is constantly present on the tours, most of the locations visited do not actually have any connections with the fictional Dracula. This is interesting, considering that most of the tourists are interested mainly in the figure from popular culture, and hence this can cause friction by not coincide with the tourists' expectations. One strategy for the travel agencies to negotiate this friction between history and fiction is in the way that the tours are organised. For the most part, the tours visit places that are of historical value and are mainly connected with Vlad the Impaler but not with the vampire, Count Dracula. The only locations directly associated with the fictitious Dracula are Bistrita and the Borgo Pass, which are quite far from the rest of the locations visited on the tours. This gives the tour operators an opportunity to concentrate all, or at least most, of the fictional side of Dracula tourism within this part of the tour. This approach is also quite clearly stated in many tour itineraries in terms of crossing the border to Dracula's county or to the domains of the count. And when the tours proceed onwards, the tour itineraries mention that it is time to leave fiction and return to history. So, one way that the agencies manage the balance between history and fiction

is to clearly focus the fictional part of the tour on these two locations. This is certainly not always so black and white and not every tourist agency operates like this. Especially many foreign tourist agencies seem to deliberately confuse the two characters throughout the entire tour. It seems, however, that most of the Romanian tourist agencies do separate the two characters, particularly by focusing the fictional part of the tour only on Bistriţa and the Borgo Pass, with the small exceptions of Bran and Sighişoara.

Dracula tourism has been opposed because it has been seen as something foreign and even as a threat to Romanian culture and history. The argument has been that Dracula tourism could give rise to a wrong image of Romania. The results of my fieldwork with the two Romanian travel agencies that offer Dracula tourism, the Company of Mysterious Journeys and Transylvania Live, show that this concern is at least partly unfounded. Although both of these agencies use fiction and play with the idea of the place myth of Transylvania, they tend to offer plentiful information about the history and culture of Romania. So, to my mind, Dracula tourism is not necessarily a threat to Romanian culture and history, but can actually help to promote both. Romanian Dracula tourism is an example of how a local agent can negotiate with a form of tourism and culture that is foreign, without having to compromise or lose one's own culture.

#### NOTES

- Romanian National Tourist Office, http://www.romaniatourism.com/history.html, last accessed on January 15, 2014.
- Romanian National Tourist Office, Special Interest, http://www.romaniatourism.com/ special-interest.html, last accessed on January 15, 2014.
- Although many historical and mythical figures, such as Robin Hood, William Wallace (Braveheart), King Arthur or many characters of the Wild West have been absorbed into Western popular culture, this all has been done more or less within the same Anglo-American culture and on the culture's own terms. And often the historical and popular culture characters have been combined with the interest and understanding of the culture from which they originate. In the case of Dracula tourism, the character of Vlad the Impaler has been "forcefully" attached to the western vampire Dracula without any input from Romanian culture.
- Like, for example, the Company of Mysterious Journeys, http://www.mysteriousjourneys.com/dracula\_tours/castle\_dracula/travel/, and Transylvania Live, http://www.dracula-tour.com/halloween-dracula-tour-in-transylvania.html, both last accessed on January 15, 2014.
- These tours are The Classic Dracula Tour (April 2012) and The Classic Dracula & Halloween 2010 in Transylvania (October 2010) by the Company of Mysterious Journeys, and Vampire in Transylvania - Halloween Departure Tour (October 2011) by

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- the company Transylvania Live. I have decided to leave the tour guides anonymous in this article. All of the interviews are in the possession of the author, both in transcribed versions and as audio files.
- An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010 (English slightly corrected, as also in other interviews).
- <sup>7</sup> The links with Vlad in these cities are quite vague. Cluj-Napoca is the birthplace of Mathias Corvinus, who impacted Vlad's life in many ways, and Vlad was held prisoner in Medias for a short while, but that is about as far as the connection goes.
- S Company of Mysterious Journeys, http://www.mysteriousjourneys.com/halloween-2012-transilvania/(page not available any more) and Transylvania Live, http://www.dracula-tour.com/europe-sightseeing-tours-romania/dracula-tour-transylvania-travel.html, last accessed on January 15, 2014.
- The Classic Dracula Tour, http://www.mysteriousjourneys.com/dracula\_tours/classic\_dracula\_level\_1/, last accessed on January 15, 2014.
- An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010.
- 11 These are based on the author's fieldwork notes.
- <sup>12</sup> The company of Mysterious Journeys organises Dracula tours that also visit Biertan, the Danube delta, and the painted monasteries of Moldavia. Transylvania Live organises tours that visit Turda, and both travel agencies visit the castle of Peleş on their tours.
- An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010.
- <sup>14</sup> An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Transylvania Live in 2011.
- <sup>15</sup> Personal communication with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010.

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what I mean by fiction is what the tour guides themselves call fiction. So the definition and distinction between fiction, tradition and history is based on the tour guide narrations and the websites of various travel agencies<sup>‡</sup> and not on my own interpretations. Hopefully, my article will contribute to the research fields of tourism, history and folklore, and especially to the use of history and tradition in tourism. Although there are many similar cases in which the local tourism industry has to negotiate between outside expectations and local cultural values, some aspects of Dracula tourism are unique in my opinion. Because Dracula tourism combines tradition, history, culture and fiction in an interesting whole, I find it an intriguing subject for cultural research.

I have carried out fieldwork in Romania and participated in three Dracula tours organised by two different Romanian travel companies. Two of these tours were in 2010 with the Company of Mysterious Journeys, and the third was in 2011 with the company Transylvania Live. I selected these two travel companies because they are Romanian, because they have both been active since the early 1990s and because they both organise various kinds of Dracula tours as well as other tours that are not linked with Dracula. These tour operators are not the only ones in Romania, but they are two of the oldest, most popular and recognised ones in Romania. There are dozens of Romanian tour operators that offer some kind of Dracula tourism, but many of their tours are copied from the main tourist agencies that offer Dracula tourism.

During my fieldwork I conducted several interviews with tour guides and other tourists during and after the tours. In addition, I undertook participant observation and kept a field diary. These tours and my fieldwork within them form the basis for this article. I have also used the websites of the aforementioned travel agencies as references.

#### DEFINING DRACULA TOURISM

Dracula tourism is a kind of tourism in which tourists visit sites and places that are associated with both the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, and the fictional vampire, Count Dracula (Light 2012: 3). Dracula tourism is mainly connected with Romania, although there is some Dracula tourism also in Great Britain. The latter is associated solely with the fictional Dracula and the locations visited are in Whitby and London, whereas Dracula tourism in Romania is associated with both the fictional and the historical Dracula. Tourists may visit the Dracula locations on their own, but most Dracula tourists usually go on Dracula tours organised by different travel agencies. These tours differ in their length and choice of visited locations associated with either of the

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Draculas. Although the emphasis on these tours is obviously on history and traditions about Vlad the Impaler as well as the fiction connected with Bram Stoker's book and vampires in general, much more gets related on the tours. The reactions to Dracula tourism in Romania have always been mixed. Some people are against it, some are in favour and some are indifferent towards it. Those who oppose Dracula tourism see it as something that could be harmful to Romanian culture and history. (Light 2012: 135–136). One could say that there is and has always been a conflict between Romanian heritage and Western stereotypes and fiction within Dracula tourism in Romania.

Dracula tourism can be hard to categorise as a particular type of tourism. It can be seen as cultural tourism, literary tourism, movie-induced tourism or dark tourism. In addition, it also includes elements of heritage tourism. Cultural tourism can be explained as incorporating all movements of people to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal venues, or all the movement of people to cultural attractions away from their normal places of residence, with the intention of gathering new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs (Richards 2010: 15). Heritage tourism is a special form of cultural tourism. One way to make a distinction (if needed) between cultural tourism and heritage tourism is their relationship to the past. It can be argued that in heritage tourism the focus is, or at least has been, more on the past, whereas in cultural tourism the focus is on the present (Poria & Butler & Airey 2003: 240). Heritage is also a much narrower concept than culture, because heritage is selective. Heritage is always just a selected part of history and culture, one that is deemed especially important and desirable to be kept. Heritage is also a cultural process and a present-centred cultural practice, and even an instrument of cultural power (Harvey 2007: 37; Timothy & Boyd 2003: 2-5). There is also a clear distinction between heritage and history. Unlike history, heritage does not necessarily need to be scientifically proved to be real. According to David Lowenthal, while history seeks to convince by truth and succumbs to falsehood, heritage exaggerates, omits, invents, forgets and thrives on ignorance and error (Lowenthal 2007: 111). Dracula tourism has many things in common with cultural and heritage tourism, because as well as visiting the sites connected with Vlad or the fictional Dracula, tourists also visit many culturally and historically important sites.

While Dracula tourism has elements of both cultural tourism and heritage tourism, it can also be defined as literary or movie-induced tourism. Literary tourism is the kind of tourism in which tourists visit the locations that either have connections to certain writers, or that form settings for novels (Herbert 2001: 314). Movie-induced tourism, which nowadays cannot really be separated

from literary tourism, is the kind of tourism in which tourists visit destinations or attractions that they have seen on television, on video or on the cinema screen (Busby & Klug 2001: 317). In some cases, tourists also visit literary or movie-induced landscapes to engage with broader meanings, values and myths than just the location itself. This is quite evident in Dracula tourism, in which tourists visiting Transylvania can engage with the ideas of otherness and superstitions beyond Stoker's original Dracula (Light 2012: 16–18). The term media tourism has also been suggested to combine both literary and movie-induced tourism, and it is, in my opinion, a very good one, because the two are often hard to separate from each other, and this term can also incorporate the Internet, which also affects and influences tourism (Reijnders 2011: 3–4). Popular culture tourism is also an appropriate term used to portray this kind of tourism (Larson & Lundberg & Lexhagen 2013).

The premise for Dracula tourism is obviously Bram Stoker's novel published in 1897, but, in my opinion, it is the subsequent movies that have had an even stronger influence on Dracula tourism. Although Dracula tourism could be defined as literary, movie-induced or media tourism, the elements of horror and death that are attached to Dracula tourism link it also to dark tourism. Dark tourism is seen as travel to places associated with death, disaster and destruction. It has been called than atourism, morbid tourism, Black Spot tourism, grief tourism and even "milking the macabre" (Sharpley 2009: 9-10). Dark tourism can be divided into places that have a direct link to terrible happenings and are therefore darker in nature, and those that also present real or fictional death and macabre events, but in more family-friendly settings or in a socially more acceptable environment in which to gaze upon simulated death and associated suffering, and which are therefore lighter in nature (Stone 2006: 152-157). A form of dark tourism, in which the tourist seeks a scary opportunity at a destination that may have a sinister history or may be promoted to have one, has been called fright tourism, or alternatively ghost tourism, spook tourism or haunting tourism (Bristow & Newman 2005: 215; Light 2012: 62). The way I see it, Dracula tourism can definitely also be defined as dark tourism. It actually combines elements of fictional fright tourism with real atrocities of history that are part of dark tourism in general. It is clear that Dracula tourism is hard to define definitely. It has elements of literary tourism, movie-induced tourism, media tourism, dark tourism, cultural tourism and heritage tourism. The definition of Dracula tourism seems to depend on the reasons that the tourist has for taking the tour, whether for the landscapes of literature or movies, for stimulated fear and danger, or out of interest in historical and cultural sites. Sometimes the division is not so straightforward and all of the above can be seen as motivations for the trip.

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#### THE TWO DRACULAS

As I mentioned earlier, there are actually two Draculas in Dracula tourism. Undoubtedly, the more famous is the fictitious vampire, Count Dracula, who first appeared in Bram Stoker's seminal work Dracula, first published in 1897. Count Dracula is a vampire from Transylvania, who in the original novel moves to Great Britain and terrorises people before he is hunted down and forced back to Transylvania, and eventually killed. The novel was a moderate success during Bram Stoker's lifetime, but it got widespread recognition only about ten years after Stoker's death, first via successful stage adaptations and later through films. The first real Dracula movie was Dracula made by Universal Studios in 1931 (Miller 2003: 15). Since the 1931 film, the character of the vampire Count Dracula has appeared in countless movies, TV-series, games, plays and books. According to David J. Skal, Count Dracula has been depicted in films more times than almost any other fictional being, and is actually the second most portrayed fictional character on screen, with only the character of Sherlock Holmes appearing in more films (Skal 2004: 5, 299). Although there are countless films that feature Dracula, the one that has mostly influenced Dracula tourism, at least in terms of imagery, is Bram Stoker's Dracula from 1992. The film was directed by Francis Ford Coppola and starred Gary Oldman as both Vlad the Impaler and Count Dracula (which indeed were one and the same character in the movie).

The other Dracula is the so-called historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, who was a Wallachian prince, a voivode who reigned on three different occasions in the mid-fifteenth century, in 1448, 1456-1462 and 1476 (Treptow 2000: 33). Vlad the Impaler was also known as Vlad III or Vlad Dracula. In Romania, Vlad is mostly known by his cognomen Tepes, which means 'impaler'. This name was attached to him in the fifteenth to sixteenth century (Stoicescu 1978: 184). This cognomen came from the old and painful execution method of impaling, which was by no means an invention of Vlad. There are several stories and documents in which Vlad is said to have used this method quite often, and it is therefore ascribed to him (Rezachevici 2006; Stoicescu 1978: 187). The other name, Dracula, derives from the name of Vlad's father Vlad Dracul (Vlad II), who was the voivode of Wallachia in 1436-1442 and then again in 1443-1447 (Treptow 2000: 33). In 1431, Vlad Dracul was invested with the Order of the Dragon, an organisation founded by the German Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg and dedicated to defending western Catholicism against heretics and infidels. Vlad Dracul most probably wore the golden chain of the order with a dragon insignia all the time, which is why he was associated with the dragon. The cognomen Dracul or Draculea comes from this association, and Vlad the

Impaler simply inherited the name (Andreescu 1999: 183). In fact, the name was also ascribed to Vlad Dracul and to his other sons and not just to Vlad the Impaler (Stoicescu 1978: 181–183). The reputation of Vlad the Impaler has been twofold ever since the fifteenth century. The fact that he was and still is known so widely is because of the story tradition with folk narratives about him that started during Vlad's lifetime, already in the fifteenth century. The most famous and widespread stories can be divided into German, Russian (or Slavic) and Romanian stories.

The German and Russian stories were circulated in print and in manuscript form around Europe and Russia from the fifteenth century onwards. The German stories were printed around (modern) Germany between 1488 and 1559-1568 (Harmening 1983: 81-87). The Russian stories are in manuscript form and they were copied many times in different parts of Russia in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but not printed until the nineteenth century. Of these about twenty manuscripts are extant to this day (Florescu & McNally 1989: 208; McNally 1982: 127; Striedter 1961: 421). The Romanian stories were used as the basis for many of the German and Russian versions and have, for the most part, remained in oral form, although some Romanian stories were collected and written down as early as the sixteenth or seventeenth century (Andreescu 1999: 207-208; Stăvăruş 1978: 51). Many of these stories were collected from the village of Arefu in 1969 by Georgeta Ene (1976). Although there are many similarities between them, these three story collections differ from each other in tone and especially in the way that they portray Vlad the Impaler. The German stories portray Vlad as a bloodthirsty madman, the Russian stories as a very cruel but just ruler, and the Romanian stories as a just ruler. In Romania, Vlad the Impaler has almost always been seen as a good ruler, harsh but just. Vlad has been seen as a national hero who defended his country and people against foreign and domestic threats. Outside Romania, his image has been a lot darker, that of a bloodthirsty tyrant responsible for the lives of tens of thousands of people. At least since the 1970s, Vlad the Impaler has also been linked with the fictitious vampire, Count Dracula, especially in Western popular fiction and the media (Light 2012: 46-47).

Vlad the Impaler is often presented as a basis or inspiration for Stoker's vampire. Most of the links that have been created between the two Draculas are more or less artificial. However, sometimes this linkage is so strong or is seen as so obvious that the names Count Dracula and Vlad the Impaler have even become synonymous. This somewhat erroneous connection has been made in the media, in guidebooks and in academic books and articles, and has been used in literature, movies, TV-shows and comics. One of the major contributors to this connection was the book, In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and

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Vampires, authored by Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu and originally published in 1972. While it was not the first scholarly work to suggest that Vlad was the inspiration for Stoker's novel, it did bring both the connection and Vlad the Impaler to public attention. McNally and Florescu's book was a bestseller and has continued to influence many writers and scholars even to this day (Light 2012: 47; Miller 2000: 181). Even though In Search of Dracula has been hugely influential, it has its shortcomings especially in dealing with the supposed connections between Vlad the Impaler and Stoker's Dracula. In these parts of the book, the writers rely quite heavily on assumptions and suppositions and also make some mistakes or misleading statements (Miller 2000: 181). Elizabeth Miller has quite convincingly challenged many of the facts in the connection, both in McNally and Florescu's book and in other publications, especially in Dracula: Sense and Nonsense (Light 2012: 48; Miller 2000). Vlad the Impaler is not the same figure or character as Count Dracula, nor is Vlad the inspiration or model for Count Dracula. The two share the name 'Dracula' and a few obscure historical references that Bram Stoker found in a book about the history of Wallachia and Moldavia (Miller 2000: 180-189). Despite this, the idea of these two characters as being one and the same can still be found in the media, literature, and even in some academic articles and books. The idea is also well used in Dracula tourism.

#### HISTORY OF ROMANIAN DRACULA TOURISM

After the early years of state socialism, during which Romania was all but closed to foreign tourists, the country began to turn attention to the development and promotion of international tourism in the late 1950s. During the 1960s, Romania became one of the most accessible socialist countries for Western tourists, and in the 1970s tourism was promoted towards the West primarily for political and propaganda motives. The majority of the international tourists were to be found where their holidays were concentrated, along the Black Sea coast, but by the mid-1970s other forms of tourism around the country were developed as well. This was also the time when some Dracula enthusiasts from the West, who were eager to see for themselves the locations found in Bram Stoker's book and in the Dracula films, started to visit Romania. For many tourists Transylvania was a particularly interesting destination to visit. Transylvania had and still has a special meaning in Western popular culture as a mysterious land of vampires and other supernatural things. The connection is so strong that the fact that Transylvania is a real place comes as a surprise to many Westerners (Hupchick 1995: 49; Light 2012: 28, 57-63). This type of tourism was a minority

interest in Romania since most of the foreign tourists were from other socialist countries and knew very little about the vampire Dracula. To most Romanians the only link to the name Dracula was from Romanian history and from Vlad Dracul. Also, most of the Western tourists visited beach or mountain resorts and Dracula was not an important part of their holidays. According to Duncan Light, Dracula tourists were not a homogeneous group, and Dracula tourism was (and still is) a diverse phenomenon embracing a broad range of interests and motives. Some of them could be identified as literary tourists, some as film tourists, some were looking for the supernatural roots of the Dracula myth, and some were interested in the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler. The later interest in Vlad has also been partly the result of the success of the movie Bram Stoker's Dracula from 1992.

Dracula tourism was tolerated by the Romanian government, but it was not encouraged. Romania wanted to use international tourism to celebrate the agenda and achievements of state socialism and to raise the country's international profile, and, as such, Dracula tourism based around a belief in the supernatural and vampires was fundamentally discordant with Romania's identity as a socialist state (Light 2012: 69). Nevertheless, the Romanian government realised that the Dracula connection would offer considerable economic benefits, so the government sought ways to manage the phenomenon and even developed its own version of Dracula tours, which concentrated solely on the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler. Romanian tourism, and especially the numbers of tourists from the West, grew throughout the 1970s. In consequence, more and more people who were interested in Dracula came to Romania. Many tourists who participated in the Dracula tours offered by the state were disappointed because the experience did not match their expectations. They were expecting an experience based on Bram Stoker's novel and the vampire fiction in general, but, instead, they got a historical overview of a largely unknown Romanian ruler from the fifteenth century. And although the tour organised by the state was aimed at a clear differentiation between the fictitious Count Dracula and Vlad the Impaler, it actually ended up furthering the confusion between the two (ibid.: 71-72).

During the 1980s, conditions in Romania deteriorated as a result of President Nicolae Ceauşescu's policies. Ceauşescu wanted to reduce Romania's dependence upon Western Europe and introduced severe austerity measures in order to pay off the country's foreign debt. This involved, for example, reducing of domestic consumption and investment and rationing of energy supplies. The result was a decline in living standards for Romanians with rationing of food, electricity and fuel, which also affected tourism. Although there were still some tourists visiting Romania because of Dracula, the attitudes towards Dracula tourism

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June 29, 2012 By Medievalists.net

One of the most famous castle's in Scotland, Eilean Donan Castle dates back to the 13th century. Located on an island along the west coast of the Scottish highlands, Eilean Donan Castle is a major tourist site and has been used as a backdrop for films and television shows.



Eilean\_Donan\_castle - photo © Guillaume Piolle / CC-BY-3.0

The island of Eilean Donan is named after Saint Donnán of Eigg, an Irish priest who came to Scotland in the late 6th century to preach Christianity to the Picts. A legend has it that he built a church on the island, although no archaeological evidence of an early medieval building has yet been found.

The island has a freshwater well, which has allowed it to be inhabited for centuries. The first fortification on Eilean Donan was built around 1260 by Alexander II to defend against Norse

invasions. During the 13th-16th centuries the castle gradually expanded, and served as the stronghold of the Mackenzies of Kintail (later the Earls of Seaforth), who were vassals of the Earls of Ross.



Eilean Donan Inside View

In the 16th century the Scottish mapmaker Timothy Pont described the castle: The castell of Ylen Donen is composed of a strong and fair dungeon upon a rock, with another tower compasd with a fair barm kin wall, with orchards and trees, al within ane yland of the lenth of twa pair of butts almost round. It is sayd of old that castel consisted of seven tours.

In 1719, the castle was occupied by 300 Spanish soldiers during a Jacobite uprising, but three English warships

attacked the castle, and using barrels of gunpowder, largely destroyed it. For the next two hundred years Eilean Donan was left in ruins. In 1912 the island was purchased by Lt. Col. John MacRae-Gilstrap, who undertook efforts to rebuild and restore the castle. His descendants opened the castle to the public in 1955, and in 1983 they established the charitable trust to oversee the maintenance of the castle.



A photo of ruinous Eilean Donan Castle, taken sometime before 1911.

Marigold MacRae, a former chief trustee of the Castle, said in an interview, "Throughout the world, Eilean Donan is the one place people generally call to mind when they think of Scotland. In that superbly romantic setting, surrounded by all those wonderful treeclad hills, it really does to seem to have a rare dreamlike quality. And that's what people remember. It is the quintessential Scottish castle."

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#### Exorcism gone wrong - Palestinian man dies after being beaten by 'healers' ipost.com

According to AFP, Ashraf Mashaal was suffering from various psychiatric deficiencies which prompted his parents to solicit the services of two "sorcerers."

Palestinian authorities are investigating the beating death of a 19-year-old man who was attacked by so-called "healers" during an exorcism sought by the victim's family.

According to AFP, Ashraf Mashaal was suffering from various psychiatric deficiencies which prompted his parents to solicit the services of two "sorcerers."

Mashaal, a 19-year-old college student who was enrolled at Hebron University, was subjected to an "exorcism" performed by the two healers, a man and a woman.

During the ritual, the two healers began physically assaulting Mashaal as a way to supposedly exorcise demons within him, police sources told local media. The man's father and brother joined the healers in the assault.

Mashaal suffered head and chest injuries and was rushed to hospital, where he succumbed to his wounds.

Police arrested the two healers as well as the man's father and brother.

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## Displacing Misinformation about Events: An Experimental Test of Causal Corrections

Brendan Nyhan and Jason Reifler

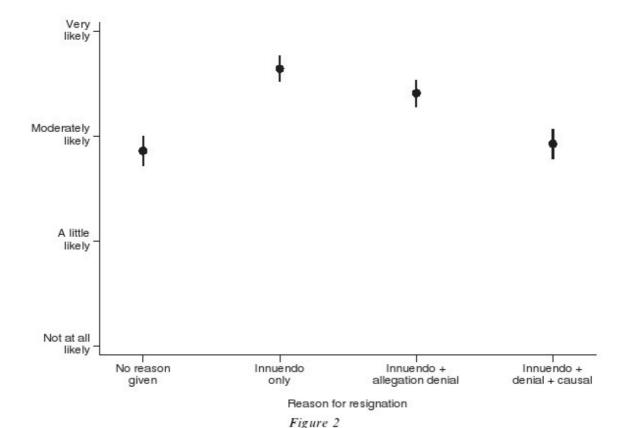
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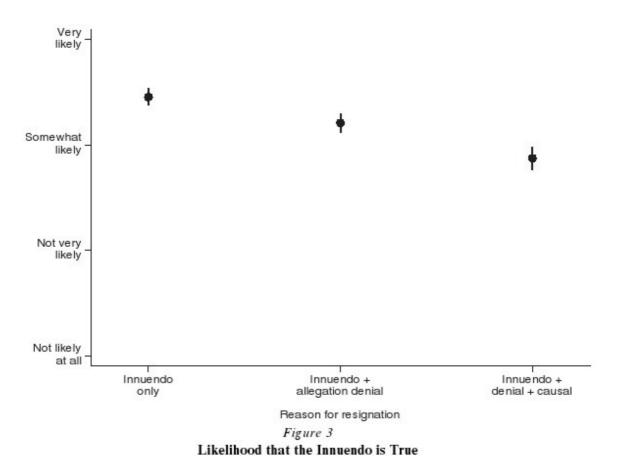


Mean belief that the fictional politician "accepted bribes or engaged in other illegal practices" by experimental condition and 95% confidence intervals (estimated using inverse probability weights). Belief in this claim was measured on a five-point scale from "not at all likely" (1) to "extremely likely" (5). The experimental design, question wording, and pairwise comparisons of the statistical significance of differences in means between conditions are provided in the online appendix.

Likelihood of Bribery or Other Crimes

successful at offsetting the damaging effects of the innuendo, significantly reducing belief that Swensen took bribes or committed other crimes relative to the innuendo (-0.72 and -0.51 using results from Models 3 and 4, respectively; p < 0.01) and denial (-0.48, p < 0.01 using results from Model 3; -0.36, p < 0.05 using Model 4). We thus cannot reject the null hypothesis of no difference in belief in Swensen breaking the law between the control and causal correction conditions. These effects are illustrated in Figure 2 using the results in Model 3.

Finally, Models 5 and 6 in Table 2 directly test the effectiveness of the denial and causal correction in reducing belief in the investigation rumor, the specific content of the innuendo. Because belief in the rumor was not asked of respondents in the control condition, treatment effects are estimated relative to respondents in the innuendo condition. Both Model 5 and 6 indicate that the denial and causal correction treatments significantly reduced belief in the bribery rumor (denial: -0.25 and -0.26, respectively, p < 0.01; causal correction: -0.58 and -0.42, p < 0.01). The point estimates suggest that the causal correction was more effective, though the difference did not quite reach significance in the survey weights model (-0.34,



Mean belief that the fictional politician "is resigning from office because he is under investigation for bribery" and 95% confidence intervals by experimental condition (estimated using inverse probability weights). Belief in this claim was measured on a four-point scale from "not likely at all" (1) to "very likely" (4). The experimental design, question wording, and pairwise comparisons of the statistical significance of differences in means between conditions are provided in the online appendix.

p < 0.01 using results from Model 5; -0.16, p < 0.12 using Model 6). Figure 3 illustrates the results from Model 5.

#### CONCLUSION

Our results provide further evidence that corrections of misinformation are frequently ineffective (e.g., Nyhan and Reifler 2010, 2012; Nyhan et al. 2013). In particular, a denial failed to fully undo the damage to the fictional politician's reputation caused by exposure to innuendo despite being backed by evidence (the letter from prosecutors). However, there is reason for optimism. By providing another explanation for the event in question (the resignation), the causal correction was able to reverse the damage from the innuendo, suggesting that it was necessary to displace the original attribution of the event to the investigation with an alternate account.

This study makes several important contributions. First, our results demonstrate that findings from the psychology literature on the continued influence effect apply to politics. Simply telling participants that an initial account about the cause of a political event is false does not undo the effects of that misinformation; it is necessary to provide an alternate causal explanation that displaces inferences made from the

false information in order to prevent it from continuing to affect respondents' beliefs and attitudes. Second, we successfully adapt the paradigm of a sequence of short dispatches from the psychology literature on the continued influence effect to the political domain, mimicking the flow of information about breaking news, which frequently contains incorrect claims that are later corrected. Third, we show how citizens are easily influenced by innuendo, making false inferences that are difficult to later correct.

Based on these findings, we suggest several directions for future research. As noted above, our study is novel in examining the formation of political misperceptions and suggesting a new approach to reducing them. It is important to be clear that we have not solved the problem of misperceptions, of course. Even respondents in the causal correction condition believe, on average, that it is "somewhat likely" that the politician in our experiment resigned due to a bribery investigation. However, given the difficulty of correcting existing misperceptions, understanding how to reduce the likelihood that misperceptions will initially take hold seems especially important. In addition, while previous research has emphasized the role of motivated reasoning in the formation and maintenance of misperceptions (e.g., Nyhan and Reifler 2010; Nyhan et al. 2013), this design demonstrates how limitations of human memory and inference can also contribute to false beliefs. Future research should seek to determine if these results hold when partisanship or ideological factors are incorporated into the experiment. Finally, the study employs a novel breaking news paradigm in which the innuendo is never definitely disproved. While both the design and the lack of definitive proof against the claim are realistic representations of many situations, the extent to which the findings of the study generalize is unknown. Both features should make correcting misperceptions more difficult, suggesting that the findings would hold in a more conventional design or in a case in which the misinformation were disproved, but these expectations should be evaluated empirically.

Ultimately, we believe that our results suggest the potential value of causal corrections or countering misperceptions about the cause of events. Journalists should seek to utilize them whenever possible. When they cannot be used, it is especially important for the media to avoid reporting rumors or unverified information, which can have lasting – and damaging – effects.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

For supplementary material for this article, please visit Cambridge Journals Online http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2014.22.

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## Displacing Misinformation about Events: An Experimental Test of Causal Corrections

Brendan Nyhan\* and Jason Reifler

#### Abstract

Misinformation can be very difficult to correct and may have lasting effects even after it is discredited. One reason for this persistence is the manner in which people make causal inferences based on available information about a given event or outcome. As a result, false information may continue to influence beliefs and attitudes even after being debunked if it is not replaced by an alternate causal explanation. We test this hypothesis using an experimental paradigm adapted from the psychology literature on the continued influence effect and find that a causal explanation for an unexplained event is significantly more effective than a denial even when the denial is backed by unusually strong evidence. This result has significant implications for how to most effectively counter misinformation about controversial political events and outcomes.

Keywords: Misinformation, misperceptions, corrections.

#### INTRODUCTION

Misinformation can be very difficult to correct (e.g., Lewandowsky et al. 2012; Nyhan and Reifler 2010, 2012). In particular, even after these false or unsupported claims are discredited, they may continue to affect the beliefs and attitudes of those who were exposed to them – a phenomenon often referred to as belief perseverance (e.g., Bullock 2007; Cobb et al. 2013; Ross et al. 1975) or the continued influence effect (e.g., Johnson and Seifert 1994; Wilkes and Leatherbarrow 1988). One reason for this persistence is the manner in which people automatically make causal inferences from the information they have at hand. As a result, false information may persist and continue to influence judgments even after it has been debunked if it is not displaced by an alternate causal account.

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In the canonical paradigm of the continued influence effect literature (Wilkes and Leatherbarrow 1988), subjects are told one piece of information at a time about an unfolding fictional event (typically, a fire in a warehouse). In stylized form, participants in a study within this paradigm are told that there was a fire in a warehouse and that there were flammable chemicals in the warehouse that were improperly stored. When hearing these pieces of information in succession, people typically make a causal link between the two facts and infer that the fire was caused in some way by the flammable chemicals. Some subjects are then told that there were no flammable chemicals in the warehouse. Subjects who received this corrective information may correctly answer that there were no flammable chemicals in the warehouse while still believing that flammable chemicals caused the fire. This seeming contradiction can be explained by the fact that people update the factual information about the presence of flammable chemicals without also updating the causal inferences that followed from the incorrect information they initially received. Johnson and Seifert (1994) build on the findings of Wilkes and Leatherbarrow (1988) by showing that the incorrect link between flammable chemicals and the fire can be displaced when an alternative cause (arson) is provided for the fire - a finding that was replicated by Ecker et al. (2011) in a plane crash scenario.

In this study, we adapt the design and theoretical approach of the continued influence paradigm to examine the role of causal inferences in political misperceptions. Our approach is novel within the literature on political misinformation in that it examines new misperceptions rather than those that are already widely held (e.g., Nyhan and Reifler 2010). Our design thus represents both change (examining political misperceptions as they are formed) and continuity (the use of a well-developed experimental paradigm from psychology).

Specifically, we examine how a particular type of information (a causal correction) can help prevent new misperceptions from taking root in the context of a realistic fast-breaking political news story that includes speculative and unconfirmed reports. These sorts of early reports - which frequently contain false information and speculation - can create long-standing misperceptions about the causes of an event. For instance, Democratic Rep. Gary Condit was initially blamed for the death of Chandra Levy, an intern with whom he had a relationship, though another man was later convicted of her murder (Associated Press 2002; Barakat 2010). In other cases, widely publicized accusations can damage the reputation of political figures who are accused of misconduct based on evidence that is later discredited. For instance, former Senator Ted Stevens was defeated in his 2008 re-election campaign after being convicted on bribery charges that were later overturned due to prosecutorial misconduct. Similarly, former U.S. Department of Agriculture official Shirley Sherrod was asked to resign due to a misleading video clip posted online, forcing the White House to apologize and prompting a defamation lawsuit against the blogger who posted the video (Oliphant 2011; Tapper and Khan 2010).

The breaking news event in our experiment is the sudden and unexpected resignation of a politician. Not surprisingly, we find that respondents exposed to

initial innuendo linking the resignation to an ongoing scandal investigation view the resigning politician less favorably than a control group. More importantly, we show that even providing evidence against the innuendo is not enough to undo its damage to respondents' view of the politician. By contrast, adding an alternate causal explanation for why the politician resigned is significantly more effective in limiting acceptance of misperceptions – a result that has significant implications for how to most effectively counter misinformation about controversial events and outcomes.

#### METHODS

YouGov collected data for this study from October 13, 2012 to October 16, 2012 as a part of the 2012 Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project. Respondents were matched and weighted to population targets using the firm's sample matching procedure, which is designed to approximate a nationally representative sample (Rivers N.d.). The demographic characteristics of the 1,000 respondents in our final sample are thus approximately representative of the U.S. population (details available upon request). In particular, 35% identified as Democrats and 27% as Republicans.<sup>1</sup>

Participants in our study read a series of short news items, which we call "dispatches," about a fictional state senator in Alaska named Don Swensen. They were randomly assigned to one of four conditions that differed in the number and content of dispatches read. Only one dispatch was displayed at a time. To maximize the precision of our treatment effect estimates, respondents were block-randomized to each condition based on their response to an American National Election Studies question about the extent to which "the people running the government" are crooked (e.g., Duflo et al. 2007; Moore 2012). Given that our study concerned innuendo about political misconduct, we used this procedure to ensure that our sample was balanced on prior beliefs about the prevalence of unethical behavior among public officials rather than relying on random assignment alone, which still risks sample imbalance on a potentially important confounding variable.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>A Pew poll conducted by telephone at nearly the same time (October 12-14, 2012) reported a sample that was 33% Democrat and 21% Republican (Pew 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>This question was asked before the experiment so that it could be used as a pre-treatment moderator in the subsequent analysis. It is possible that the question could have primed respondents to think of politicians as crooked and thus increased baseline perceptions of misconduct. However, any such effect is orthogonal to the block-randomized treatment assignment, which ensures balanced distributions of respondents for each level of expressed belief that politicians are crooked. Moreover, we would expect any such effect to make it more difficult for the causal correction to reduce such beliefs, which would work against our hypothesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The distributions of several key demographic characteristics across experimental conditions are presented in the online appendix. None of the distributions are significantly different from what we would expect due to chance, suggesting that the randomization was successful.

Table 1 presents the exact wording of the dispatches that subjects received in each condition. Each dispatch included the date and time of their ostensible publication and was presented on a separate page for respondents to read. After respondents read a dispatch, they proceeded sequentially to the next one (moving downward in the table), continuing in chronological order until they completed the dispatches available in their condition.

In the control condition, subjects received information that Swensen resigned from office without any indication why he resigned. In the innuendo condition, subjects received news of the resignation as well as information suggesting that Swensen resigned because of a bribery investigation. Exposure to suggestive questions or claims has previously been shown to have damaging effects (Wegner et al. 1981). The denial condition is the same as the innuendo condition except that it also includes a dispatch in which Swensen denies the bribery allegation and provides a letter from prosecutors stating that he is not under investigation (a credible form of evidence that is often used to defend political figures facing allegations of misconduct – see, e.g., Associated Press 2013; Baquet and Gerth 1992; Lizza 2014; Maddux 2004). Finally, the causal correction condition is the same as the denial except that the dispatch includes additional information providing an explanation for his resignation 4 – he had been named president of a local university but could not disclose his appointment until his predecessor stepped down. 5

After completing unscramble and word search tasks intended to clear working memory, we asked respondents to report their beliefs and attitudes toward Swensen on two outcome measures. Respondents in each condition were asked their opinion of Swensen on a six-point scale from "very unfavorable (1) to "very favorable" (6) and whether they believe it is likely that he "accepted bribes or engaged in other illegal practices" on a five-point scale from "not at all likely" (1) to "extremely likely" (5). In addition, respondents who were exposed to the innuendo (i.e., not assigned to the control condition) were also asked how likely they think it is that

<sup>4</sup>The causal correction was provided in addition to the denial rather than in place of it in order to test whether it was more effective than a denial alone. While this design choice means that the dispatch participants read in the causal condition was two sentences longer than the denial condition, almost any imaginable causal correction would include a denial of the false claim. This design facilitates a clean test of the added corrective value provided by the alternate causal explanation while ruling out any unintended interpretations (i.e., switching jobs due to investigations).

<sup>5</sup>In the context of the study, the claim that Swensen resigned due to an investigation is never definitively disproved, but it is a misperception according to the definition in Nyhan and Reifler (2010), which defines misperceptions as "cases in which people's beliefs about factual matters are not supported by clear evidence and expert opinion." We believe this is a realistic representation of many real-world situations in which unsubstantiated accusations are made that lack adequate supporting evidence but cannot be ruled out with perfect certainty. As we discuss in the conclusion, however, future research should investigate cases in which the claim in question is disproved. Future research should also consider whether these effects vary depending on the valence of the causal explanation. (In this case, being named university president might affect how favorably respondents view Swensen, though it is unclear why it would affect their beliefs in the likelihood of him engaging in illegal activities or being under investigation.)

Table 1
Experimental Stimuli

Dispatches		Control	Innuendo	Denial	Causal
Sept. 25, 8:58 p.m.	Breaking news: state senator Don Swensen, who represents part of the city of Juneau, has issued a brief press release stating that he has resigned from office.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 25, 9:45 p.m.	Swensen is refusing further comment.  Reporters are contacting republican and democratic leaders to see if they know why he resigned.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 25, 11:22 p.m.	Spokespeople for both parties have said they have not been told why Swensen is leaving office, but rumors are circulating that his resignation is linked to yesterday's indictment of Robert Landry, a local developer, for embezzlement and tax fraud. Landry is one of the largest campaign donors to Swensen, who is legendary for his prodigious fundraising.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 25, 11:43 p.m.	Speculation continues to grow among state legislative insiders about why Swensen left office so abruptly. Until today, the state senator was widely seen as a future candidate for governor.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 26, 1:06 a.m.	With Swensen leaving office, a special election will be held to fill his seat in less than four weeks. Reports indicate that several potential candidates are already exploring a run.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 26, 1:24 a.m.	Unconfirmed reports are circulating online that Landry is cooperating with prosecutors and may have implicated Swensen in a bribery scandal. Reporters are now investigating.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 26, 9:05 a.m.	Senator Swensen's seat is empty as the prestigious Finance Committee is called to order. A fierce battle to succeed him is likely to ensue.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 26, 9:54 a.m.	Reporters are waiting outside Swensen's home and state capitol office but have not been able to speak to him.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 26, 11:02 a.m.	Members of Swensen's legislative staff have been seen packing their boxes in his office at the state capital. One was seen shredding a series of documents.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sept. 26, 2:45 p.m. (Denial correction)	Senator Swensen just held a press conference on his front porch denying the rumor that he was resigning because he is under investigation for bribery. He said he was leaving office for personal reasons and provided a letter from prosecutors stating that he has not been charged with any crime and is not under investigation.	No	No	Yes	No

Table 1 (continued)

Dispatches		Control	Innuendo	Denial	Causal
Sept. 26, 2:45 p.m. (Denial + causal correction)	Senator Swensen just held a press conference on his front porch denying the rumor that he was resigning because he is under investigation for bribery. He said he was leaving office for personal reasons and provided a letter from prosecutors stating that he has not been charged with any crime and is not under investigation. While the resignation seemed sudden, Swensen said that it has been in the works for some time. He was hired as the incoming president of the University of Alask a Southeast several weeks ago, he said, but could not disclose that information until this afternoon when the current president announced that he was stepping down.	No	No	No	Yes
Sept. 26, 4:12 p.m.	Reporters have been informed that senator Swensen has left the area with his family and will not provide further comment on his resignation.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: Stimulus materials were shown sequentially to experimental participants. Respondents read one dispatch per page, proceeding chronologically through the set available in their condition until they completed the dispatches available in their condition. Each dispatch included the ostensible time and date of publication listed above as well as the text of the dispatch.

he "is resigning from office because he is under investigation for bribery" on a four-point scale from "not likely at all" (1) to "very likely" (4). (Question wording is provided in the online appendix.)

#### RESULTS

Table 2 presents OLS models estimating the effect of the innuendo, denial, and causal correction treatments on respondents' opinion of Swensen and their beliefs about he took bribes or broke the law. We also estimate the effect of the denial and causal correction treatments on respondents' belief that Swensen resigned due to the investigation. Because this question was only asked of respondents who were exposed to the rumor about his resignation, respondents in the innuendo condition serve as controls in these models. As the table indicates, each model was estimated using both inverse probability weights accounting for varying probabilities of treatment due to block randomization (Gerber and Green 2012: 117) and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The results are substantively identical if we estimate the models using ordered probit (see online appendix).

	Favorable		Bribes		Investigation	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Innuendo	- 0.58**	-0.52**	0.78**	0.67**		
	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.16)		
Denial of innuendo	-0.39**	-0.41**	0.55**	0.52**	-0.25**	-0.26**
	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.07)	(0.10)
Causal correction	0.08	-0.20	0.07	0.16	-0.58**	-0.42**
	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.07)	(0.11)
Constant	2.75**	2.86**	2.86**	2.94**	3.46**	3.40**
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.08)
Weights	IPW	Survey	IPW	Survey	IPW	Survey
N	987	987	986	986	764	764

Table 2
OLS Models of Experimental Results

Note: OLS models estimated with survey weights provided by YouGov or inverse probability weights accounting for block randomization; standard errors in parentheses (\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05). "Favorable" measures favorability toward the fictional politician in the experiment on a six-point scale from "very unfavorable" (1) to "very favorable" (6). "Bribes" measures belief that the politician "accepted bribes or engaged in other illegal practices" on a five-point scale from "not at all likely" (1) to "extremely likely" (5). "Investigation" measures belief that the politician "is resigning from office because he is under investigation for bribery" on a four-point scale from "not likely at all" (1) to "very likely" (4). The reference category (excluded condition) for Models 1–4 is the control condition, whereas it is the innuendo condition for Models 5 and 6. The experimental design, question wording, and pairwise comparisons of the statistical significance of differences in means between conditions are provided in the online appendix.

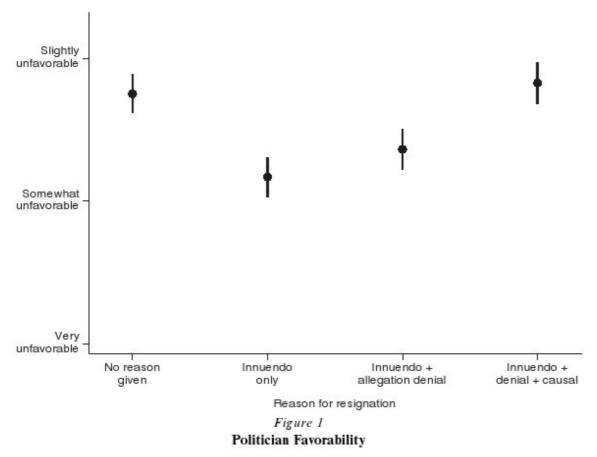
YouGov survey weights intended to help ensure that the data approximate a national probability sample.<sup>7</sup>

As Models 1 and 2 in Table 2 show, exposure to innuendo significantly reduced how favorably respondents viewed Swensen (-0.58 and -0.52, respectively; p < 0.01). The denial failed to completely repair the damage. Despite being told of credible evidence against the innuendo (a letter from prosecutors stating he is not under investigation), respondents still viewed Swensen significantly less favorably than controls (-0.39 and -0.41, p < 0.01). By contrast, the causal correction significantly increased favorability relative to respondents in the innuendo condition (0.66, p < 0.01 using results from Model 1; 0.32, p < 0.05 using Model 2). As a result, we cannot reject the null hypothesis of no difference in how favorably

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The assignment probabilities were identical *a priori* for all respondents but it is necessary to account for fluctuations in the proportions assigned to each condition across blocks due to random variation in order to obtain an unbiased treatment effect estimate (Gerber and Green 2012: 117). Estimated treatment effects are substantively identical when the models are estimated without weights of any kind (results are provided in the online appendix).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The marginal effect of the denial relative to the innuendo was significant at the p < 0.10 level using inverse probability weights (Model 1) but not using survey weights (Model 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>When compared directly, respondents in the causal correction condition viewed Swensen significantly more favorably than those in the denial condition using inverse probability weights (p < 0.01) but the difference was not quite significant using survey weights (p < 0.12). The full set of pairwise comparisons between the different experimental conditions for each dependent variable using the inverse probability weight models in Table 2 are provided in the appendix.



Mean favorability toward the fictional politician and 95% confidence intervals by experimental condition (estimated using inverse probability weights). Favorability was measured on a six-point scale from "very unfavorable (1) to "very favorable" (6). The experimental design, question wording, and pairwise comparisons of the statistical significance of differences in means between conditions are provided in the online appendix.

respondents view Swensen between the control and causal correction conditions. Figure 1 illustrates these effects using results from Model 1.10

Given our concerns about factual misperceptions, we are especially interested in the effects of our treatments on whether respondents believed Swensen took bribes or committed other crimes. These treatment effect estimates are provided in Models 3 and 4 in Table 2. We again find significant damage incurred by the innuendo, which in this case makes respondents much more likely to believe Swensen engaged in illegal activity (0.78 and 0.67, respectively; p < 0.01). The denial again did not prevent the innuendo from damaging his reputation. Respondents who received Swensen's denial were still more likely than controls to believe that he had broken the law (0.55 and 0.52, p < 0.01). Most importantly, the causal correction was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The estimated treatment effects do not appear to be the result of differing levels of recall about the event. Specifically, we cannot reject the null hypothesis of no difference in response accuracy on a three-question battery between the innuendo, denial, and causal correction conditions (results are provided in the online appendix).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The marginal effect of the denial relative to the innuendo on beliefs about illegal activity was significant at the p < 0.05 level using inverse probability weights (M odel 3) but not survey weights (M odel 4).

# Odisha: Six of a family, including 3-yr-old, hacked to death over witchcraft allegations

indianexpress.com

Tribal Gura Munda and five of his family members were found lying in a pool of blood in their home in Mundasahi village, atop the Lahanda Hill under Joda police station limits of Keonjhar district.

Written by Debabrata Mohanty | Joda (keonjhar) | Updated: July 14, 2015 3:10 am

A tribal labourer, his wife and four children — the youngest a three-year-old girl — were hacked to death here Sunday night, allegedly by fellow villagers, on suspicion of practising witchcraft. The attackers reportedly used a sharp weapon and an axe for the crime.

Gura Munda (40), who worked as a labourer in the nearby iron ore mines, his wife and six children— residents of Mundasahi village, atop the Lahanda hill, in Joda block of Keonjhar district — had gone to bed when they were attacked.

Shortly after midnight, at least five persons reportedly stormed into Gura's home and stabbed him, his wife Budhini Munda, and six children — sons Sunil (16), Ganita (18), Kushanath (10), Sambhunath (9) and daughters Sambhari (12) and Namita (3). Only Ganita and Sambhunath survived.

"Last Tuesday, some villagers had a meeting in which they accused Munda of practising witchcraft. The children of few villagers were not keeping well for some time and they suspected Munda to be behind it. People here are mostly illiterate and would believe anything they are told," said Ajay Pratap Swain, sub-divisional police officer, who is investigating the case.

Police said they have identified a witness in the case and are likely to arrest all the accused soon. They have already arrested Tamba Munda, the elder brother of Gura Munda, on charges of orchestrating the murder. At least four-five other tribals who reportedly took part in the killings, are on the run.

"The assailants were in an inebriated condition when they went to Gura's home and killed all of them in their sleep," said a police official.

Ganita Munda was believed to be dead till a policeman found out that he was still breathing.

"He was pushed aside by the assailants after he was stabbed," said a villager. His younger brother, Sambhunath Munda, was rushed to the SCB Medical College in

Cuttack after his condition became critical.

Meanwhile, the state government has ordered a CID probe into the killings.

Incidentally, this is the fourth case of witchhunting in Keonjhar in the last one year. Despite a series of awareness meetings, five tribals have been murdered in the district.

The village, located on a hilltop, is a steep walk of 500 metres from a nearby school. Though surrounded by iron ore mines of Tatas, Jindals and other big players, it hasn't seen much development. Only 30 homes have electricity connections.

"No official comes to our village," said a villager. Though the state in December 2013 passed Orissa Prevention of Witchhunting Act that makes every offence under the Act cognizable and non-bailable, there have been several cases of assault related to witchcraft this year. At least 278 people have been killed in Odisha in the last five years over witchcraft charges.

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### Far East side residents find worms in water

myfoxhouston.com

Posted: Jul 29, 2015 7:45 PM PDT Updated: Jul 29, 2015 7:45 PM PDT By Randy Wallace, Reporter



So when residents in Old River Winfree turn on the faucets they see worms coming out?

"Yes worms come out of it and if you fill up your bathtub and you put the plug in you can see worms in your bath water literally floating around in it," said

Karen Lowe.

What was Leona Porras's reaction when she first noticed worms in the water?

"I was grossed out I felt sick to my stomach," Porras said. "You're thinking I drank these things I showered with these things."

"I don't want to bathe in it I don't want to wash in it I don't want any of these people drinking it," said Janell Phillips.

Joe Landry the mayor of Old River Winfree says there's a problem with the water being supplied by J and S Water Company.

The mayor says some 200 homes are affected.

"The water company is not communicating with us at all as far as any direction or what they're doing they just told us the chlorination went out and they had an electrical problem," Landry said.

Residents say the water was off for awhile on Monday.

A representative with J and S water company says he's not doubting what the residents are saying about the worms but the company hasn't seen any.

Still he says the entire system was flushed and chlorinated.

Needless to say the worms in the water have many residents concerned.

"You sit in the tub you got worms in your tub where are they going if they're crawling up you," said Mitchell Schexnazider.

A representative with the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality is expected to test the water by Friday.

The water company and the city are offering g residents bottled water and are urging residents to boil the water before using it.

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## Filmmakers fighting "Happy Birthday" copyright find their "smoking qun"

by Joe Mullin - Jul 27, 2015 6:32pm PDT Jul 27, 2015 6:32pm PDT

arstechnica.com

It's been two years since filmmakers making a documentary about the song "Happy Birthday" filed a lawsuit claiming that the song shouldn't be under copyright. Now, they have filed (PDF) what they say is "proverbial smoking-gun evidence" that should cause the judge to rule in their favor.

The "smoking gun" is a 1927 version of the "Happy Birthday" lyrics, predating Warner/Chappell's 1935 copyright by eight years. That 1927 songbook, along with other versions located through the plaintiffs' investigations, "conclusively prove that any copyright that may have existed for the song itself... expired decades ago."

#### "Happy Birthday" copyright defense: Those "words" and "text" are ours

Even if the owner wasn't first, "Copyright law requires originality, not novelty."

If the filmmakers' lawyers are right, it could mean a quick route to victory in a lawsuit that's been both slow-moving and closely watched by copyright reform advocates. Warner/Chappell has built a licensing empire based on "Happy Birthday," which in 1996 was pulling in more than \$2 million per year.

Plaintiff Jennifer Nelson's movie is actually called *Happy Birthday*, and it's about the song. She had to pay Warner/Chappell \$1,500 to use the song in her movie, and that didn't sit well with the documentarian. She's seeking to get that money back and also represent a class of plaintiffs who have paid similar licensing fees to Warner/Chappell on a copyright she and her lawyers say is illegitimate.

The 1927 songbook referenced above was found in a batch of 500 documents provided by Warner/Chappell earlier this month. That cache included "approximately 200 pages of documents [Warner/Chappell] claim were 'mistakenly' not produced during discovery, which ended on July 11, 2014, more than one year earlier," Nelson's lawyers write.

The new filing comes as US District Judge George King was just two days away from holding a hearing about whether or not songwriter Patty Hill abandoned her rights to the lyrics. The plaintiffs say that the newly discovered songbook evidence is so strong that the copyright abandonment issue is moot.

"[T]he documents prove conclusively that the song is in the public domain, thus making it unnecessary for the Court to decide the scope or validity of the disputed copyrights, much less whether Patty Hill abandoned any copyright she may have had to the lyrics," they write.

#### Missing notice

Reading the motion is an exercise in understanding the mind-boggling complexity of music copyright.

In 1927, Chicago music publisher The Cable Company produced the 15th edition of the children's song book called *The Everyday Song Book (Graded)*. It included the "Good Morning" and "Birthday Song," which featured the melody for "Good Morning To You," a song dating back to the 19th century, combined with Patty Hill's lyrics for both "Good Morning" and "Happy Birthday."

Further investigation showed that the song appeared in editions stretching back to 1922, which in the plaintiffs' view "proves conclusively" that "Happy Birthday" entered the public domain no later than that year. The song was printed without a copyright notice unlike other songs in the book. Rather, it included a notice that read "Special permission through courtesy of The Clayton F. Summy Co."

The Summy company is a publisher whom Warner/Chappell has maintained never authorized any pre-

1935 publishing of the "Happy Birthday" lyrics.

That important line of text published underneath the song's lyrics was "blurred almost beyond legibility" in the copy that Warner/Chappell handed over in discovery. Plaintiffs' lawyers note that it's "the only line of the entire PDF that is blurred in that manner."

Plaintiffs acquired their own copies of the songbook, including a first edition published in 1916, which didn't have the song, and versions published 1922 and later, which include it without a copyright notice.

That's critical, because under the 1909 Copyright Act which was then in force, a published work had to include the word "Copyright," the abbreviation "Copr., " or the "©" symbol, or "the published work was interjected irrevocably into the public domain."

The plaintiffs argue that the 1922 publication without proper notice forfeited copyright in the work. Even if the judge overseeing the case doesn't agree with them, however, there's a secondary argument: the copyright for the whole 1922 songbook expired in 1949.

There's even a third line of defense: even if the work had been published in 1922 with proper notice, and even if that copyright had been renewed in 1949 (which the plaintiffs say it wasn't), the song *still* would have become public domain at midnight on December 31, 1997.

Warner/Chappell hasn't yet responded to the motion. Since a hearing was scheduled for Wednesday, it's likely there will be some further developments in the case later this week.

Warner/Chappell "should admit defeat but they won't because too much money is at stake," plaintiffs' lawyer Randall Newman told *The Hollywood Reporter*, which first reported the new motion.

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## Five people arrested in Nepal after death of boy in suspected human sacrifice

Reuters in Kathmandu Sunday 26 July 2015 Last modified on Sunday 26 July 2015

theguardian.com

Decomposed body of 10-year-old Jivan Kohar, who is believed to have been murdered, was found with his throat slit in Nawalparasi district

Five people have been arrested on suspicion of murdering a 10-year-old boy in southern Nepal in what reports said could have been a case of human sacrifice.

Nal Prasad Upadhyaya, a police official, said the decomposed body of Jivan Kohar, who had been missing for three days, was recovered from a bush on Friday in Kudiya, a village in the Nawalparasi district, which borders India. The boy's throat had been slit.

The Kathmandu Post newspaper said the father of a man who was ill had confessed to the killing "to chase away the evil spirits" from his ailing son, after seeking advice from a village shaman.

He is said to have lured the boy with the help of neighbours to an isolated place by offering biscuits and promising to pay him 50 US cents. He then performed a religious rite, killed the boy and dumped his body in a bush, media reports said.

Upadhyaya said all five of those arrested will be charged with murder.

More than 80% of Nepal's 28 million people are Hindus. Many frequently sacrifice animals such as goats, buffaloes and roosters.

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#### Fort Huachuca's Sorrowful Specters

mysteriousheartland.com

July 29, 2015 by Michael Kleen









[Mysteriousheartland.com] Fort Huachuca, located at the base of the Huachuca Mountains near Sierra Vista in southwest Arizona, has a storied history as a military outpost. Captain Samuel M. Whitside, at the command of two companies of the 6th Cavalry Regiment, created Camp Huachuca in March 1877 during the US campaign to suppress the Apache Indians. Since then, Fort Huachuca has played a valuable role in serving the US military. Because of its history, the fort is also allegedly home to several haunted places. The Carleton House is the most famous, but "Hangman's Warehouse" and the old Fort Huachuca Cemetery have their own macabre tales to tell. Even the Equal Employment Opportunity Office, which was originally the post's jail, is believed to be haunted.

Fort Huachuca became a permanent military installation in 1882, to aid the fight against Bedonkohe Apache leader Geronimo. Geronimo, famous for his exploits against both Mexican and American authorities, surrendered on September 4, 1886 in Skeleton Canyon, Arizona. From 1913 to 1933, the fort was home to the 10th Cavalry Regiment. The 10th Cavalry Regiment was an African American unit that served with distinction in the Western Indian Wars, Spanish-American War, and Philippine Insurrection. They were known as "Buffalo Soldiers," a name given to them by Cheyenne warriors, who thought their curly hair resembled a buffalo's. Today, Fort Huachuca is home to the US Army Military Intelligence Corps and is a training center for military intelligence disciplines and unmanned aerial system operations.

The Carleton House (also known as Quarters Number 9), located at 2133 Cushing Street, was constructed in 1880 to serve as the post's hospital. It served many roles since then, with the most recent being an officer's residence. It is widely believed to be haunted by the ghost of "Charlotte," a young woman who died shortly after having a stillborn baby while the building was a hospital. Joan Strom, wife of Colonel Roy Strom, deputy commander of the U.S. Army Intelligence Center from 1980-1982, named the ghost after reportedly having several encounters. "Charlotte" is believed to inhabit one corner of the living room in particular, which is always colder than the rest of the room. A rocking chair placed in that corner appeared to move on its own. While living in the house, the Stroms experienced electrical disturbances, moving wall fixtures, and other strange activity.

Located on Old Post at the corner of Clarkson Street and Shipp Avenue, Hangman's Warehouse is a rectangular stone building that is mainly remembered for the execution of two murderers in the 1940s. In 1942, Private James Rowe stabbed a fellow soldier to death in a dispute over stolen cigarettes. One year later, Staff Sergeant Jerry Sykes murdered a woman

with whom he had been having an affair. Both were hanged for their crimes beneath the side windows of the warehouse, within sight of the post's jail. A sign commemorates the hangings to this day. Visitors report seeing faces in the windows, smelling cigar smoke, and hearing agonizing cries.

The old jail is currently home to the Equal Employment Opportunity Office, which is also reportedly haunted. Employees have encountered radios and microwaves that turn on by themselves, and have heard the distinct sound of cowboy boots and spurs walking down the hallway. In 2011, EEO Director and AEP Program Manager Beth Ford told the *Sierra Vista Herald*, "You could tell someone was walking, the footsteps were that clear. We all thought it was our co-worker's son coming to visit his mother, but he wasn't in the building — nobody else was wearing cowboy boots."

Located at the end of Burt Road, behind Old Post, the Fort Huachuca Cemetery is also known for its ghostly activity. It is a sacred place where many visitors come to pay their respects to men and women who served their country. The cemetery is well maintained, and graves of historic significance are marked with small plaques. Indian scouts, their wives, and children are also buried here. Its first burial was Private F.P. Kelly of the 6th US Cavalry Regiment, who died on December 22, 1877. 76 unknown dead, who were disinterred from the old cemetery at Camp San Carlos to make way for the Coolidge Dam, were re-interred in Fort Huachuca Cemetery in 1928. It is no wonder visitors have reported encountering chills, ghostly lights, and other apparitions.

Besides these buildings, there are many other things to see, including scenic hiking trails and two museums. As an active US Army base, Fort Huachuca is open to the public, but visitors must show their driver's license, proof of insurance, and car registration before entering.





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### Frenchwoman jailed for 'magic cheese' scam - The Local

07/07 thelocal.fr



Frenchwoman jailed for 'magic cheese' scam

Published: 07 Jul 2015 15:53 GMT+02:00

A French court on Tuesday jailed a woman, known as "Madame Yoghurt" for three years for conning thousands into buying a kit to make "magic cheese" that they could sell back to French cosmetics companies for use in luxury beauty products.

Gilberte Van Erpe, 74, also

received an additional three-year suspended sentence for her vast scam in which she told victims the product they could make at home was a prized ingredient used in creams favoured by celebrities such as Michael Jackson.

But the goop was worthless and the scam became one of the biggest pyramid schemes ever seen in South America.

The "case of the magic cheese", as it is known in France, began in 2005 when the businesswoman dubbed "Madame Gil" held conferences around Chile urging people to become home producers of the fermented product.

Her company, Fermex Chile, had some 20 branches around Chile.

For €369 (\$413) investors could buy a kit containing filters and a special powder which when mixed with milk and fermented, produced a small cheese pat they were told was highly sought after by the cosmetics industry.

Fermex promised that companies like French cosmetics giant L'Oreal would snap up the cheese for use in whitening creams and other products.

That is, after they were sold to a company in Congo-Brazzaville which would sell them on to France.

Victims were told they could double their initial investment in four months.

To entice the first victims, the kits were given away for free, and people were paid for their first batches of exported "magic cheese", convincing them to reinvest their earnings.

The success of the business initiative spread rapidly and a Chilean investigation showed some 5,500 people were ensnared.

Many families mortgaged their houses or became heavily indebted to invest in the pyramid scheme, which raked in 14.5 million euros for the alleged scammers.

Like most pyramid schemes the scam relied on rapid growth, with initial investors telling their friends, neighbours and family about its profitability and getting them to join.

Victims were spurred to sign up friends and family with the promise of gifts and reward money.

One person received a cheque of 100 million pesos for their recruitment skills, that turned out to be fake, investigations showed.

As for the "magic cheese", it never even left the country and a Chilean journalist later found tonnes of it rotting in a warehouse.

The scam collapsed in July 2006 and Van Erpe was arrested in the southern French city of Nice in 2008, but it was not possible to extradite her.

Chilean authorities thus pursued her in France where she stood trial alongside three alleged accomplices.

Van Erpe had allegedly used the same scheme to trick thousands of Peruvians a few years earlier.

#### Genetically Engineered Beluga Whales Are Attacking Christian Families with Homosexual Chemtrail Water at Seaworld

liberaldarkness.com

Posted on July 23, 2015 Posted By: Dennis DaltonCategories: Liberal Darkness



The genetically engineered beluga whale is showing all the classic hallmarks of homosexuality: rippling abs that shamelessly glisten in the waters beneath the summer sun, a healthy rose hue of the skin and a unnerving desire to expose Christian families to homosexuality.

The disturbing image from Seaworld in Texas is the latest evidence that Obama's Jade Helm invasion to enforce gay marriage in the state has many battlefronts.

beluga whales sea world

Sources within Seaworld report the 'rose pink beluga'

is genetically engineered and was sent to the waterpark via the US Parks Service, which is controlled by the Obama administration.

The beluga whale shows an unnatural pink skin, an exhibit of genetically engineered homosexuality first found in pink river dolphins.

As temperatures soared to nearly 100 degrees in San Antonio, the families gathered at the water park for last moments of summer fun were shocked to find the whale aggressive, muscular and spritzing rainbow colored cold water from its mouth.

Somehow within the beluga whale, normal water is laced with homosexual chemtrails. The animal is then trained to find probable Christian families in the crowd and then spray them with torrents of the water that quickly soaks into the skin.

Eyewitnesses report that moments after the whale sprays over swaths of the screaming crowds, men start showing signs of homosexuality. Their eyes linger on the male figures of the animal trainers. They get irritable toward their family and seem to make eye contact with other fathers and men in the crowd.

Until further notice the Christian Defense League of Texas is warning families to travel to Seaworld with the precaution that gays are using animals to bring homosexuality to the American family. It may be best to boycott seaworld until the homosexually engineered animals are removed from the water parks.

beluga whale abs, beluga whale chemtrails, beluga whales, seaworld

#### Post a Comment

1. Reply July 24, 2015 at 4:11 am

I love satire but it is so challenging for some to perceive I try to avoid using it. What a wonderful ploy and keep them voming!

2. Reply July 24, 2015 at 6:50 am

I kind of wanted to see outraged comments from people who thought this was real.

3. Reply July 24, 2015 at 4:44 pm

Obama, you listen up here. Just because we were ready for your little Jade Helm invasion do not think we are so distracted we are going to become a FREE GAY state. I remember reading about those pink river dolphins down in Louisiana a few years back so I'm not really so surprised to see this going on at Seaworld. I guess I know one more place me and mine WILL NOT BE GOING in addition to Disney land which is also trying to peddle GAYMARRIAGE onto good American families against OUR WILL and GODS WILL.

Reply July 24, 2015 at 5:19 pm

Are you seriously that ignorant? Like for real's?

■ Reply July 24, 2015 at 6:36 pm

What really makes me upset is how liberals and Obama don't have any respect for Christians. Here is an analogy. You are at the park with your 3-year-old daughter and suddenly a huge doberman runs up to your daughter and starts jumping on her.

At this point any reasonable parent would be upset and grab their daughter, but there is always that dog owner who is like, "Oh, don't worry about Bubblebark. She is just such a nice and playful dog."

No! I don't want your dog off its leash or jumping on my kid, yet there are selfish people who don't respect that. There are leash laws for a reason and there are marriage laws for a reason.

The analogy is that if Christians are scared of gay marriage attacking their family, just like that doberman in the park, it doesn't matter how comfortable or friendly the owners of gay marriage think it may be.

The fact remains that there are millions of families scared of gay marriage and we don't know if it may jump and attack us. I say gay marriage must be kept on a leash and away from our families, the Defense of Marriage Act says it and the Supreme Court's opinion on the matter must be overturned.

Reply July 24, 2015 at 7:17 pm

The fact is that there are millions of families that are morally retarded because of the bible and they dare to say that the bible teaches morality. O, the irony.

Of course Obama doesn't have much respect for religion since he's an atheist/agnostic. He will never admit it though since that would kill your ratings in America.

If parents wouldn't indoctrinate their children with religion we wouldn't have had this issue at all.

Although your post may be satire in itself

Reply July 24, 2015 at 7:56 pm

I appreciate your post. But to use your analogy, OK, let's say there is a doberman, and maybe it is scary, because you have never met it before. But it is not jumping on your daughter, it is just walking along happily with its owner; it has no plans to attack your daughter at all, unless she starts taunting it and throwing things at it. It's somewhat remarkable really, considering the doberman has been locked up for years, having not even been able to leave the house for its own fears of being attacked, marginalised or being shunned. You'd think it would be angry, but no, it forgives those who fear it — not that it wasn't extremely hurt by their prejudice — because it's just happy to be free.

Of course, actually, there is no doberman at all; there are two people who love each other and want to have their relationships legally recognised and not be treated with indignity or marginalised

#### Cass says

July 25, 2015 at 12:19 am

I appreciate your comment as well, but your logic is a bit fallacious here. The original analogy I made is on point because no matter if the doberman is vicious or not, it should not have access to my family.

Since gay marriage is temporarily legalized, it will now be forced into public schools, institutions to which all people should have access. Just like I don't want my child bit by a doberman, I don't want them forced to be exposed to gay marriage. Just think about when they are teens and are going through human anatomy classes. Schools will now have to teach about gay and lesbian intercourse. All students will be forced to learn this, in addition to traditional education on those subjects. It is not right

to force students to learn such things.

Reply July 24, 2015 at 8:31 pm

Um, the Supreme Court's ruling cannot be overturned. The Supreme Court is the ultimate authority in law, and ruled that banning marriage based on sexuality is unconstitutional. There is no higher authority. That's why they are called Supreme. Get over it. Gay marriage isn't harming you in any way. Gay people are not harming you in any way. Keep your Christianity in your homes, churches and social groups, and out of our schools, laws and faces. Just because you have a religion doesn't mean the rest of us have to have the same beliefs as you, and attempts to force us to believe the same things only make you look stupid. And hateful.

#### Cass says

July 25, 2015 at 12:24 am

The ruling CAN be overturned. Surprising, right? This can be done one of two ways:

- 1) The Supreme Court rules on another case in a manner contradictory than the current ruling.
- 2) Congress and the States can overturn a decision by amending the Constitution.

Here is a list that shows the Supreme Court rulings that have been overturned: http://money.howstuffworks.com/10-overturned-supreme-court-cases.htm

Reply July 24, 2015 at 9:16 pm

Gay marriage only affects gay people, now crawl back to your flyover state and take a seat, you oppressive hater.

#### Cass says

July 25, 2015 at 12:28 am

Gay marriage affects everyone. Those behind the gay rights movement like to gloss over this fact. The primary thing I can think of, wanting kids in the future, is that public schools will be forced to indoctrinate students in the inner-workings of gay lifestyle and marriage. That is not fair for Christian families and Christian families have every right to be in public schools, not having their moral upbringing destroyed by some liberal agenda.

#### Reply July 24, 2015 at 9:41 pm

Say Cass, that is a nice post.

And can I add

That

1

Respect

Everything you just said.

#### CassIsTrolling says

July 25, 2015 at 1:23 am

It's funny because the Christian Agenda has been destroying this country for over a century.

Reply July 24, 2015 at 11:23 pm

That is a horrible analogy. A dog attacking your child harms them. People being able to marry those they love is not going to harm your child. If she is gay, she will benefit from it. If not, it doesn't affect her at all.

A better analogy is: I don't like black people. I think they will be harmful to my child even though there is no proof of that. So I want black people to be banned from the park where my child plays. Horrible, right?

#### Cass says

July 25, 2015 at 12:33 am

Wrong. Gay marriage and thus gay education will be forced into public schools, where the authority of Christian parents will be challenged by an agenda.

Gay rights are not synonymous with the plight of African-Americans in going through slavery and being discriminated against because the color of their skin.

Teaching African-American history highlights the achievements of miraculous people and stops there. Every child should know about Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Langston Hughes...the list goes on and on. And for gay rights, there have been many noble people that should be in history books.

The problem with gay marriage is that it transcends celebrating

people are just a topical discussion of lifestyle. Gay marriage naturally brings up the dynamics of family, procreation and the education that goes with that.

What I'm getting at is with gay marriage legalized, students will for instance be forced to learn about what goes on in the gay bedroom. It may make them curious. This is offensive to Christian parents and the values instilled in them, but it will have to be taught to 'equally' teach students about gonad options they have in their future, how to be safe in their relationships, and how to be 'safe' about it.

#### Reply

that analogy works...

if you're a knuckle-dragging potato smoking trailer-park dwelling mouth-breathing cunt.

looks like you fit the bill?

4. Reply July 24, 2015 at 5:00 pm

Truly eye opening. I was wondering why I was being sprayed by colorful water, and why everybody was eye banging.

I will share this to as many as I can, thank you very much. I will be sure to visit this website from now on.

Reply July 24, 2015 at 6:38 pm

Look at his eyes. He just looks so happy and proud to douse those people with that homosexual chemtrail water.

6. Reply July 24, 2015 at 6:52 pm

this is stupid, how can people be this dumb?

7. Reply July 24, 2015 at 8:11 pm

These things spit all over me and my Jewish family! Antisemitic douche dolphins!

8. Reply July 24, 2015 at 8:41 pm

I am not a Christian and yet I adamantly opposed to sexual deviancy including homosexuality far more than the vast majority of Christians. Why does this article rip on Christians when people of other faiths like me also really hate homosexuals?

Reply July 25, 2015 at 12:43 am

The very worst homophobes have been proven to be latent homosexuals who hate that aspect of themselves, is that what you are trying to admit to us?

Reply July 25, 2015 at 2:52 am

Why do you hate anybody ... why hate ... what good does hate do? Just because YOU and other oppose it ... does it make it wrong? If something you believe, but yet someone else does not believe it does it make YOU wrong? That is just stupid – un-American, unfaithful ... did I say stupid. And to the woman afraid of he children being exposed to the "gay lifestyle" ... um ... if your child is not gay, they are not going to be gay or become gay ... now they maybe sexually unhealthy because of your close-mindedness and damaging hatefulness – no ... get over yourself, or stay away from restaurants with shell fish – and keep them away from people with tattoos, who cut their beard / hair, mix fabrics in clothing ... what am I missing — guess

#### Parapsychology Dept. July 20, 2015 Issue

#### By Reeves Wiedeman

For nearly a century, starting in the early nineteen-hundreds, Caledonian Hospital served the area south and east of Prospect Park, in Brooklyn. Pee Wee Reese was treated there after tearing his Achilles at Ebbets Field, in 1940, as was a Prospect Park Zoo employee, in 1982, after an encounter with a lion. But, in 2003, Caledonian shut down. Ebbets Field had already been converted into an apartment complex, and, after several years of serving as a hospital set for "Law & Order," Caledonian reopened last summer as 123 On the Park, "Brooklyn's most unique and luxurious address."

It quickly developed another reputation. In January, a woman was standing in her kitchen when the overhead lights switched off. A doorman was watching security-camera footage one night when the motion-sensor lights in a stairwell flipped on one by one—first on the seventh floor, then the sixth, and on down to the ground floor—with no living thing in sight. A cabdriver dropped one resident off with a warning: "Be careful. It's full of skeletons." Turnover seemed high among the building's doormen, one of whom, according to the *Post*, said that 123 On the Park was "a messed-up place to work because it's haunted."

One rainy night last month, an amateur ghost hunter stopped by to investigate. The only open window on the first floor framed a dimly lit crucifix. "Somebody definitely died here," Janine Melnitz, a resident, said, walking through the subcellar. Janine Melnitz is not her real name; her roommate had demanded that she conceal it. "She doesn't want them to come after us," Melnitz said. She meant the ghosts.

Melnitz had been among the building's first tenants, and she noticed unexplained events right away. Her bedroom door opened and closed at random, and she sometimes woke at night to noises in the kitchen.

Others were starting to notice strange things, too. "When I was in the subbasement, many months ago, I definitely felt something weird," Andy Hamingson, the executive director of St. Ann's Warehouse, who lives on the fourth floor, said. A veterinarian on the first floor found that objects often fell from shelves, and her television had a habit of turning on without anyone touching the remote. "I'm a scientist, so I'm very rational," she said. "Usually." The location of the hospital morgue had become a particular concern. Melnitz suspected the laundry room, while Maxime Malet, a French newspaper reporter, had pegged the gym. "Maybe I can say the fear of ghosts prevents me from going," he said.

A number of residents were beginning to wonder if they might be at fault. Perhaps the spirits were "anti-gentrification ghosts" conjured by locals who were upset that their hospital had been replaced by high-end apartments; a former patient had recently walked in seeking care. (One local blogger said that the hospital now specialized in "Paycheck Removal Surgery.") Several tenants considered asking for a rent break, on account of the ghosts—in 1991, the

New York Supreme Court ruled in favor of a man who wanted to back out of buying a house after learning that the owner believed it to be haunted—but management's official position is that ghosts do not exist.

Some former employees were less sure. "Yes! Oh, my God! Yes!" Robert Samuel, a former doorman, said, when asked if he had felt anything strange on the job. "Just going down to the employee's locker room gave me an eerie feeling—like a sixth sense." But he said the doorman turnover had more earthbound roots: the building is non-union, and pays less than many others. (The building's owners deny that turnover has been abnormal.) Samuel, who supplements his income by waiting in line for Cronuts and tickets to Shakespeare in the Park, said that he was promised twelve dollars an hour in his interview but was paid only eleven. After two months, Samuel left for one of the new towers on Fifty-seventh Street, in Manhattan, which was offering more. Several other doormen have since followed. "Ghosts are scary, and I believe in that stuff," Samuel said. "But equal wages for equal work—that's really what drove me away."

At 123 On the Park, Melnitz stepped into an elevator large enough to hold a gurney, and rode it up to the roof. "I don't know why we assume the ghosts are in the basement," she said. "If you had to live here forever, wouldn't you come up here?" From the roof, the only visible spectres were the husks of more buildings rising around the park. The anti-gentrification ghosts had a lot of work to do. •

## 'Ghost Woman and Her Baby': Photo Shows Mysterious Figure in Window

By AVIANNE TAN 8 hours ago

yahoo.com

This woman's photo of her with friends in her hometown of Wem in Shropshire, U.K., looks ordinary until you look closely at the window behind them.

"I truly believe there is a ghost woman and her baby in that window," Natasha Oliver, 22, told ABC News.

Oliver said she and her friends "freaked out" after they saw the photo on her digital camera back in 2010, taken when they were hanging out on the lawn in front of the unfinished home still being built at the time.

"When we saw the ghostly figure, the boys climbed up the scaffolding to see what was up there thinking maybe someone was watching us," Oliver said. "But there was nothing up there. There were no floorboards or anything there. The house wasn't finished being built yet at the time."



Though the photo was taken almost five years ago, Oliver said it recently got widespread attention after she commented on a Facebook post about a fake ghost picture.

Natasha Oliver

"I commented saying, 'That's quite fake, but I have one that's actually real," Oliver

said, adding that she started receiving multiple requests to see the photo, which a U.K. paper picked up.

Though some on social media believe
Oliver's photo could be photoshopped, she
insisted it wasn't and added she hopes to get
in touch with professional photo analysts and
paranormal experts to "solve the mystery of
the ghost in the window."

The town of Wem, where the was taken, previously made headlines about reported paranormal activity in 1995 when a



Natasha Oliver

photographer claimed he captured an image of a little girl's ghost at the ruins of the town hall that was ravaged by a fire in 1677, the BBC reported.

"I didn't believe in ghosts before, but now I do, actually," Oliver said. "I've converted."

#### Larry 20 minutes ago

My wife and I had befriended the ex wife of the governor of Colorado years ago her name was Louis Vanderhoof her husband had left her for a younger woman it was a biog controversy back then!

She had moved here to this small town and got an apartment, one evening she showed up at our door saying she was hearing voices and in her apartment so we told her to spend the night at our house.

I went down to her apartment to get some things she would need and went into the bedroom and got some things turned the light out there and soon as I went out if came back on, so I turned it off again then went into the bathroom and was getting some things from the medicine cabinet when a perfume bottle came flying through the air in horizontally and hit me in the middle of my back!

I have had other ghosts actually shove me or get on my covers at night and push down on them, I have heard someone walking around downstairs and would get up and go see what it was and there would be nothing!

Now the house I have lived in has slamming doors!

#### DALE 1 hour ago

When my daughter was little, my wife and I heard her talking in her room, and asked her what she was saying. She came into our room and said, "I'm talking to the lady in the white dress!" She went on to say they were talking about dolls. We found out later a woman had died in the house back in the 30's, and she always wore a white dress. Our daughter was never scared, though, and said they talked more than once.

#### Beez 2 hours ago

I worked as a Med-tech/swing shift, in a retirement home here in Southern CA, as most of you know elderly people die there alot and alot of times they go in 3's. late at night i had to pass medication on a medication cart and go door to door giving them their medication. I can swear to you many times i felt someone behind me walking with me the whole time i was passing the medication..I would turn around to see if someone was behind me but all i would see was long empty hallway ..its a weird feeling you get inside your body when you feel like someone is watching you or next to u that u cannot see. That happened a few times. But the weird part was that i was never afraid of whoever it was. I knew in my heart i took care of them and respected them and loved them, so whoever was there was there to keep me company while i was alone passing medication.

#### Steve 3 hours ago

I worked in a Naval Hospital, many of the females complained of paranormal activity. Which made sense most of the patients that would have died there were males young and in their prime.

One girl related a story of how a shadow passed in front of a TV she was watching and then heard unintelligible whispering in her left ear. I had no reason to doubt her since I knew she wasn't the type to make things up.

I used to walk around in the middle of the night looking, and hoping to see something but never did.

#### Aly 5 hours ago

My two year old grandson came to visit. It was around 6pm last January. My daughter was talking to him and playing with him in our entryway and suddenly he pulled up short and pointed to the front door and said, "who's dat?" she said, "what?" and he said, "who's dat man?" Now mind you my grandson could barely talk and for him to articulate that and point to the front door when there was clearly nothing there was more than a little unsettling. The next day I was playing with him in our family room with a little toddler basketball goal. I was teaching him how to place the ball in the basket and he did it over and over and the ball would hit the end of the goal and roll on the floor and he would chase it and giggle. Well, the ball rolled around the corner towards the back doorway and he stopped suddenly and said, "I no get the ball, I'm scared." I said, "why" and he was pointing and saying, "its the man, I'm scared of the man." My house is only 25 year old-- no one has died in it and it is not in some remote area or on top of a graveyard. I have no idea what to make of this but the entire visit he was preoccupied with seeing "the man." Fast forward one year and he returned and no mention of the man. However, my daughter has stayed here to house and dog sit for us and she hears footsteps upstairs and I have heard the same. It is like someone walking across the room. No one lives upstairs and my dogs were downstairs at the time. I don't know what to make of it but it gives me the chills every time I think about it.

#### Howdy Y'All 11 hours ago

I'm pretty skeptical of people believing in ghosts & such. But it is interesting to note the history of man's knowledge (actually lack of it) of things around him. Go back 1000 years and there was no knowledge of electricity, radio waves, round earth, source of weather, disease etc. etc. Yet at any given time, man thought he had it all figured out. Then extrapolate that 1000 years into the future. Seems reasonable to assume there's all kinds of stuff around us that we have no idea about.

#### Brian 8 hours ago

I don't really believe in ghosts, but something interesting did happen once that I can't explain. My wife and I were watching TV at home alone when a very audible and sudden whisper came from our kitchen. It might have been more than just one word but because we were not expecting it, we couldn't make it out. It was like someone was yelling at us in a whisper (I know...oxymoronic sounding but that is what it seemed like). Our two cats instantly perked up and pointed their heads and ears at the kitchen. They

had clearly heard it too. I thought that it must have been the TV even though it clearly came from the kitchen. A quick re-wind of the DVR did NOT reproduce the sound at all. We never heard that again but it was unbelievably weird. And for our cats to hear it too was the most convincing part that we did in fact hear something.

#### Tygerstripes 10 hours ago

I went on the 'serious' ghosthunting tour of the Queen Mary about 6 years ago. Heard some stuff. A teen who was with the group got a photo of a ghost. The group leader had instructed us to take a succession of photos of any one spot. The kid showed me the photo on his camera -- the previous and following photos of the spot had no one there, but the photo in the middle of the sequence had a figure of a lady standing and wearing a long gown or robe. This was in the pool room.

#### Anna 1 hour ago

Ghost is only their if you believe in them. I used to have a co-work who told me she sees ghost on a daily bases. He entire family is super superstitious. She said her father in law can let an ancestor take over his body and tell them about their future. Yeah, right. I don't believe in ghost, so ghost never visits me. If someone weird is going on that we don't understand, I think there's a scientific way to explain it, so it doesn't scare me.

#### MD 5 hours ago

I had a friend who had major health problems for several years and died. 6 months after his death, I had a dream, in the dream I was working in the back yard, I looked up and saw my friend walking toward me with another guy. I looked at my friend and started laughing, I said I knew you didn't die, where have you been. He never said a word, the guy with him never said a word, they didn't have to a word. When I looked at my friends face and eyes after asking him where had he been, what I saw I have never seen on anyone's face, it was "pure absolute peace", no smile, just total peace. Was this a stupid dream, I don't think so, to vivid.

#### 'Ghostbusters' cameraman helps ID shove suspect; woman dies yahoo.com

July 9, 2015 8:28 PM

BOSTON (AP) — Authorities say a 72-year-old woman who was knocked to the ground in Boston has died soon after a cameraman working on the new "Ghostbusters" movie helped them track down the person who did it.

The Suffolk district attorney's office reported the woman's death Thursday.

Authorities say the woman bumped into Tajanetta Downing on Wednesday in Chinatown. They say Downing pushed the woman, who hit her head on the pavement. They say Downing kept walking but said she heard a bystander ask the woman if she was OK.

Police say they located Downing with help from a "Ghostbusters" cameraman who saw what happened.

Downing is from Lawrence. She's jailed on assault charges. Her lawyer hasn't returned a call seeking comment.

Authorities haven't released the victim's name. The cause of her death hasn't been determined.

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Yahoo - ABC News Network

# BBC - Shropshire - Features - Weird Shropshire - Ghostly Shropshire

bbc.co.uk

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#### 24 September 2014



Lincoln RF398

Shropshire has got more than its fair share of haunted houses. But it doesn't stop with houses, there are haunted planes, haunted clocks and a graveyard where you can discover the identity of your future spouse.... if you're brave enough to ask the ghost.

#### RAF Cosford's haunted bomber

Standing in the hanger of RAF Cosford is one of the last surviving Avro Lincoln long range heavy bombers, serial number RF398, built in 1945.

She is the last of the piston-engined bombers used by the RAF and frequently visited by the ghost of a young man.

Many staff have experienced strange goings on near and in the aircraft.

But the most striking evidence of all came in 1991, when a BBC team investigated the aircraft and even managed to record some of the spooky sounds that had been heard in the hangar.

#### The timely burgess of Shifnal

A burgess of the town decided to have the clock tower built so that the people of Shifnal could see the time, and thus have no excuse for arriving at work late.

Before it could be finished he was taken ill, and at the time of his death told the people he did not want the clock finished.

They took no notice of him, for a day after his funeral they restarted work, completing the clock "on time".

Since that day a ghostly white shape has been seen leaping across the face of the clock. This is said to be the burgess trying to stop the clock.

#### Romancing the stone

In the grave yard in Shifnal there is the grave of a young girl who died tragically.

Place a candle on the stone and walk anti-clockwise three times around the stone.

At this point it is said, the stone slab slides open and the young girl appears in all her beauty to tell the name of the person you will marry before she returns to her grave with a contented knowing smile.

#### The fiery figure of Horton Hall

Nearby is Horton Hall which was partly destroyed by fire.

During this fire a female occupant was seen to run, in flames, from the rear of the hall.

She died later of horrific burns to the whole of her body.

A glowing figure is seen with blue flames shooting from her body as she runs towards the lake - the lake she never reached.

#### Ghosts at Dominican University in River Forest, Part 1 mysteriousheartland.com

#### By Sarah Oplawski

It is widely known that the chapel in Lewis Hall has a ghostly organ player. I have never heard the organ myself but have wandered up into the choir loft where it is situated. The stairs are very narrow, steep, and rickety. Once reaching the top of the stairs, there is a space before entering the choir loft where there is a wall to the right and a door leading to the organ pipes to the left.

Every time I go up those stairs, I stand in this spot, paralyzed by some irrational fear that there is something bad waiting for me when I enter the loft. There never is. However, one of my friends had a different experience all together. She went up with a couple of guys and left a girl standing at the bottom of the stairs. The guys were rather incredulous about ghosts and decided to play a few notes on the organ despite my friend telling them not to. Suddenly, the girl at the bottom of the stairs asked my friend if she had come down.

It was dark in the chapel so it was difficult to see. My friend called down that she was still upstairs, and the girl said that someone or something had come down those stairs as she had heard them. The entire group left the chapel all together and ran down a flight of stairs into the large social hall. They paused to catch their breaths and one of the heavy windows swung open and banged shut rather loudly, and there was no wind that night.

Lewis Hall also boasts (or boasted, back in 2004) the art department on the 4th and top floor. The window sills on this floor are large enough to seat 2-3 people, so I would often find myself with a friend talking into the wee hours of the morning. Lewis Hall has 2 main staircases flanking an elevator, one to the south and one to the north. It was my freshman year and at about 2 AM one night, my friend and I decided to head back to the dorms to go to bed.

We approached the north stairway as it was closer and my friend bounded down a few of the steps and turned around to see me standing on the landing. I felt overwhelming pressure and it was as though there was a warning in my head to not go down the stairs. My friend asked me what was wrong and I said, "This is going to sound crazy, but we shouldn't take these stairs. Someone died here. I can see something white in my mind...I think it was a nun."

Nuns are to this day rather common at Dominican so this was a logical conclusion, though the nuns don't generally wear habits, either white or any other color. I avoided that staircase for the remainder of the year. It was at the beginning of my sophomore year that I was with a group of people telling Dominican ghost stories and that staircase was mentioned. A person told me that back in the 1970s, an art student brought her young daughter to school when she had classes. The child would skip around and the halls and stairways, but one day she fell down the aforementioned staircase and died. She used to wear a white dress.

A psychic who had been invited in a couple of years before I began attending confirmed the presence of a child ghost. Needless to say, I was covered head to foot in goosebumps. This

was the first time I had heard anything about that staircase. In talking with a lot of other people, I noticed a trend—male students did not notice anything unusual, but female students often avoided the staircase for reasons they didn't understand. Some said that it always looked dark even when the sun was shining through the windows lining the stairs, and others said they felt sad. I have found no evidence of a child dying at what was then Rosary College, but it's possible that it was not well documented.

# Ghosts at Dominican University in River Forest, Part 2

mysteriousheartland.com

Finally, I think I had my own ghost my senior year in my dorm room. I was staying in the then ancient Power Hall, which I think (hope?) has been renovated. I cannot remember my exact room number but I had a large corner room on the 4th floor in the west wing. When the school was originally built, Power Hall was the only building and it housed both students and nuns.

The nuns lived on the 4th floor so it's reasonable to assume my room once belonged to a nun.

I'm a night owl, so especially on the weekends, I wouldn't go to bed until 2 or 3 AM. This is when I would begin to hear footsteps padding on the carpet in my room. Obviously there was no one there when I looked. The first few times this happened, I would step outside my room to see if people were out there. There was never anyone, nor was there any carpet directly outside my room—if I had heard someone, I would have heard the taps of shoes on a tile floor.

Most residents went home on the weekends and the parties were often on other floors, so the 4th floor was often quiet when I'd hear the footsteps. Finally I just decided to say something one Friday night. I said, "Look, I know you're here, and I don't mind that, but I'm trying to get some sleep." The footsteps stopped. Any time after that when I heard the footsteps I would say something similar and they would immediately cease.

In addition, my desk with my computer faced the east wall. When sitting at the desk, one would have his or her back to the rest of the room. Once I left my friend alone on my computer for about 5 minutes. When I came back in, she looked shaken. She told me that after I had left, she had heard someone in the room but of course there was no one when she turned around. I had never mentioned the footsteps nor told her anything to put such an idea in her mind.

The theatre is also reputedly haunted but I have not experienced anything personally. Those who worked behind the scenes, particularly up in the catwalks high above the auditorium, would have lights inexplicably go out and shadows rush past them.

One of the famous rumored ghosts is that of Sr. Gregory, or Sr. Greg for short, who established theater at Rosary College. She was actually part of the inspiration for the musical "Sound of Music" as she was good friends with star Mary Martin and

was consulted for parts and songs pertaining to the sisters in the musical. She also reportedly helped a young Paul Newman with his lines when he was striving towards stardom. At any rate, just before I started attending school there, the students put on "The Crucible," which was the first play that Sr. Greg was involved in.

People believed they saw her in the audience during dress rehearsal, and one girl in particular told me that a spot light that had been on her during a monologue suddenly went out and she heard someone slide into the empty chair beside her. Once the lights changed and she could see the chair again, it was of course empty.

Sarah Oplawski studied for 4 years at Dominican University (2000-2004) and learned a lot of the ghost stories. She is a chemist and tends to approach things from a scientific standpoint. She always looks for a logical or rational explanation first. However, I she has had some occurrences that she cannot explain.

1. Ruthanne Trunda says: September 6, 2013 at 8:38 am

Thank you for this story. I went to Trinity in River Forest back in the early '60's. Although I never experienced anything at that time, I am sure there were spirits. I live in a old house that is haunted. Would love a referral to a physic medium. Thanks

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Tales of murder, mayhem, political corruption, and celebrity scandal from the 1920s through the 1960s.

Posted on July 11, 2015 by Deranged



Win. Glodys Witheredt and Het Son Jade.
YOUNG MATRON KIDNAPED?
Prominent Hollywood Woman is Lured
Away by Fake Automobile Accident.
gladys\_pic1

On January 25, 1921 a stranger knocked on the door of Hollywood resident Elizabeth Warden and asked if Mrs. Gladys Witherell was at home. The man seemed slightly agitated and told Elizabeth that there "had been a bad auto accident on the boulevard" and a woman, who had been seriously hurt, was calling for Gladys. Elizabeth told the man that the Witherells lived next door to her in a bungalow owned by J.C. Kratz, Gladys's father.

Gladys was at home at 6:10 p.m. when a man, approximately 45 years of age, knocked at her door. The man was tall, gray-haired, and smooth-shaven. He told her the same story he had shared with Elizabeth. The woman the man described could easily have been Gladys's mother-in-law so she pulled on her coat and took her 18 month-old son, Jack, to Elizabeth's home. She told Elizabeth she would return as quickly as

possible-and then she vanished.



When Gladys's husband Otto arrived home later that evening his wife still had not returned. When he spoke with Elizabeth he became truly frightened and phoned the police. LAPD detectives King, Oaks, McMahon and Hurt arrived followed by LASD detectives Lips and Anderson. Private Detective Nick Harris was also called in. The motive for taking Gladys didn't seem to be anything other than money. Otto declared: I have no enemy, as far as I know, and Mrs. Witherell never at any time told me of anyone who might have become infatuated with her and taken such means to take her away from me. Our married life ever since we were married in 1917 and when we were sweethearts in the Hollywood High School has always been ideal. Never at any time has there been a word of

difference. We have many friends, and they all have treated Mrs. Witherell with greatest respect. I do not believe that she has been taken for immoral purposes or by a degenerate. The manner in which she left does not indicate it. I am more inclined to thing that I will soon hear from some asking for money."

Otto, the head of the Financial Loan and Investment Company, stated his willingness to pay whatever he had for the safe return of his wife. In fact he and his father, A.J. Witherell offered a reward of \$500 to anyone who could provide information as to her whereabouts.

Support for the kidnap theory came the following day in the form of a telephone call to the Nick Harris Agency from John Baldwin, a student at the Harvard Military School. He said he had seen a young woman in a battered looking five-passenger Ford on Washington between Western and Vermont and it looked to him as if the woman was been forcibly restrained and possibly drugged.

# PATH OF KIDNAPERS' CAR IS TRACED BY POLICE.

### Battered Ford Without License Plates Seen by Three Men; Reward Offer Raised; Ransom Note Fake?

gladys pic2

Baldwin and the friend who was with him, Don Savage, were driving toward downtown when they noticed the Ford. The engine's hood was missing and there was steam billowing out of the radiator. They followed the car trying to get the license plate number but when they got closer they saw that the plates were missing. A swarthy man, wearing a

cap, was at the wheel of the car and when Baldwin and Savage pulled up next to it he gave them a look so filled with malice that the two turned up a side street.

The Ford was also spotted by J.E. Baumann, a gas station owner, at Thirty-eighth Street and Hooper Avenue. The top was down on the car and he he saw a woman who looked like the photo of Gladys that had appeared in all of the local newspapers. Kidnapping cases bring out the best and worst,in people. False clues, and even a fake ransom note were received by the family.



Mrs. Gladys Witherell, Her Baby and Those Who Seek Her.

In the lower picture, lott to right, are W. G. Hanson and Nock Harris, detectives, O. S. Witherell, husband of the missing woman and A. J. Witherell, his father Below the picture of the woman and child is a photographic reproduction of the ransom note received yesterday

gladys\_pic4

There was a huge number of cults forming every day in Los Angeles during that time and so of course the Witherells were encouraged by some to engage the services of a clairvoyant or to employ other supernatural means to locate Gladys. The family relied instead on law enforcement. A much better choice, I think. Interest in the occult was at its zenith during the 1920s. After the death of his mother master magician Harry Houdini

attempted to contact her through a spirit guide. What he discovered was that the mediums were con artists. Disgusted, he then made a crusade out of debunking and denouncing the supernatural abilities of the "vultures who prey on the bereaved".

Mediums were not receiving mental transmissions from Gladys, nor were there visions of her glimpsed on the etheric plane, but here on Earth there were Gladys sightings a-plenty. John

Baldwin and Don Savage had seen her, and so had gas station man, J.E. Bauman-but they weren't alone. A taxi driver, G.L. Cope, who had a stand near Sixth and Hill Streets, told police that he had seen a battered Ford near Twenty-third and Main. Two other men saw the car on Sunset Boulevard.

Police were frustrated by the lack of viable clues in the case. Some of the most prominent citizens in Hollywood banded together and started a reward fund hoping that the offer of money would produce results. In less than a day they had received contributions in excess of \$1500.

There was money to pay a ransom, if the real kidnappers made contact. All that was needed was a valid clue—anything that would lead the law to Gladys.

This entry was posted in 1920s, Kidnapping, L.A. Times, LAPD, LASD and tagged 1921, A.J. Witherell, Detective Lips, Detective Anderson, Detective Hurt, Detective King, Detective McMahon, Detective Oaks, Don Savage, Elizabeth Warden, G.L. Cope, Gladys Witherell, Harry Houdini, J.E. Baumann, Jack Witherell, John Baldwin, Nick Harris Agency, Otto Witherell by Deranged. Bookmark the permalink.

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#### Gladys Witherell is Missing! Part 2

Posted on July 16, 2015 by Deranged

## HUNT GREEK AS WOMAN STEALER

Mitherell Case Today.

Man with Grievance Against
Family Makes Threat.

WITHERELL\_GREEK

Three days following the abduction of Gladys Witherell from her Hollywood home, LAPD Detective King and Oaks and private investigator Nick Harris, were on the trial of a mysterious Greek merchant. The man was thought to have a vendetta against the Witherell family and on the morning of the kidnapping he had been overheard saying that the only way to get even was "... to make the whole family suffer."

While the Greek merchant lead was being explored a second note was rumored to have been received from the kidnappers. Confirmation of the note was not given by the police, but specualtion that it contained a demand for \$20,000 in cash appeared in newspaper reports.

A description of the gray-haired man who initially went to a neighbor's house seeking Gladys was widely distributed, but had

so far come to naught. Gladys's husband, Otto, waited impatiently for any word from the kidnappers. Nick Harris was quoted as saying: "We are convinced that the time has come when some advance is to be made by Mrs. Witherell's captors, if they have kidnaped (sic) her for ransom." When asked about a plan regarding payment of a ransom, Harris made the distinction between how the Witherell family might react to a demand, and how they would: "Naturally, we, as officers, cannot view the matter from anything but the legal aspect, but on the other hand you cannot blame the relatives of the woman for being anxious about her welfare, and desiring to obtain her release at any cost."

Unwilling to leave Gladys's fate entirely up to law enforcement, pastors of local churches issued a statement declaring that they would pray for her safe return. As the pastors and parishoners sent prayers heavenward, Chief of Police Pendegast asked the Hollywood Post of the American Legion to form a volunteer vigilance committee. Apparently the cops felt that they needed all of the help they could get.

# WILL PRAY FOR STOLEN WOMAN.

Many Churches to Ask Return of Mrs. Witherell.

Pastor to Urge Formation of Vigilance Committee.

News of Kidnaped Victim is Hourly Expected.

WITHERELL\_PRAY2

January 30, 1921 found scores of men and women gathering in the rain to volunteer to search for the missing woman. Under LAPD direction they scoured the hillsides, canyons and groves—any place where Gladys may have been taken. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department lent a hand in the search, but even though hundreds of people turned over thousands of rocks there was no sign of Gladys. The young mother had been missing for nearly a full week.

During the 1920s L.A. seemed to have cornered the market on firebrand preachers. Among the most vocal was Dr. J. Whitcomb Brougher, pastor of the Temple Baptist Church who decided that a sermon on "Hell" was called for. During his firey oration Dr. Brougher said: "Los Angeles is suffering at the present time from a reign of lawlessness. Our mild climate invites not only tourists, but also a big criminal class to spend the winter months here. Wherever good people congregate in large numbers, evil-doers go also, looking for a chance to exploit the good."

Dr. Brougher made a valid point about snow-bound crooks seeking a more welcoming climate. Why

## DRIVE ON LAWLESS IS URGED.

Brougher Says the Citizens Should Unite; Discusses Witherell Case.

witherell pray

carry out a kidnapping in the freezing cold of an Eastern or Midwestern winter when you could commit the crime under gently swaying palm trees? Brougher continued to rail against the evil out-of-towners: "It is a pity that a beautiful city like ours should be the center of such revolting crimes as have been perpetrated here recently. Robbers, hold-up men, bunko operators, kidnapers (sic), attackers of women, murderers, bootleggers and other lawless elements seem to have congregated here, and are giving Los Angeles a name for being the center of crimes more revolting than can be found in the frontier districts of Mexico."

The good pastor then concluded his rant, or sermon if you prefer, with a multi-part plan for coping with lawbreakers. "First,

...the Mayor and Police Commission call in six or seven of our leading citizens and devise some method by which an organization of about 3000 of our able-bodied men can be enlisted in an active campaign to capture the thugs in our city and deport them."

Evidently, Dr. Brougher believed that there was no such thing as a home-grown Los Angeles bad guy. He then suggested that mass meetings be held in different sections of the city to "...arouse public sentiment."

So far Dr. B's plan sounds potentially dangerous to me-like maybe someone should be at the mass meetings to pass out lit torches. But he wasn't finished.

Finally, he made a suggestion which sounded less like justice and more like the prelude to a lynching: "If those who attack women are caught, they ought to be put through the process of law and hanged within three days."

Due process in three days would certainly break some kind of record.

Whoever was responsible for kidnapping Gladys Witherell had better hope that Dr. B wasn't in charge of meting out justice—otherwise he (or they) should be prepared to hang in three days.

The fire and brimstone sermon ended-but the search for Gladys continued. For a day or two the police were uncharacteristically mum. Did that mean that they had a solid lead? Was the mysterious Greek merchant responsible for taking Gladys?

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#### Gladys Witherell is Missing! Part 3

Posted on July 21, 2015 by Deranged

The LAPD, LASD, and Nick Harris of the agency bearing his name, were following leads in the Gladys Witherell kidnapping. They eliminated the Greek man (a man who supposedly had a grudge against the family) from their inquiries, but they were deluged by fake tips, rumors, and prank calls.

The Witherells received a letter with a demand for \$20,000 promising that Gladys would be released, unharmed. But unlike other crank letter this one had an enclosure—a plea written in Gladys's hand. They were finally in contact with the actual kidnappers. The letter instructed the family to drop a package containing the ransom near a red lantern on Valley Boulevard, and it also informed them that could could expect a telephone call by midnight on Saturday, February 5th.

Detective Sergeant King and Deputy Sheriff Lips guarded the Witherell's home and Nick Harris, Detective Sergeant Oaks and Deputy Sheriff Anderson were stationed at the home of Gladys's parents. None of the detectives would leave their posts for any reason. They were at their posts around the clock. Telephone operators were alerted and monitored incoming calls to both homes. A phone call was received at the Witherell home and a quick thinking operator stalled him before putting the call through to Otto, husband of the victim.



kdnapper sentenced pic\_resize

The kidnapper stayed on the phone with Otto for fourteen minutes, which was enough time to trace the call to a bus depot at Fifth and Los Angeles Streets. Detective Sergeants Stelzriede, and Paulmeyer sped over to the location and waited outside the phone booth for the crook to finish his conversation. When he came out of the booth the detectives approached him with a question: "Who were you talking to?" The man froze for a few seconds and then said: "Witherell."

The man identified himself as Jack Carr, he denied knowledge of Gladys's whereabouts and claimed that he was a "tool" and he was working for some "higher up" whose identity he didn't know. The detectives were skeptical and turn up the heat on the suspect for over two hours before he broke down. He gave up the whole story of the kidnapping of Gladys and implicated his cousin, Floyd Carr.

Floyd and Jack had been holding Gladys in a cabin in Corona. A posse was gathered to accompany the detectives to the hideout. Sitting between two detectives, Jack gave directions. It took two hours to get to the cabin. It was located off a dirt road and had once been the home of a sheepherder.

# ONG HUNT IS ENDED BY DARING RUSH AT DAWN.

Officers Brave Possible Trap to Get Kidnaped Mrs. Witherell Out of the Hands of Two Desperadoes.

long hunt ended

It was approximately 2 a.m. on January 31st when Detective Sergeants King and Oaks, and Deputy Sheriffs Lips and Anderson and Detective Curtis silently approached the rear door of the small structure. The door had been left unlocked. Deputy Anderson kicked open the door and ran into the kitchen. No one was there. The door to the

bedroom had been nailed shut but was easily smashed open. Inside the room lying on a filthy bed was Gladys. She became hysterical and refused to believe that the men in the room were law enforcement until they produced their badges. When asked about the treatment she had received at the hands of her kidnappers she assured officers that she had not been harmed. A statement with which the law would later disagree.

# WOMAN-STEALERS TO BE SENTENCED TOMORROW.

Carr Cousins Ask Time, Indicating They
Will Ask Leniency Because They
Did Not Harm Their Victim.

kidnappers sentenced

Floyd was discovered in a closet. He pointed his .45 Colt automatic at the officer's chest, but only for a moment. The officer yelled: "Throw up your hands or I'll blow you through the wall!" Floyd raised his hands above his head. He was dragged from the closet and, stupidly, decided to put up a fight. He got the worst of it: "For God's sake—don't kill me. I'm not at the bottom of this!"

Actually, Floyd and Jack *were* at the bottom of the kidnapping. There was no "higher up" or gang, just two losers looking for a big payday. District Attorney Woolwine knew what to do; hustle them through the justice system and then to prison.

### MOB THREATENS LYNCHING

Immense Crowd Menaces Kidnapers as They Are Rushed to Court.

witherell mob

The Carrs were taken from Corona to jail, and then to court, but not without incident. A mob of people outside the County Jail shouted "hang them, lynch them, and let's string them up." Guards ran for

the doors and dragged Floyd and Jack with them. In little more than 12 hours following their capture the Carr's were in front of Judge Reeve where they entered guilty pleas. Then the Judge told them that they had the right to an attorney, and they had not less than two days and not more than five before he sentenced them. The cousins requested representation.

Public Defender Aggeler appeared five minutes later and conferred briefly with his clients. When they returned to the courtroom Aggeler argued for leniency because Gladys had not been hurt. D.A. Woolwine rose to his feet and told the court that the kidnapper's lied. Gladys had been harmed. Judge Reeve set sentencing for Wednesday, February 2, 9:30 a.m. Sentencing wouldn't be difficult,, there was only one option under Section 208 of the Penal Code and that was ten years to life in the prison.

At 6 p.m. on February 2nd, as they were preparing to leave for San Quentin, Floyd and Jack addressed the assembled reporters. Jack said: "Boys before we leave, we want to let the world know that Mrs. Witherell is the pluckiest little girl in the world." Floyd echoed his cousin's sentiments: "You tell the world she is, she's too good to wipe her feet on any man."

They also had a confession to make regarding an alleged accomplice. According to Floyd: "All that stuff about the 'Old Man' that I told you while we were coming in from the shack that morning was all the bunk. Lord, you fired those questions at me like a machine gun, and I was sore and i wasn't feeling very good, so I just doped out a bunch of lies for you. It was all the bunk."

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#### Gladys Witherell is Missing! — Case Wrap-up

Posted on July 31, 2015 by Deranged

# SEVEN GIRLS TO. DIVIDE REWARD.

Telephone Operators to Get Witherell Cash Today.

Kidnapers Now Only Numbers; In San Quentin Cells.

Abducted Woman Rallies from Shock of Experience.

witherell\_operators

It's time for a postmortem on the Witherell case.

The two men who kidnapped Gladys Witherell, Floyd and Arthur "Jack" Carr, were sentenced to from 10 years to life in prison. Gladys was returned to her family. But what about the reward?

The reward money was divided among the seven telephone operators who played a significant role in the capture of the Carrs: Bessie Shaeffer, Georgia Pond, Lillian Clark, Bessie Sullivan, Alma Bryant, Lillian Moore and Bertha Heere. The operators kept Arthur on the phone while simultaneously conveying the address of the phone booth he was calling from to the police.

On the evening of February 10, 1921 a ceremony to honor the women was held at Grauman's Theater. A special film about the case was shown (where is it now, I wonder). Detective Sergeants King and

Oaks, and Deputy Sheriff Anderson were introduced as the men who captured the kidnappers. They would also receive rewards.

Nick Harris (owner of the private investigation agency bearing his name) represented Gladys at the theater because her physician said that she was still far too nervous and fatigued to appear in public. On her behalf he handed each of the operators a check for approximately \$215–equivalent to \$2875 in current dollars.

Vigilant Trailers of Carr Cousins Receive Their Reward.



Detective Nick Harris Presenting Checks to Telephone Operators Who Snared Weman Stealer From 30t to right they are Ecoste Sharefer, Growing Freed, Julian Horris, James Beyon Department of the State of

Gladys' father-in-law heaped praise on the women: "Had these girls not been on the job, nobody can tell what might have happened to Gladys. They are the most splendid examples of young American womanhood—alert, quick-witted, sympathetic and instantaneously responsive to the call of need."

l agree.

This entry was posted in 1920s, Kidnapping, L.A. Times and tagged 1921, Alma Bryant, Arthur Jack Carr, Bertha Heere, Bessie Shaeffer, Bessie Sullivan, Deputy Anderson, Det. Sgt. King, Det. Sgt. Oaks, Floyd Carr, Georgia Pond, Gladys Witherell, Lillian Clark, Nick Harris Agency by Deranged. Bookmark the permalink.

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### THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS DARKLY Medievalism, Satanism, and the Dark Illumination of the Self in the Aesthetics of Black Metal

Brenda S. Gardenour Walter

Entering into the magic circle of black metal, we cross an invisible threshold into a world of inversion, a dark dreamscape rendered in black, white, and blood. Here, in the in the sempiternal night, ice-laden autumn winds twist through gnarled and blackened woodlands as shadows grow long beneath a freezing moon. Throughout the forest, covens of corpse-painted men robed in black leather chant demonic paeans to death and destruction, to pain and terror, in honor of their lord Satan. In an ecstasy of evil, they lift their heads to the dark sky, pink tongues lolling while phallic fingers writhe and clench into fists. Inverted crosses, downward-facing pentagrams, and the severed heads of sheep flicker in the firelight cast from the conflagration of Christian stave churches in the distance, while the Goat of Mendes, ruler of darkness, surveys his kingdom of hellfire and sulphurous smoke.

The upside-down world of Satanic black metal is uncanny, both familiar in its use of inverted tropes and schemes and yet completely "other" to those on the outside looking in, including Christians and consumers of mainstream popular culture.<sup>2</sup> For them, it is a spectacle of abject horror in which the viewer, unable to look away, becomes one with the object of revulsion through jouissance, or desire.<sup>3</sup> Those within the hellish magic circle experience a similar abjection as they gaze outward at the decadence, hypocrisy, and emptiness of WASP-y middle-class culture. In this context, the inverted signifiers of Satanic evil serve not only to distance the blackened self from the hated once-self / other, but also to caricature and reflect the horrors of human society. From Satanic black metal to Cascadian black metal and beyond, the black metal mirror moves from inverted binary into existential complexity, calling the viewer to contemplate not only humanity and

tary existence and his primal disgust for human society, including the fanboys of black metal who follow like a mindless flock of sheep, who erect for themselves false gods that they worship and obey.42 Like Nietzsche, Gaahl argues that the tyranny of the collective—be it Christianity, black metal, socialism, or what have you—must be destroyed. "This is what the fall of the false gods will do; basically, you will be allowed to focus on the god within yourself. Of course, that's the only true god." The complete rejection of the collective, however, proves nearly impossible. Gaahl goes on to say that the god in the self is connected to the "god in all things; God is within nature, and nature will always grow. That is the force of all life, is to grow." The primal return to a deified natural world resounds throughout the work of Cascadian black metal bands such as Wolves in the Throne Room, who see the eco-destructive hive mind of modern civilization as a sorrowful vastness of "lifeless chaos," a world laid bare by "black religion."43 Both Gaahl's Satanism and Cascadian black metal are problematic in their attempts to reject the collective in favor of an anchoritic life in the wilderness. Once liberated from human society, the blackened self must somehow return to a harmonious, eternal, and "human" nature—a physical place and ontological state from which the modern individual has alienated him or herself entirely—where it will be once again enslaved by the laws of nature and endless cycles of growth, death, decay, and regeneration.44

Staring deep into the darkened looking glass, far beyond distant discourses of medieval inversion, beyond the false hope of a return to a mythic and primal past, beyond the empty promise of a truly liberated and sentient existence, the blackened self sees its inverted reflection reverberating into a formless void, a vanishing point. In this Lovecraftian space of maddening non-being, of "cosmic outsideness," the discursive regimes of Medievalism, Christianity, and Satanism cease to exist. Like all of its gods and devils, human society disappears into the darkness, along with the need to define oneself against it. The black metal aesthetic loses all power to signify and dissolves into the very darkness it attempted to convey. In the place of humanness, of nature, of growth, of time . . . there is nothing. Here, in the moment of dark illumination, the viewer encounters the final inversion—non-human non-existence—and at last achieves true liberation through destruction. At the still point, in a moment of ecstatic union with the darkness, the self is annihilated in blackness and absorbed into the Oneness of Nothing, unfettered at last.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> On the magic circle as a realm of play and transcendence, see Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955). On otherness and othering, see the works of Michel Foucault, in particular A History of Sexuality, Volume I (New York: Vintage, 1990).
- <sup>2</sup> For the use of Freudian and Lacanian uncanny in horror, see Barbara Creed, *Phallic Panic* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2005).
- <sup>3</sup> On abjection, see Julia Kristeva, Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
- <sup>4</sup> "And when you gaze long into an abyss, the abyss also gazes into you." Friedrich Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, trans. Helen Zimmern (Amazon Digital, 2011), Aphorism 146.

  <sup>5</sup> The works of Aristotle had arrived at the medieval university with myriad medical, legal, and philosophical texts as a result of the twelfth-century translation movement, during which Latin scholars traveled to areas of the Iberian peninsula purportedly "reclaimed" from Islam, translated the Arabic texts housed in the Madrassas there, and returned with them to Europe. For more on the Arabic inheritance, see Dmitri Gutas, Greek Thought, Arab Culture: The Greco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (London: Routledge, 1998).
- <sup>6</sup> Edward Grant, *The Nature of Natural Philosophy* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2010), 6: "...almost all theologians can be said to have acquired extensive knowledge of natural philosophy. Many undoubtedly regarded it as worthy of study in itself and not merely because of its traditional role as the handmaiden of theology." See also William of Auvergne, *The Universe of Creatures*, trans. Roland J. Teske (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1998).
- <sup>7</sup> Aristotle, Metaphysics, 6:7, states that the Prime Mover set the cosmos in motion out of love. See also Aristotle, Physics, 8. For a full elaboration of the Aristotelian cosmos in the medieval world, see Edward Grant, Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- <sup>8</sup> "These four bodies are fire, air, water, earth. Fire occupies the highest place among them all, earth the lowest, and two elements correspond to these in their relation to one another, air being nearest to fire, water to earth. The whole world surrounding the earth, then, the affections of which are our subject, is made up of these bodies." Aristotle, *Meteorology*, 1:2. "So at the center and round it we get earth and water, the heaviest and coldest elements, by themselves; round them and contiguous with them, air and what we commonly call fire." Aristotle, *Meteorology*, 1:3.
- <sup>9</sup> Aristotle, Physics, passim.
- Aquinas insisted that it was composed of the purest ether, or rarified fire, hot and dry. Edward Grant, Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos 1200–1687 (Cambridge: Cam-

bridge University Press, 1996), 373. See also Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, Heaven: A History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

- <sup>n</sup> Aquinas, "Treatise on the Angels," in the Summa Theologica (questions 50–64). Cf. Thomas Cantimpré, "Life of Christina the Astonishing," in Thomas Cantimpre: The Collected Saints' Lives, ed. Margot King and Barbara Newman, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 131: "And see how quick the Angels were to obey the bidding of the Lord!"
- <sup>12</sup> On Aristotle and radical inversion, see Stuart Clark, Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) and "Inversion, Misrule, and the Meaning of Witchcraft," Past and Present 87 (1980), 98–127.
- Thomas Aquinas, "De Distinctione Angelicorum Spirituum," De Substantiis Separatis, trans. Francis J. Lescoe (1959). From the Summa Theologica, Part One, Article 64: "Consequently a twofold place of punishment is due to the demons: one, by reason of their sin, and this is hell; and another, in order that they may tempt men, and thus the darksome atmosphere is their due place of punishment." This correlates with Aristotle's theory of atmospheric clouds as the "exhalations" of the earth, cold and moist. See Aristotle, Meteorology, 1:3.
- <sup>14</sup> See R. B. Pynsent, "The Devil's Stench and Living Water: A Study of Demons and Adultery in Czech Vernacular Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance," The Slavonic and East European Review 71 (1993): The Slavonic and East European Review 71 (1993), 601–30. See also Martha Bayless, Sin and Filth in Medieval Culture: The Devil in the Latrine (London: Routledge, 2011).
- <sup>15</sup> "All fair is foul, and foul is fair, hover through the fog and the filthy air." Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 1.1, 11–12. For a discussion of black, melancholia, and evil, see François Azouvi, "The Plague, Melancholy, and the Devil," *Diogenes* 27 (1979), 112–30.
- <sup>16</sup> Aquinas, On the Sentences, Part Two, d. 7, q. 2, a. 1. On the particular vulnerability of women to demons, see Nancy Caciola, Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- D. Bailey, Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Later Middle Ages (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State Press, 2002), as well as Michael D. Bailey and Edward Peters, "A Sabbat of Demonologists: Basel 1430-1441," The Historian 65 (2003), 1375-1395. On the Malleus Maleficarum, see Hans Peter Broedel, The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).
- <sup>18</sup> For an alternative perspective on alterity versus binary and the construction of categories, see Eugene Thacker, "Three Questions on Demonology," *Hideous Gnosis: Black Metal Theory Symposium 1*, ed. Nicola Masciandaro (CreateSpace, 2010), 179–220.
- <sup>19</sup> Azouvi, "The Plague, Melancholy, and the Devil," 114. See also Ireven M. Resnick, Marks of Distinction: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012).

- <sup>20</sup> This conformed not only to medieval medical theory, in which the humorally imbalanced body craved substances with qualities contrary to those it contained in excess in order to rebalance itself, but also to ancient rhetorical constructs of otherness—including accusations of sexual perversion and cannibalism—such as that recorded in the works of Mincius Felix. See David Frankfurter, *Evil Incarnate* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- <sup>21</sup> For other early descriptions of the inverted Witches' Sabbath, see Jacquier's *De calcatione daemonum* (1452) and the Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum (1458).
- <sup>22</sup> For the medieval roots of the pact, see Alain Boureau, Satan the Heretic: The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006).
- <sup>23</sup> On the ways in which these signifiers work within the specific rationality of the paranormal, see Brenda Gardenour Walter, "Phantasmic Science: Medieval Theology, Victorian Spiritualism, and the Specific Rationality of Twenty-First Century Ghost Hunting," *Jefferson Journal of Science and Culture* 3 (2013).
- <sup>24</sup> The appropriation of evil to define and empower the self is not new, having been adopted by Renaissance *magi*, early modern Hellfire Clubs, and the modern quasi-Satanist, Anton LaVey. LaVey's use of over-the-top inverted Satanic aesthetics, for example, served as a means of mocking mainstream, pseudo-Christian middle class America, as well as their children, the purportedly peace-loving hippies—the very world from which LaVey himself came. See Satanis: The Devil's Mass, a 1970 documentary by Anton LaVey himself, as well as Blanche Barton's The Secret Life of a Satanist: The Authorized Biography of Anton LaVey (Los Angeles: Feral House Press, 1992).
- <sup>25</sup> This is not meant to disrespect earlier, non-Norwegian black metal bands such as *Venom*. The Norwegian scene, with its violence and church burnings, brought the aesthetic to a global audience, and therefore serves as my starting point.
- For general background, see Michael Moynihan's tabloid-esque Lords of Chaos: The Bloody Rise of the Satanic Metal Underground (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2003).
- <sup>27</sup> On the Satanic Panic, see Bill Ellis, Raising the Devil: Satanism, New Religions, and the Media (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000) and Lucifer Ascending: The Occult in Folk and Popular Culture (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2003). For hilarity's sake, see Geraldo Rivera's 1988 NBC primetime special, "Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground," as well as Carl A. Raschke, Painted Black: From Drug Killings to Heavy Metal, the Alarming True Story of How Satanism is Terrorizing Our Communities (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1990).
- <sup>28</sup> The association of paganism with the Satanic is beyond troublesome; one is pre-Christian, the other is the product of Christianity, and both were collapsed into the same category of "non-Christian non-goodness" by medieval clerics.
- <sup>29</sup> This is, of course, a past forged by the Romantics, not an actual representation of earlymedieval pagan life. Romantic strains can be seen in Bjorn's comment from Mats

Lundberg's 2008 documentary, Black Metal Satanica: The Norse gods "were far more personal. To put it into Black Metal, it had something to do with the nature, your blood." (One can't help seeing Blut und Boden in this sort of discourse, but the role of Romanticism in nationalism and fascism are beyond the boundaries of this discussion.)

- <sup>30</sup> See Brenda Gardenour Walter, "Corrupt Air, Poisonous Places, and the Toxic Breath of Witches in Late-Medieval Medicine and Theology" in *Toxic Airs: Body, Place, Planet in Historical Perspective*, eds. James Rodger Fleming and Ann Johnson (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014).
- <sup>31</sup> Even if, as Derrida would argue, that meaning is of necessity decentered. See Jacques Derrida, "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), 357-70.
- <sup>32</sup> For an overview of transnational Metal, see *Black Metal: Beyond the Darkness* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2012).
- <sup>33</sup> On double coding, see Charles Jencks, What is Post-Modernism? (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987). In the case of Japan, an interesting pattern emerges. As the hated colonial past returns, the subjected culture attempts to return to a distant and mythologized past before the colonization. The effect is that of a perpetually-spinning vortex leading back into oblivion in order to escape existence in the present.
- <sup>34</sup> On Mexico and the legacy of the encomienda system, see Howard Zinn, A People's History of the United States 1492-Present (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005); on Japanese subjection of the body, brothels, and self-hatred, see John Dower, Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II (New York: Norton & Company, 1999).
- <sup>35</sup> In Mats Lundberg's documentary *Black Metal Satanica* (Cleopatra: 2008) Ondskapt says "We don't have a book, you understand. We do have a very strong foundation, which is inverted Christianity... one basically has to believe very strongly that it is right to kill, it is right to steal, it is right to do all of these wicked deeds. And when you realize that you do these things for a higher power... when you are a slave to this higher power... you are seeing a devil worshipper."
- <sup>36</sup> This discourse has increased since the cultic popularity of Aaron Aites and Audrey Ewell's documentary, *Until the Light Takes Us* (Variance Films: 2009).
- <sup>37</sup> From a YouTube comment thread: "What gets me so winded up is Gaahl's blatant hypocrisy. here he is "Mr. Evil" in his fuckin' cellar/dungeon trying his best to look as evil as possible hailing Satan as his inspiration to everything very black metal I must say And then him and his bum-chum decide to bring out a ladies clothing range and silly bright frocks. Oh and apparently the name of the range means "Happiness" in some old Norwegian dialect or whatever who cares. Cut the shit man . . . Gaahl is just a nancy-boy trying to be all fuckin' brutal and once again just proves that his so-called "metal is a way of life" bullshit really is just another front to look all superior when in the end he's just the bitch of some kid boyfriend. U can't be brutal and a nancy-boy at the same time, to say you can

is a very hard argument to make..." From http://www.metalstorm.net/events/news\_com ments.php?news\_id=7573&page=2&message\_id.

- <sup>38</sup> "Since when is being a Satanist supposed to be the "epitome of masculinity"? Gaahl is VERY anti-Christian; what's more anti-Christian than being gay? And also, what makes yo think that all Gays are "little Sissies"? Try telling that to Gaahl after he overpowered a straight guy enough to tie him to a chair and torture him for six hours. Or tell the bears, or the Ancient Romans or Greeks, who fucked AND kicked ass all over Europe for decades." From http://www.metalstorm.net/events/news\_comments.php?news\_id=7573&page=2&message\_id.
- 39 British Library, MS Egerton 2781, Book of Hours, 14<sup>th</sup> Century.
- <sup>40</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, trans. Helen Zimmern (Amazon Digital, 2011).
- <sup>41</sup> "True Norwegian Black Metal," prods. Peter Beste, Rob Semmer, Iver Berglin, and Mike Washlesky (Vice Broadcasting Systems, 2007). Gaahl in reality lived in a flat in Bergen where he had an active social life; his solitary boyhood home, however, is an integral part of his aesthetic construction.
- <sup>42</sup> "I have no interest in getting a flock of sheep . . . then I would be just as bad as society is . . . There are so many of these sheep characters . . . "
- <sup>43</sup> Wolves in the Throne Room, "Behold the Vastness and Sorrow," *Two Hunters* (Southern Lord, 2007).
- <sup>44</sup> On our separation from nature, see Steven Shakespeare, "The Light that Illuminates Itself, the Dark that Soils Itself: Blackened Notes from Schelling's Underground," in Masciandaro, ed., Hideous Gnosis: Black Metal Theory Symposium 1.
- <sup>45</sup> One might think here of Schopenhauer's belief that each level of aesthetics gives way until one ultimately sees the true condition of human life, which is suffering, and will be repulsed.

nature, but also his or her own fetid image. Staring into the darkened abyssal glass, the blackened self discovers negatives of negatives, a string of perpetual inversions that ripple into oblivion. At the moment of dark epiphany, the abyss gazes back, the self succumbs to blackness, and is annihilated.<sup>4</sup>

## MEDIEVAL CONSTRUCTS: ARISTOTELIAN CONTRARIETY AND THE INVERTED EVIL OTHER

Often oversimplified as "Christianity upside down," the inverted aesthetics of Satanic black metal are actually quite complex, operating according to the specific rationality of medieval scholasticism and signifying deep discourses of power in Western culture. In the thirteenth century, scholars working in the milieu of the medieval university sought to reconcile Aristotelian constructs and epistemologies with those of Christianity, including the scriptures and the Neo-Platonic tradition transmitted through patristic authors such as Augustine. In works such as De Universo, Summa Theologica, and Scriptum Super Sententiis, scholastic theologians William of Auvergne and Thomas Aquinas used Aristotle's logic and natural philosophy as supporting structures for theological precepts and articles of faith. Aristotle's cosmology, elemental theory, and physics would prove particularly valuable in the construction of paradigmatic Christian goodness and its radically-inverted contrary, Satanic evil, two binary categories that, by the fifteenth century, were not only ossified but also deeply entrenched in Western culture.

At the heart of the medieval construction of good and evil lay Aristotle's cosmos, which was divided into two realms. The realm beyond the moon was imagined to be a series of nesting crystalline spheres, each of which contained a planet. The outermost sphere of the fixed stars served as the boundary between the cosmos and the Prime Mover, an entity who applied pressure to the spheres and set them into motion through love. All movement in the superlunary realm was circular, perpetual, and perfect; below the moon, however, chaos reigned. The sublunary realm was composed of the four elements—fire, air, water, and earth. Because fire was the lightest and most pure element, it hovered above elemental air and rose toward the lunar sphere. Earth, on the other hand, was the most dense and corrupt of the elements, and therefore sank like dross to the very core of the cosmos. The inherently unstable nature of the four elements meant that they were in perpetual states of transformation, thereby creating myriad forms of matter and a chaotic physical world of violent motion and change.

In the thirteenth century, scholastic theologians began the process of reconciling this ancient and pagan cosmic system with Christianity, thereby transforming

the Prime Mover into the Christian God, the realm beyond the sidereal sphere into his Empyrean Heaven, the world below the moon into a demonic playground, and the bowels of the earth into Hell. The superlunary realm of divine goodness was imagined as a heavenly hierarchy, with God enthroned in the Empyrean, "the subtlest of all bodies" containing "within itself the purest light." There, the Christian God was surrounded by seraphim, the Virgin Mary, and the saints of his royal court. Radiating from the Godhead, divine light suffused the weightless and translucent ethereal bodies that populated the heavens, illuminating the choirs of angels arranged in concentric circles that descended to the lunar boundary. These angelic beings, Aquinas argued, stood at guard, their eyes turned toward the brightest heaven, in perfect obedience to the Deity." From God on his golden throne to the lowest angel, the heavenly realm was one of singularity and unity, a slavish collective bound to serve God's will alone. On earth as in heaven, only those willing to submit fully to the Christian God through his institutional Church would one day be permitted to see the wonders of this static and luminous world; all others would damned to the Hellish world below the moon for all eternity.

Having structured and codified the realm of divine goodness, theologians set about constructing the realm of Satanic evil. Following Aristotle's theory of radical contrariety, they ensured that earthly evil would be the absolute inversion of heavenly goodness in all of its qualities and parts. 2 Sublunary evil was envisioned as an inverted hierarchy, with Satan at its nadir enthroned in the icy core of the dark and fetid earth. Aquinas and his colleagues argued that fallen angels did not have natural bodies, but could collect moist and fetid "earthly exhalations," or noxious air, in order to manifest in physical forms.13 Once coagulated from the "dark atmosphere" that was their home, Satan and his demons most often appeared as monstrous black angels with leathery wings and deformed features. Created as inverted beings, they spoke through their asses and shat through their mouths; associated with the lower bowels and the reproductive organs, they emitted a continual stench of sulphur and dead fish.4 While demons had the power to "hover through the fog and filthy air," they remained trapped in the sublunary realm, bound to the corrupt earth—the cold and dry element associated with autumn, black bile melancholy, the colors black and grey, and death—from which they might never ascend.15

Wicked as they might be, Satan and his minions were initially limited in their power; they could not operate beyond natural law or physics, nor did they work together effectively towards a common goal. They had, after all, fallen from heaven because of their own willfulness, their refusal to submit to any power other than their own. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, demonic enti-

ties were increasingly ascribed greater power over their human prey. Aquinas, for example, argued that while demons were bound by natural law, they had roamed the earth for millennia and, having retained their angelic intelligence despite their fall from grace, grown more perceptive and learned many tricks with which to fool the feeble minds of women and men.16 Events over the course of the fourteenth century, including the Great Famine, the Black Death, the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, and the Great Schism, as well the multiplication of heretics such as Jan Hus and his followers, led many theologians to believe that the Church was under assault by Satanic forces empowered by God to punish his wretched and disobedient children. While the early fifteenth-century cleric Johannes Nider saw this demonic assault as a call to reform the Church in its head and members, many others, such as the author of the Errores Gazariorum and Heinrich Kramer, imagined that Satan and his demons had organized themselves into a disciplined and hierarchical army whose primary objective was the destruction of the Christian Body. Like the angels that had subsumed their own will to that of the Deity, so too had demons, apparently, become enslaved in obedience to their Lord Satan.

According to these latter sources, Satan's army was joined in its efforts to destroy orderly and obedient Christendom by devout human followers, including heretics, witches, Jews, and Muslims, all of whom were non-Christian and therefore cast into league with the Devil—the only other option in a radical binary system.18 Like the demons whose will they obeyed, these Satanic "others" were ascribed inverted bodies, dominated by elemental earth and its correlating humor, black bile. According to medieval medical theory, those suffering from an excess of black bile were subject to fits of burning rage; this overheating produced "a dried, concentrated, opaque, black body" that, through the dispersion of heat, became increasingly cold, yielding a heavy and ashen clot forever bound to the earth.10 This fundamentally cold physiology drove the melancholiac to crave the consumption of human blood, preferably that of Christian children, and to commit "perverse" sexual acts.20 Wicked individuals no longer acted alone and according to their own will; instead, all evil was bound together into an inverted hierarchy constructed according to Aristotelian precepts as the absolute inversion of Christian perfection. In this upside-down Satanic world, every element of Christianity was mocked and reversed, a process evident in sources from the Errores Gazariorum (1430) and the Malleus Maleficarum (1486) to the full elaboration of the Witches' Sabbath as Black Mass in Nicholas Remy's Demonolatry (1595), Francesco Maria Guazzo's Compendium Maleficarum (1608) and Pierre de Lancre's On the Inconstancy of Witches (1612).<sup>21</sup> Witchcraft treatises such as these—which enjoyed a wide readership reinforced deeply held beliefs that evil was inherently Satanic, involved inversions

of Christian worship by melancholic "others" who did not conform to socially accepted constructs of goodness, and entailed the submission of one's will to the Devil Himself, often through the signing of a formal pact.<sup>22</sup>

#### MODERN MEANINGS: FROM SATANIC ENSLAVEMENT TO SELF-POSSESSION TO ANNIHILATION IN BLACK METAL ECSTASY

Under the quills of medieval clerics, the inverted signifiers of Satanic otherness became a deep discourse of power backed by the unquestionable authority of characters such as Augustine, Aquinas, and Aristotle. After all, Christian scholars had set the agenda, constructed the binary system, and codified evil against their own narrow and slavish conception of goodness. Despite the novel epistemologies and modes of discourse that have fueled successive paradigm shifts from the late medieval to the postmodern world(s), the scholastic construction of Satanic evil and the specific rationality upon which it operates and to which it is perpetually bound remain virtually unchanged. From J. K. Huysmans' Là-Bas and the Grand Guignol works of André De Lorde to the delicious schlock of the modern supernatural horror film and paranormal "reality" television, the colors black, white, and red, the seasons of autumn and winter, the witching hours of midnight and three o'clock in the morning, icy drafts, inverted crosses, black candles, and goat heads continue to function as inverted and melancholic signifiers of Satanic evilalthough few viewers know how or why.23 In the ethos of black metal, Satanic signifiers have come to serve as powerful weapons with the ability to provoke sublime terror in uninitiated outsiders who often respond to them in a near-reptilian fashion, in slavish obedience to deep discourses that they do not comprehend. This deeply-coded and inverted aesthetic not only commands power over a captive and sheep-like audience, but also codes the black metal self as the abject, empowered, and evil "other."24

In late twentieth-century Norway, the crucible in which Satanic black metal was distilled and rarified, inversion would serve as a means of "othering" and a darkened path to self-empowerment. <sup>25</sup> Unmoved and unmoving, Norway has long had an exceptionally stable economy and a static bourgeois culture; it is likewise a bastion of Lutheran conservatism, a world in which everyone is expected to adhere to Christian mores, or at least appear to. In response to what they saw as the emptiness and hypocrisy of Norwegian culture, young bands such as the now-iconic Mayhem adopted the Satanic aesthetic as a core element of their identity. <sup>26</sup> In donning black leather, black t-shirts, and corpse paint, using inverted crosses, pentagrams, and blackened churches in their iconography, and incorporating self-

mutilation and necrotic animal parts into their live performances, Mayhem appropriated the medieval construction of inverted evil as a weapon against the heinous Christian once-self and now "other." The use of the Satanic by Norwegian black metal groups such as Mayhem, Darkthrone, Immortal, Emperor, Burzum, and Gorgoroth was particularly effective in eliciting outrageous responses from the conservative community both in Norway and throughout the Christian West. Emerging at the height of the Satanic Panic, a period in which the middle class saw itself embattled with evil forces in a dying world, the inverted iconography of black metal and the anti-Christian activities of many of its members were the culmination of bourgeois Christianity's worst nightmares—a rebellious youth enslaved by Satan and at war with God.<sup>27</sup>

For those who were called by the darkness, whether they gathered at Øystein Aarseth's Helvete record store, exchanged underground tapes through the mail, or attended performances, black metal served not merely a means of reactionary rebellion, but perhaps more importantly as a Satanic path to purification. The Satanic aesthetic, for example, delineated Norwegian black metal from other forms of Metal, such as Death Metal, which were not seen as extreme or "pure" enough. This quest for mythical purity runs like a blackened thread through the inverted world of northern black metal, most often taking the form of a return to an ancient pagan landscape dominated by darkness, cold, wind, and rocky earth.28 In the Metal imagination—which is informed by modern masculinities and Romanticism as much as medievalism and the Satanic—a return to the primal past entails the return of the Norse gods, such as Woden, and a warrior culture founded on individual ingenuity, prowess, and brute force.29 Through the black metal looking glass, the "true" and "pure" Norway is constructed as a realm of sublunary melancholia, replete with vengeful and anti-Christian pagan gods and warriors who, wearing leather and brandishing swords and axes, appear against empty autumnal and winter landscapes, ensconced in fetid fog beneath a full moon. These primeval images are conflated with the earth-bound and inverted structures of Satanism, including desecrated cemeteries, burning churches, upside-down crosses, the celebration of the Black Mass (at Kraków and otherwise), and the invocation of the Devil Himself. This inverted Norway is a frigid land laden with the pure power of dark destruction, the throne of earth-bound evil.30 In conflating the pagan past, melancholic elements, and Satanic inversion, the black metal aesthetic is consistent with medieval scholastic constructs, according to which pagan Norway was the land of wicked gods, trolls and witchcraft—all of which were cast into the category of un-Christian evil—as well as the source of Septentrio, the cold and dry

winds that swept down from the northern wastes, bringing winter's death to the fields and forests of the bountiful south.

This medievalism and the inverted aesthetics of Satanic black metal have spread like evil seeds from the northern pagan vastlands and the United Kingdom to Greece, Romania, the United States, Mexico, and Japan. In the process, black metal has become a transnational culture with a shared set of codes and signifiers that identify its producers and consumers as members of an inner circle, a Satanic elite within a larger metal community. While the black metal aesthetic is salient across cultures and conforms to the medieval scholastic construction of evil, it is legion in its meanings and interpretations across multiple contexts. Many within the black metal magic circle claim that they have found the path to liberation and self-empowerment. The darkened mirror of black metal, however, contains myriad inversions upon inversions, each reflection revealing the hopeless enslavement of the blackened self until its ultimate consummation with dark oblivion.

In the mirror's first layer, Satanic black metal appears to be a path to freedom from social constructs, a liberation from conservative ideals. In donning the externals of black metal, an individual is defining him or herself as separate from mainstream culture, as a purportedly empowered evil "other." Like a living mirror, the black metal self manifests the repulsiveness of Christian and mainstream society, mocks its fetid hypocrisy, and reflects it back outward, laughing as if to say, "This is what you are." Problematically, this reactionary abjection and inversion bind black metal to its hated other through jouissance, a form of desire. Furthermore, taking on the inverted identity of that which one hates only serves to validate the hated other. This is one of the primary complications of using Satanism as a means of countering Christianity. Satanism and its inverted signifiers are above all Christian constructs codified by theologians in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries using the authority of Scripture, the Church Fathers, and Aristotle. To adhere mindlessly to the Satanic metal aesthetic is to become trapped in a binary system in which two inverted categories perpetually spin around a single shared axis of meaning.32

This enslavement to distant discourses of power is even more fraught when Satanic black metal moves beyond the Euro-Christian West and into non-Christian and post-colonial contexts.<sup>32</sup> As an inversion of Christian goodness, the black metal aesthetic makes sense as a means to counter the dominant culture in a Christian society; but what do upside-down crosses, the color black, and pentagrams signify in Japan? The Japanese band Sigh incorporates both Satanic signifiers and Buddhist imagery into their aesthetic, suggesting an augmented binary inversion. In an act of double-coding, the inverted Satanic signifiers represent the rejection of the

Western Christian other that occupied Japan after World War II as well as the Japanese experience of their own willful submission to that other as wholly repulsive and abject; the Buddhist images, on the other hand, represent a reclaiming of a pre-Christian and mythically pure Japanese identity, one that is in a continual process of self-annihilation.33 A similar case can be made for the Mexican black metal group Funereal Moon, whose discography reads like a late-medieval treatise on melancholic demons. Their lead singer, Darvula, wears a black monastic robe and corpse paint which features inverted crosses over both of his eyes and an inverted pentagram on his forehead. These signifiers, in particular the marking of Darvula's body, speak not only to rebellion against the dominant and conservative Catholic culture of modern Mexico, but also the Western, white, colonial, slave-holding "other" that Catholicism represents. In both Japan and Mexico, the black metal aesthetic serves as a means of expressing abjection toward and reclamation of the subjected body from the Christian and colonial invader.34 While this appears to be a path towards liberation and personal empowerment, it is nevertheless a trap that binds the post-colonial self to the European other through a medieval Christian discourse of power. After all, no matter how evil Satan gets, He still plays by—and validates—Christianity's rules.

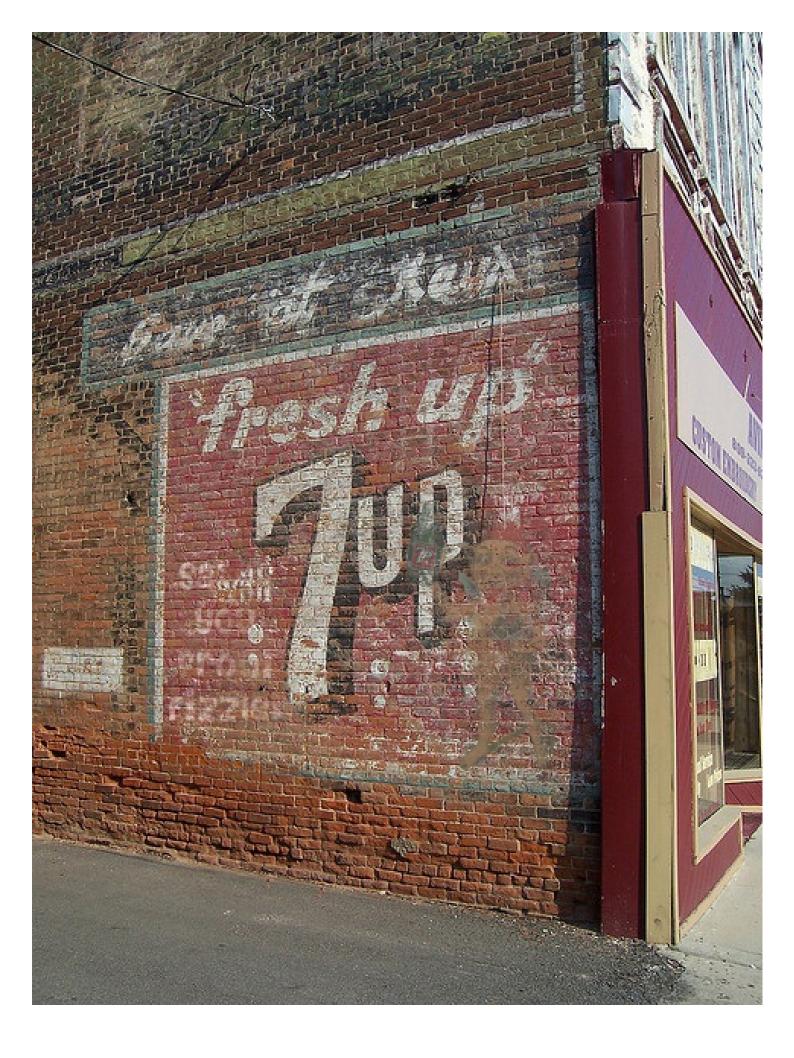
In keeping with the medieval construction of inverted and hierarchical evil, the black metal aesthetic often represents a state of enslavement, not only to old paradigms and to Satan Himself, but also to the tyranny of the purportedly-Satanic collective. Bound together into a group of un-Christian un-believers, those who participate in black metal culture at this first and binary reflective level form an inverted organization that is as conservative in its behaviors and beliefs as orthodox Christianity. For example, much of the rhetoric of black metal culture focuses on what constitutes "true" black metal; one t-shirt has Mayhem's album cover for De Mysteriis Dom Sathanas on the back with a superimposed inverted pentagram and a roundel stating "Orthodox Black Metal Fundametalist." Funny? Yes, but not that far from the truth. Message boards and YouTube comment strands are replete with discussions of which bands are "real" black metal and which are "posers"; true black metal is often traced back to the Norwegian scene in the 1990s and therefore tied to white hegemonic constructs.

Not only bands but behaviors are governed by this slavish collective. Returning to the message boards, conservative strains within the ethos of Satanic black metal are not only anti-Christian—comment after comment demands that real black metal-heads must deny Christianity, worship the Devil, and participate in other stereotypically "evil" activities straight out of the *Malleus Maleficarum*—but also predominantly anti-gay. Rumors periodically surface about Gylve "Fenriz" Nagell

of Darkthrone being gay, perhaps because of his love of Icelandic electronica, which is, according to the collective, decidedly NOT black metal.<sup>36</sup> More recently, Gaahl, the lead singer of Gorgoroth, one of the most notorious black metal Norwegian bands, revealed that he was in a relationship with a male fashion designer. Up until this juncture, Gaahl had been elevated by some as the paragon of black metal masculinity and a paradigm for Satanic evil. Within the conservative black metal community, responses to Gaahl's homosexuality have been predominantly negative, ranging from comments claiming that gay men can't be a part of black metal to those claiming that homosexuals are an abomination that should be cleansed from the earth.<sup>37</sup> In fact, much of the black metal rhetoric surrounding Gaahl's sexual orientation has been indistinguishable from that of conservative and fundamentalist Christianity. One commenter called out several Gaahl-bashers, arguing that if they were truly black metal and truly Satanic, shouldn't they do and believe everything that Christians do not—shouldn't they actually be extremely liberal, to the point of anarchy?38 Surrounded by mindless sheep enslaved by distant discourses and the tyranny of the collective, the lone voice in the internet wilderness went unanswered.

Behind this binary and superficial reflection in the black metal mirror lies a complex and more distant image: that of the single blackened self, standing alone in a barren waste, much like a gnarled and blackened tree against a northern winter sky. Here, Satanic inversions signify a return to the true Lucifer, the rebellious Angel of Light who refused to submit himself to God's will and to become enslaved by the divine. Cast down from heaven to the world below the moon, Lucifer crashed into the melancholic earth, dwelling within its icy core and wandering through its barren wastes. Free from enslavement, his will bent to no one, Satan was left to contemplate his own existence, to act as his own god. Similarly, the aesthetics of black metal serve as a means of marking the Satanic self as an independent entity, a being separate from divine will and Christian constructs. In this deeper layer of the mirror, the individual is unbound, liberated from the prison-like strictures of good and evil, potentially free to live life according to the dictates of his or her own inner Satan.

Such liberation requires a reordering of morality centered on the self and the concomitant rejection of social codes and values; at an extreme, it demands that the blackened self eschew human society altogether and live in complete solitude like a disdainful Nietzschean hawk awaiting a chance to feed upon tender lambs' flesh.<sup>40</sup> In this we might think once again of Gaahl, purportedly living in his ancient house perched on the deeply-forested slope of a northern fjord.<sup>41</sup> From his melancholic aerie, Gaahl gave an interview to VICE in which he described his soli-



#### Great white shark thwarts marathon swim in San Francisco Bay yahoo.com

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — A great white shark thwarted a Northern California man's quest to become the first person to swim from the Golden Gate Bridge to the Farallon Islands.

The Marin Independent Journal reports (http://bayareane.ws/1I4DnQO) Thursday that Corte Madera marathon swimmer Simon Dominguez was trying to swim about 28 miles Wednesday afternoon when his teen daughter, in a support boat, spotted a great white shark when he was just 3 1/2 miles from his goal.

After 18 hours in the frigid ocean, he reluctantly climbed into his support boat as the 12-to-15-foot great white circled the boat.

Out of the water, the 49-year-old, blood streaming down his chest from chafed skin around his neck, said he was disappointed.

Four swimmers have swum from the Farallon Islands to San Francisco.

He said he's unsure if he'll attempt the swim again.

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## Herleva of Falaise, Mother of William the Conqueror - Medievalists.net

medievalists.net

July 31, 2014 By Medievalists.net

#### By Susan Abernethy



Normandy

Legends states the young Duke Robert I of Normandy was on the walkway of his castle at Falaise looking down at the river and discovered a beautiful young girl washing clothes. He asked to see her and she became his mistress. She would become the mother of William the Conqueror.

Details of the life of Herleva are few and far between. The chroniclers are contradictory and leave out important information. Even her name could be spelled in many different ways. We have Arletta, Arlette, Arlotta, Arlotte, Erleve, Harlena, Harlette, Herlette,

Herleva, Herleve, and Herlotte. To keep it simple she will be called Herleva.

The best guess is Herleva was born c. 1003-1010 in Falaise, Normandy in France. Later chroniclers have her father named as Fulbert and it's been said he was a tanner. Falaise was well known at that time for its industry of tanning or converting animal skin or hide into leather. Recent historians have examined the chronicles and Fulbert is called a "polinctores". This term in classical Latin means a person who prepares bodies for burial. This could further be interpreted as an embalmer or undertaker.

Robert had become Duke of Normandy in 1027 so they must have met during this time and Herleva became his mistress. We don't know the exact date of William's birth but some historians guess from the chronicle evidence that he was born sometime between September of 1028 and September of 1029. William may have spent his early years in the home of his mother. We know William had a sister named Adelaide who married three men. She might have been born by another mistress of Robert's but she most likely is William's full sister. Adelaide was married to Enguerrand, count of Pontieu, Lambert of Lens and Odo, count of Champagne.

Sometime after the birth of William, Herleva's father Fulbert appears to have become a chamberlain to Duke Robert. Herleva had two brothers, Walter and Osbern. Their names appear in charters from this time so they must have benefited from their sister's relationship to Robert. Walter emerges as a guardian to the young Duke William during the perilous years after his father died. Walter is said to have saved William's life at one point by grabbing William from his bed and carrying him to safety in the home of some poor people, avoiding assassination. Walter had at least two daughters named Clara and Matilda. Clara became a

nun at Montivilliers and Matilda married Ralph Tesson. Tesson came from a substantial medieval Norman family.

At one point after the birth of William, Robert married Herleva off to Herluin, Vicomte of Conteville. She was to have three children with Herluin. Odo was probably born c. 1030. He would become Bishop of Bayeux either when he was fourteen or nineteen. He is best known as a warrior and statesman and accompanied William to England. He was at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 either fighting or urging on the troops in his capacity as a churchman. He may have commissioned the Bayeux Tapestry to hang in the Cathedral there.

In 1067, Odo was made Earl of Kent and became the largest landholder in England barring the King himself. Odo was to get into trouble by inspiring rebellion against William and later backed William's wayward son Robert Curthose. At one point Odo was imprisoned. William was persuaded to release Odo on his deathbed. He continued to stir up trouble until he joined the First Crusade and died on the way at Palermo in early 1097.

Herleva's other son by Herluin was Robert, count of Mortain, born c. 1031. Robert was to be one of the Conqueror's biggest supporters, participating in the invasion of England, providing ships and fighting at Hastings. William gave him large landholdings in England. He mostly lived in Normandy until he died in 1090. Herleva also had at least one daughter with Herluin who remains unnamed but the records show she married William, lord of the La Ferté-Macé.

It is known that Herluin married another woman named Fredesendis. Herluin founded a monastery at Grestain c. 1050 and his second wife's name appears in the list of benefactors. We can therefore deduce that Herleva died c. 1050. Her legacy lived on in her sons who helped change the course of English and French history. She was an extraordinary woman.

Sources: William the Conqueror, by David C. Douglas, "The Origins of Herleva, mother of William the Conqueror" by Elizabeth M.C. Van Houts from English Historical Review, Vol. 101 No.399 (1986)

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#### Historic shipwreck identified in Lake Michigan

By Brent Ashcroft, WZZM13.com

freep.com



Members of the Michigan Shipwreck Research Association say the John V. Moran is one of the deepest and most intact wrecks found in Lake Michigan.

The John V. Moran shipwreck was discovered and identified recently in Lake Michigan.

MUSKEGON - The bottom of Lake Michigan is literally a

graveyard of shipwrecks. Local maritime historians say 1,200 of the 2,000 sunken vessels in Lake Michigan no longer exist because they hit shore and broke apart.

Experts add that about 360 wrecks have been found in the lake's deeper water, but there are still many wrecks out there that remain undiscovered.

A group of explorers recently found a historic steamship off the coast of Muskegon more than a century after it sank.



Members of the Michigan Shipwreck Research Association say this is one of the deepest wrecks ever discovered in Lake Michigan.

The story begins around midnight on Feb. 9, 1899. Lake Michigan was ice-caked and the 214-foot John V. Moran bucked the ice floes on its run from Milwaukee to Muskegon to deliver a cargo of barreled flour and package goods. The ship was only 11 years old and had an iron-reinforced hull for winter transit, but the conditions on this particular day were too much for the steamer.

Ice struck a hole in the hull and water began pouring in.

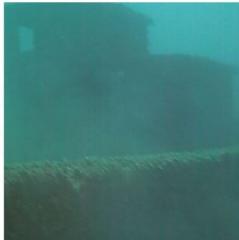
Capt. John McLeod dumped as much of the cargo as he could to lighten the load and try to keep the ship afloat, but it began slipping underneath the ice.

McLeod and his 24-man crew faced a potentially deadly decision: stay on the steamer and await rescue, or take to the ice and try to reach the safety of the steamer Naomi, which was three miles away.



They chose to walk on the ice, in what was reported at the time to be -30 degree temperatures, to the Naomi.

They blew their distress whistle to alert the other ship.



Dragging a lifeboat across the ice, three crewmen started walking toward the Naomi with only beams from their lanterns to light their path. They managed to get the attention of the Naomi, which then began plowing through the frozen lake to reach the

crew. As the Naomi drew near the Moran, the remaining 22 men carefully crossed the ice and climbed aboard.

Fortunately, everyone survived.

According to newspaper accounts, early the next morning, the Moran was still afloat. The Naomi then tried to tow the stricken vessel toward Muskegon, but it quickly became clear that it would not make it the 15 miles to shore.

The Moran was left to its fate.

Newspaper accounts say Captain Thompson of the car ferry Muskegon, which ran the same route the Lake Express does today, was the last to see the Moran.

After the Naomi and Muskegon abandoned the Moran, it was never seen again. Searchers were unable to locate the steamer. It was determined that the Moran foundered, but where and when nobody knew.

The ship was not seen again for 116 years.

"The John V. Moran has been on our hit list for quite a while," said Craig Rich, codirector of the Michigan Shipwreck Research Association. "We've quietly been researching it, and decided this year we'd go out after it."

"We've covered a lot of territory in the shallower water, which is why we're out searching so deep these days," added Valerie van Heest, author, maritime historian and codirector of the MSRA. "Each year we define a goal and a ship we'd like to find."

The group of explorers set out on their expedition to find the Moran in early June 2015.



"Even though the newspaper accounts from 1899 were sketchy, we were able to narrow down the search area to about 10 square miles," said van Heest.

"We intended to spend a full week on the lake," said van Heest.

A few days into the search, van Heest said, rough waters became an issue, so they decided on their last day of good weather, they'd run side-scan sonar all night.

"It was 3:30 in the morning on June 5 when several of our crew members were asleep," said van Heest. "All of the sudden, the boat operator saw something on side-scan,

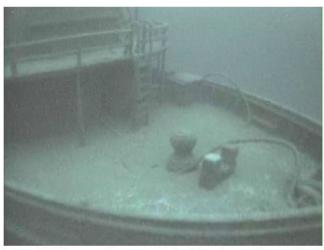
and woke everybody up in the dark of night."

The image on sonar was an unmistakable target of a shipwreck, van Heest said.

"We weren't sure if it was the Moran, but we knew it was a shipwreck, and a big one," added van Heest.

Because the wreck was in 365 feet of deep water, van Heest contacted the Michigan State Police Underwater Recovery Team, which uses a high-tech remote-operated vehicle (ROV) with a camera attached to it.

"An ROV can acquire hours of video in one dive, whereas divers can only stay down about 15 minutes, and we needed to find evidence to confirm the identity," said van Heest.



The MSRA explorers, along with three members of the Michigan State Police, and two members from WZZM 13 News, ventured out to the wreck site in mid-July. Once they reached the location, they dropped anchor and then tied their boats together.

"We will deploy the ROV in over 300 feet of water," said MSP Sgt. Dale Lynema. "Hopefully we'll have some clarity in the water and we'll be able to get some video image of it."

The ROV was dropped into the lake. Once it started to descend, it took less than 10 minutes for it to reach the lake bottom.

As the ROV moved along, all of the sudden a very large shadow started to materialize on the computer screen, which had a large group gathered around it, waiting in suspense.

"You're approaching it," van Heest said to Lynema. "Yes, that's it!"

Thanks to ambient light at 365 feet, the image of the bow of a shipwreck came into clear view.

"Oh, look at that," exclaimed van Heest. "A standing mast. There's the front of it. There's the pilothouse!"

"I hurriedly jumped over to the police boat and took a look at the screen," Rich said. "There was this absolutely pristine, beautiful shipwreck sitting on the bottom."

After the initial awe of seeing this massive shipwreck, van Heest and Lynema began their mission of gathering enough visual evidence of this sunken vessel to hopefully determine its identity.

After watching the first images the ROV was capturing of the ship, it didn't take long for van Heest to exclaim, "This may be the most intact shipwreck in the Great Lakes, certainly in Lake Michigan."

"The rigging that holds the mast up is still in place, and all the railings are intact," said van Heest, while she remained fixed on the computer screen. "It looks like it's sitting at the dock on a dark evening."

"I sat next to Sergeant Lynema, the ROV operator, watching the monitor with a historic photo of the Moran in my hand," said van Heest.

As the ROV began examining the bow of the ship, the live images on the monitor looked exactly like the historic photo of the Moran that van Heest was holding.

"We're looking at the same view," said van Heest. "It's from the same perspective as the photograph!"

Enough evidence and imagery had been captured by the ROV, after about 30 minutes, for van Heest to identify the wreck.

"Well, I think based on just this (comparing the image of the Moran on the historic photo to the image of the shipwreck on the computer screen), there is no doubt this is the Moran," van Heest said, confirming the ship's identity.

The mystery was a mystery no longer. The John V. Moran had been found after 116 years.

"What's so amazing is when you spend years studying something, and looking at historic photos, then to see it in the flesh, so to speak, is a moment of revelation," said van Heest, still glued to the monitor.

Once the identity was confirmed, the ROV began taking a tour of the vessel.

"We now had the opportunity to look at things that the historic photographs had never captured," added van Heest. "We could literally go up to the pilothouse windows and peek in."

And that's exactly what the ROV did. While steering the tethered robot with a joystick, Lynema brought it up to the pilothouse, turned the light on the camera and the Moran's double-wheel steering column appeared on the screen. It was lightly covered in zebra mussels but completely intact.

"It was phenomenal to look at equipment on the Moran that we never knew existed," said van Heest.



The ROV then pulled back and began closely examining the Moran's bow.

"The ladder," van Heest said loudly. "It's like you can just walk up all these ladders!"

The ROV then began travelling aft from the pilothouse. Immediately coming into view were all the passenger cabins along the

Moran's starboard side. All the railings remained intact, and some of the passenger cabin windows didn't shatter during the sinking.

"We also saw the ventilators that let the air out of the engine room," said van Heest. "There's virtually no damage on this shipwreck."

As the ROV drifted along the Moran's starboard side, on its way to the stern, van Heest, Rich and the rest of the MSRA crew were hoping to make two more discoveries – to see if the smokestack survived the sinking, and if any damage could be found, which could determine the exact cause of the Moran's demise.

"The smokestack is down," said van Heest, as the ROV captured an image of where it once stood. "We've never seen a shipwreck with a standing smokestack, so that was to be expected."

Then, as the ROV made it to the Moran's stern, the image of a hole appeared in the ship's hull. The ROV footage showed that several pieces of planking had torn away from the starboard-side stern.

"You have to believe water was gushing in there," said van Heest, as she closely looked at the ROV images of the damage."

According to van Heest, MSRA technical divers plan to visit the wreck soon to document the ship in more detail. The divers will closely examine the hull damage near the stern, and some bow damage that van Heest and her crew discovered while scouring through the raw ROV footage a week after the dive.

"For the shipwreck to be in such intact condition suggests a very slow, gentle sinking caused by a trickle-like inflow of water, not a tremendous inrush," said van Heest. "We believe that a small gash that we observed near the bow, caused by ice, was the source of that slow leak, not the larger hole at the stern where wooden planks have popped their fasteners. We are convinced that the stern damage, and mounds of clay on the stern deck, were caused when the ship hit bottom, going 'down by the tail' as reported by witnesses."

Van Heest also said the skilled divers will be able to explore the ship's interior.

Due to the tether, it would have been risky for the Michigan State Police ROV to do that, for fear it might get stuck.

"Only six historic photos of the John V. Moran exist," said van Heest. "We know where it is now, and with this time capsule in hand, there is so much more that we can learn from its exploration."



There's an interesting side-note to the discovery of the John V. Moran. It was one of many steamers owned by Capt. Edward Gifford Crosby (E.G. Crosby), who founded the Crosby Transportation Company, which operated out of ports in Muskegon, Grand Haven and Milwaukee.

Crosby was born in New York, and came to Michigan in 1856. He lived in Muskegon in 1871, before moving to Milwaukee in 1897.

The Moran sank two years after Crosby's departure to Milwaukee.

Thirteen years later (March 1912), Crosby and his family happened to be vacationing in Europe.

The family had booked return passage to New York on another ship, before Crosby ran into one of his business associates, Charles M. Hays, who was the president of the Grand Trunk Railway, which served Grand Haven.

Hays had been invited aboard a steamship, making its maiden voyage, named the Titanic. A gentleman named Joseph Bruce Ismay, who was the chairman and manager of the White Star Line steamships, invited Hays.

It was reported that Crosby had intended to come back on a ship leaving Europe on March 28, 1912, but changed his mind in order to travel back on the ill-fated Titanic with Hays.

Crosby died April 15, 1912, when the RMS Titanic vanished beneath the black surface of the Atlantic Ocean, some 400 miles east of the Grand Banks of Newfoundland.

Crosby, ironically, suffered the same fate as his million-dollar steamship, the John V. Moran, did.

The MSRA conducts its expeditions with funding from its members and private donations and utilizes the services of side-scan sonar operator David Trotter from Canton. Trotter is an explorer who has found more than 90 shipwrecks in his 40-year career.

The MSRA has previously discovered 15 historic shipwrecks prior to this new discovery.

If you'd like to learn more about the John V. Moran, an exhibit is on display at the Michigan Maritime Museum in South Haven.



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### Hmm, wonder why chiropractor would have to "sneak into" a hospital

doubtfulnews.com

# Hmm, wonder why chiropractor would have to "sneak into" a hospital by idoubtit • July 25, 2015 • 2 Comments

The board director and president-elect of the Chiropractors Association of Australia resigns over an unauthorised hospital visit to treat a baby.

Source: Chiropractors Association of Australia president-elect resigns over unauthorised treatment of baby in hospital

Dr Helen Alevaki reportedly used a closed Facebook group to reveal she had made "sneaky" visits to a Melbourne maternity hospital — the name of which has not been disclosed — to perform treatment on a baby.

"to perform treatment on a baby"

Folks, that's all you need to know. There is ABSOLUTELY NO SOUND REASON to use chiropractic on a baby. In fact, it's unethical. There is no basis for doing it and it can be dangerous. This is why chiropractors are not allowed in nurseries.

Because of the damage that manipulation might do to cartilaginous growth centers, there is no known justification for using spinal manipulation on an infant or a pre-adolescent child. Yet, some chiropractors recommend that the spine of a newborn baby be adjusted at birth to correct "subluxations." According to the ICA (International Chiropractic Association) Council on Chiropractic Pediatrics, "Chiropractic care can never start too early."

Source: Pediatric Chiropractic Care: Scientifically Indefensible? « Science-Based Medicine

Take it from an expert: Chiropractic on infants is dangerous and wrong-headed. They lack the knowledge and appropriate training to be even remotely qualified to prevent or treat real medical problems.

Healthcare professionals who care for newborns are trained to deal with most of the complications that can arise in the immediate period after a baby is born. We are qualified in neonatal resuscitation and regularly maintain our skills by attending classes and taking part in simulated

cases. And again, we see actual sick babies. Some of us, particularly neonatologists, see a lot of them.

I tell you all this to provide some insight into my utter revulsion at the concept of chiropractors taking part in the care of any newborn infant, let alone one that might require medical intervention to save their life or prevent long-term complications. I realize that readers of Science-Based Medicine are almost certainly aware of the push by many practitioners of so-called alternative medicine to be accepted as a primary care provider or PCP.

Source: A Touch to Fear: Chiropractic and the Newborn Baby « Science-Based Medicine

There is a damn good reason why chiropractors are not and SHOULD NOT be allowed in nurseries or anywhere near children for treatment. They are not qualified as medical doctors, let alone pediatricians.

Dr Alevaki had been the subject of a complaint from a health regulator whereby she allegedly entered the hospital without permission at the parent's request to provide undisclosed treatment to a child. There is no justification for that.

Unfortunately, she is still allowed to practice. This is the quality of care from chiropractors? Sneaking into hospitals? More should have been done.

## 2 comments for "Hmm, wonder why chiropractor would have to "sneak into" a hospital"

1. eleggua July 25, 2015 at 8:01 PM

How about animal chiropractory? http://www.animalchiropractic.com/Home\_Page.php

Also pushing cold laser/Vetrolaser treatment and equipment.

"I have one barely used cold laser (Vetrolaser) set for sale...
Used just two weeks, exactly like new. It comes with the 808nm/300mW (infrared) laser for deep tissues, a single diode red laser for skin and acupuncture points, professional carrying case, charger, extra battery, user manual, treatment formulas and charts(dog, cat, horse), plus acupuncture points and charts. "

2. Emil Karlsson July 25, 2015 at 9:24 PM

Chiropractors that work on children makes me very sad and frightened. I decided to check how common it was, so I went to Youtube and searched for chiropractors manipulation of children's spines.

Many of the videos I watched (in horror) included manipulation of backs and even the vertebrates in the neck of children. Children that were mere weeks, days or even hours (!) old. Some chiropractors held newborns upside-down in their legs or twisted their neck until it "pops". Horrible. I hate the fact that many children are victims of quacks.

I wrote up some of the problems with treating newborns with chiropractic manipulation and detailed some of their pseudoscientific nonsense in the post "Exposing Chiropractors Who Use Spinal Manipulation on Newborns" (http://debunkingdenialism.com/2015/07/04/exposing-chiropractors-who-use-spinal-manipulation-on-newborns/) on Debunking Denialism.

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## This homeowner found some British history when she had some trees removed

13:05, 16 July 2015 By Liam Corcoran

mirror.co.uk



Surprise structure: Mary Hudd found a 13th century chapel in her front garden

It's not every day you find a site of immense historical importance in your garden - but one retired schoolteacher has uncovered just that.

Mary Hudd was having some leylandii trees excavated in the garden of her country cottage when contractors uncovered some unusual footings.

She invited a local archaeological

group to investigate, and they have since spent a year uncovering a 19ft x 52ft chalk block walled structure.

The historic detectives also found remnants of a stone tiled roof, plastered inner walls and evidence of a painted interior.

The building in Bincknoll, Wiltshire, is now known to be a medieval chapel which was last documented in 1609 and was believed to have been lost forever.



medieval chapel in the 13th Century, was lost over time

Underground: The site, expanded into a

Despite losing her entire front garden to the Time Team-style dig, Mary is delighted by the discovery.

The 68-year-old, who has lived in the cottage with her husband, Mike, 70, since 1968, said: "It's been brilliant - just fantastic.

SWNS SWNS SWNS SWNS SWNS "I'm interested in history and

archaeology anyway so to have a bunch of people here has been fantastic.

"I've certainly been helping out. I have been in the trenches on my knees. I have never spent so much time on my knees in a chapel before.

"You just can't believe it. I'm going to wake up one day and it will just be a dream."



Part of the past: It was last referenced in 1609, when it was described as decaying

It is believed the site has always been used for religious purposes and was first mentioned in the Domesday book as far back as 1210.

The remains of Bincknoll Chapel were finally rediscovered in June last year when Mary had 14 trees removed from her front garden.

She said: "How we have managed to miss it in our garden I don't know.

"We had a drive put in the 1970s and it missed the south west corner by inches. The east corner just misses the road.

"It's the talk of the village. We have two families opposite us and they have been very supportive."



Religious experience: The chapel is a Saxon holy site lost since the early 17th Century

The building consists of two structures, including an original small inner Saxon wall, believed to be from a religious site as far back as 1086.

The later chapel was then built around the Saxon structure, incorporating it into the building.

Three walls from the Saxon period

have been discovered, while the fourth remains undiscovered due to one of the later chalk block walls.

The stone has slowly deteriorated or been stolen over the years, leaving just the foundations and it was last documented in the 17th century and described as 'decaying'.

Constructor's work: The building consists of two structures, including a small inner Saxon wall

Descending 4ft into the ground, all the walls remain in excellent condition despite their age but will have to covered over again or risk further decay.

"We will have to cover it up again," said Mary. "We will have to bury it.



SWNS



SWNS

"I will be disappointed to cover it up. We are hoping we might be able to leave the Saxon stones exposed.

"Sadly, the other wall will have to be covered up or it will just deteriorate."

A dedicated team of six core volunteers from Broad Town Archaeology have been working on the site in their spare time.

Well preserved: But the walls will have to be covered up again to prevent their decay

In the last few weeks they have uncovered the last piece of the outer wall, the south east corner.

Emma Elton, co-director of the site with Bob Clarke, said they were extremely lucky with the find.

The 26-year-old IT worker and archaeologist from Melksham, said: "It started quite small to explore the potential of the site and expanded into

what it is today, where we're just completing our second season.

"We have found the entire outer wall now - we discovered the eastern corner a few weeks ago, and have also unearthed an earlier structure too.



Kerb appeal: Mary says that she's delighted with the find, even though her garden has been ruined

"This is the first time I have ever found anything like this and I know Mary was very shocked.

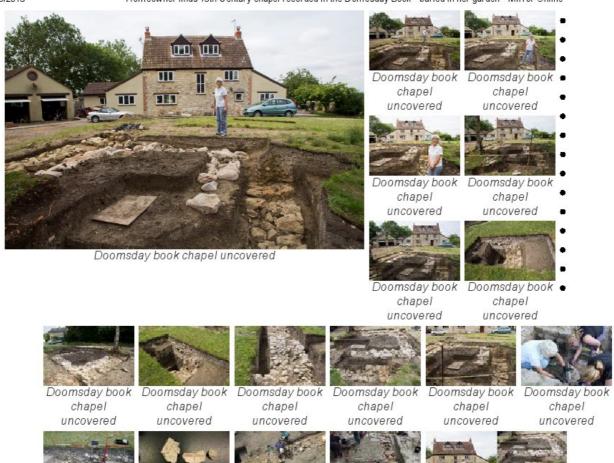
"It was amazing to find what everyone thought was lost. Mary has been wonderful and definitely caught the archaeology bug.

"It's not what you expect to find in someone's front garden.

"As luck would have it, they only just missed the walls when they built the driveway and the road also just misses the building remains."

SWNS

http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/homeowner-finds-13th-century-chapel-6078363



Homeowner finds 13th Century chapel recorded in the Domesday Book - buried in her garden 12 days ago

Doomsday book

chapel

uncovered

Main-Chapel.jpg

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Doomsday book

chapel

uncovered

Doomsday book Doomsday book

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uncovered

#### How realistic is TNT's 'Proof'? Ask a real-life near-death researcher.

By Kristal Brent Zook July 28

washingtonpost.com



Jennifer Beals plays a surgeon looking for evidence of life after death in "Proof." (James Dittiger/TNT)

How realistic is your favorite paranormal TV drama? Fans didn't seem to waste much time wondering how realistic the smoke monster of "Lost" was — or quibbling that parallel universes never really collide quite the way they did on "Fringe."

But "Proof," a new summer series on TNT, practically invites that kind of analysis. The drama, which debuted last month to decent ratings, stars Jennifer Beals as a brilliant cardiothoracic surgeon recruited by a billionaire to investigate near-death

experiences, while still reeling from a personal brush with mortality that brought eerie visions of her late son.

You may or may not believe in such phenomena, but there are serious researchers exploring this realm. The show's executive producers say they looked for inspiration from the academic work of the University of Virginia's Division of Perceptual Studies - one of only two university-affiliated labs in the country still doing parapsychology research.

"Can consciousness exist outside the body?" asks creator Rob Bragin, who executiveproduced the series with Tom Jacobson. "Just being able to ask the question is a good thing."

So how realistic does "Proof" seem to real-life near-death researchers?



Beals debriefs a patient in "Proof." Most supernatural TV shows are

Take the scenario presented in the season premiere: A child dies and has an out-of-body experience while clinically dead. Somehow, after being resuscitated, she's able to describe the exact running shoes Beals's character wore in the operating room and draw a picture of her father punching a vending machine in the next room — events that she should have no knowledge of.

It sounded familiar to Jim Tucker. director of U.Va.'s perceptual studies too far out to quibble with — but real-life near-death researchers have lab and an associate professor of some thoughts about the TNT drama's presentation of their work. (Ed Araquel/TNT)

psychiatry and neurobehavioral sciences

"Patients who've died for a time have accurately reported conversations that took place outside of their hospital rooms, or even down the hall," he said. "Some have reported seeing deceased relatives that at the time they didn't know were deceased."

[Surge of brain activity may explain near-death experience, study says]

Sam Parnia, who has done similar work at Stony Brook University School of Medicine, tried to test the phenomenon by placing specific images on the ceilings of operating rooms to see if patients resuscitated after full cardiac arrest could recall them — part of a long-term study at 15 hospitals in the United States, United Kingdom and Austria. Getting sufficient data was challenging, he acknowledged. "Most people who die don't come back, only about 10 percent," he said, and those that do generally suffer memory loss. Still, about 1.5 percent of surviving patients in the study, he said, had "explicit recall" of events going on in the room that they shouldn't have been aware of. One was a patient who was fully gone — but could remember the exact phrase his defibrillator machine uttered ("shock advised") and the number of times he was shocked (twice).

[Near-death experiences are a kind of high, even if you're not really near death]

Another episode of "Proof" showed a more distressing side of a near-death experience: A hardened criminal flat-lines and is tormented by visions of the victims he has killed. Melodramatic? Sure, but it also rang true to Tucker. As many as 20 percent of people reporting near-death experiences describe it as a distressing occurrence, he said. They talk of "hellish landscapes," feelings of an "eternal void" and a sense of "nonexistence," rather than the stereotypical white light and visions of loved ones.

But it's also true that some — like the woman with the green scarf, a recurring character on "Proof" — are so profoundly changed by their brush with death that they ne∨er fully return to their worldly reality. "Having a near-death experience opens many people to having repeated exceptional experiences, such as subsequent out-of-body and visionary experiences," said Bruce Greyson, a professor emeritus and former director of U.Va.'s perceptual studies lab. "Many report continuing to hear helpful, guiding voices in times of crisis."

[After a near-death moment, her life took a spiritual turn]

But the researchers give a thumbs-down to the show's treatment of reincarnation studies.

"Seems a little unrealistic," said Tucker, after watching an episode where a patient undergoes hypnosis and suddenly remembers a past life. Tucker and his colleagues "don't place much stock in the idea of hypnotic regression of adults in order to remember past lives."

The Virginia lab has extensively explored the potential of past-life memories, he said — but with an exclusive focus on very young children who, in their early years of talking, have

spontaneously reported what seem to be accounts of previous lives, no hypnosis involved. (By age 7 or 8, he said, the children stop sharing such stories.)

Another reincarnation-themed episode gave more cause for quibble. In it, an 8-year-old boy sees a piano for the first time and instantly starts playing Mozart. As the plot unfolds, it turns out he shares striking similarities with a child prodigy who died of a rare heart defect 10 months before the 8-year-old was born, and the coincidences pile up — same blood types, phobias, physical traits.

[The U-Va. professor who tried to document memories of children's past lives]

Said Tucker: "I like that they mentioned that there are cases involving similar phobias and birthmarks, which is often true. The problem is that they left out the most important part, which is that the children we work with report actual memories of past lives. . . . I understand dramatic license. But I'd hope that people wouldn't think that's all there is to it with children and past-life memories."

Overall, the researchers harbor some fondness for their TV counterparts.

"It shows that there's a range of phenomena that we can't currently explain," Greyson said, approvingly.

He also appreciated how the show portrayed the protagonist's ambivalence about getting involved in the research. Parapsychology remains a lonely field, shunned by most of mainstream science. U-Va.'s center, founded in 1967 with a \$1 million grant from a wealthy donor, is reliant on private funding for its operations.

Their only other complaint about "Proof," then, is its name and driving concept. Neither Tucker nor Greyson are convinced that definitive proof of an afterlife is possible, or even desirable.

"We do have evidence," Tucker said, "but it's for people to decide how compelling that evidence is."

- washingtonpost.com
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## Exclusive: Huge Python Captured At Shark Valley In Everglades National Park cbslocal.com

July 28, 2015 11:40 AM



Python captured in Shark Valley on July 9th. (Courtesy: USGS)

MIAMI (CBSMiami) – A giant python captured at Shark Valley in Everglades National Park may be the second largest python ever caught in the State of Florida.

The snake, which measured 18 feet, 3 inches, was captured along the Shark Valley tram road on July 9th.

The largest snakes removed

from the Everglades have exceeded 18 feet and 150 pounds. Snakes of this size are capable of ingesting large prey like deer and alligators according to US Geological Survey officials.

The largest snake ever caught in Florida was 18-feet, 7 inches and was caught in 2013 in Miami-Dade.

The Shark Valley snake was only 4 inches smaller and may be the second largest python captured in the state of Florida. However, Everglades National Park officials don't officially track the size of the snakes that are captured outside of the park.

This snake was captured by a permitted python researcher who regularly works in Everglades National Park.

Burmese pythons are an invasive reptile with no natural predators, which appear to be wiping out most of the small mammals that once thrived in Everglades National Park.

The best news about this snake, according to park officials, is that it was removed from the wild which helps protect the diverse wildlife in Everglades National Park.

After the snake was captured, National Park Service and US Geological Survey interns who work on invasive species control projects, including python removal, were allowed to handle the snake to help them gain confidence and experience.

According to Everglades National Park spokeswoman Linda Friar, the snake was humanely euthanized.

A necropsy was conducted which found the snake was a female but had not reproduced this season and the stomach was empty.

Estimates for how many pythons now call South Florida home vary wildly, ranging from several thousands to 100,000 or more.

Burmese pythons became established in Florida several decades ago as a result of the international pet trade.

State and federal officials have evaluated specially designed traps, dogs trained to sniff out pythons and a massive amateur hunt to try and get a handle on the invasive python population. So far, only cold weather and "exotic pet amnesty days," where people can relinquish non-native species with no questions asked, have reliably delivered pythons to officials.

Florida prohibits possession or sale of the pythons for use as pets, and federal law bans the importation and interstate sale of the species.

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## Human Torso Found in Building Amid Severed Limb Probe

Updated at 1:46 PM EDT on Thursday, Jul 30, 2015

nbcnewyork.com



Police in Connecticut say they have found a human torso in an abandoned building, two weeks after discovering severed arms and legs at two other spots in the city.

State and local police in New Haven, using cadaver dogs, began searching two buildings that share a parking lot after receiving a tip Wednesday.

Officer David Hartman says the torso was found at about noon Thursday hidden inside one of the buildings, known as a place used by the homeless for shelter. The remains have not been identified.

Police discovered legs and arms at separate locations on July 15.



The legs were matched by DNA testing to a 54-year-old homeless man, Ray Roberson, who had last been seen in May.

Hartman says police have been told the two arms also likely were Roberson's.

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### I keep my coffin in the front garden

20:00, 28 July 2015 By Janet Tansley

liverpoolecho.co.uk



"It is a work of art. It's beautiful."

Mandy Maguire and her Sphinx-style coffin

Most people who fancy a little furniture for the front garden choose gnomes or a water feature.

Mandy Maguire opted for a coffin.

The Wavertree teacher helped an artist friend design her Sphinx-shaped end-of-life pod and was so pleased with it, she decided to put it on display.

"It's enormous," she says. "It's 6ft long and it's a joy to behold.

### I've planned my own funeral

Mandy, 62, has always been a pragmatic person.

But she took her practicality to a whole new level when she revealed to artist pal, Gina Czarnecki, that she had planned her own funeral.

Says Mandy: "We were chatting one evening and when I said I'd planned my own funeral Gina thought it was a bit macabre and miserable.

"But it isn't really. I have no children, my parents are dead, and my closest relative is my niece.

"Funerals are stressful at the best of times and I didn't want anyone else to have to sort out mine."



Mandy Maguire and her end-of-life-pod, with its creator, artist Gina Czarnecki

Mandy Maguire and her end-of-life-pod, with its creator, artist Gina Czarnecki

Mandy showed Gina her plan which included the music she wants playing - One Fine day from Madame Butterfly for the Cremation and John Lennon's Imagine at the wake - and instructions for a cardboard coffin for environmental reasons as well as matters of cost.

"If I'm going to spend £5-6,000 on something it's not going to be a coffin," says Mandy. "Apart from anything else it's a waste of wood and it just gets burned.

"So I have set aside £5,000 to go to 60

Hope Street so my friends and family can have a few drinks to celebrate my life in style. The Irish do wakes properly...

"I didn't want to waste it on a coffin."

Realising that it wasn't miserable Gina ran with the idea of planning ahead, but felt her friend deserved something a little more ornate and personal than a plain cardboard box (an idea which has also sparked a business project for Gina... see below).

#### It's mad...but brilliant

"So she said she would design something to go on top," continues Mandy.

"I like cats, I'm interested in archaeology and Egyptology, and so we came up with this Sphinx like figure after which Gina went away and made it in papier mache.

"It's utterly mad - but brilliant.

"And it's quite touching. It's a real reflection of me and my personality and so when people see it when I'm gone, they will smile and say 'mad old bat'."

Mandy has had to take the coffin out of the garden temporarily while it undergoes a little repair work.

"It was sitting directly on grass and so, because you can't guarantee the weather in this country, it was exposed to the elements and has degenerated around the bottom."



Mandy Maguire's Sphinx-style end-of-life-pod

Mandy doesn't plan on going any time soon: "But I'm not religious and I see death and our mortality as part of the life process. If there is one thing guaranteed it's that it will happen to all of us at some point, and thinking about it isn't morbid, it's just realistic."

So having made her wishes known and, thanks to Gina, Mandy's end-of-life pod will be ready and waiting for her to use, in a fine and fitting farewell designed by the woman herself.

"I'm just sorry I won't be there," she smiles. "It sounds like fun."

### Mandy's 'madness' sparked business idea for Gina

Personalised pods are now within everybody's reach after

Mandy's 'madness' sparked a business idea for Gina.

Having founded The Last Wish Company Gina, 50, from Sefton Park is close to marketing her first-of-a-kind MyPod coffins which she showcased at the Being Human concept exhibition in London earlier this year.

The pods are made from 'liquid wood', a purpose-designed natural and environmentally friendly alternative to traditional and MDF timber coffins. Unlike other coffins which are made from wicker or cardboard, they can be formed to create a strong, practical and unique shape and each can be fully customised.

Says Gina: "You can have them painted, written on or you can add sculptural elements too; they can be customised to suit the style and taste of the individual, with the aim of expressing what people believe in and what they have loved."

Artist Gina Czarnecki

The MyPods were sparked by Mandy's creative casket.



Artist Gina Czarnecki

But Gina adds: "Twenty years ago when my dad died there was little choice and they cost so much. My mum, in her grief, paid £1,250 for one of the cheapest from a funeral director who had a 'more you spend the more you love' attitude.

"No-one likes to be reminded about death but considering how you want to be remembered when you die can help the grieving process for you and your loved ones. We customised our phones, even our cars, so why not our coffins?

"Customisable coffins are not new but most cost between £3,000 to £8,000. I believe a meaningful coffin that is sustainable, environmentally friendly and personable should be available to everyone. After making Mandy's more people were telling me it was a great idea and they wanted one too."

 $\label{thm:pods} The \ MyPods \ will \ cost \ below \ \pounds 600, \ and \ Gina \ has \ help \ from \ Liverpool \ artists \ like \ Davy \ Jones \ SFX \ in \ the \ creative \ process.$ 

"I have made 1/4 size prototypes and I am now seeking funding to be able to take it to the mass market."

\* For more information email Gina at ginaczarnecki@gmail.com or call Gina on 07894532596.

#### © Trinity Mirror Merseyside

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### By Carl Campanile

July 27, 2015 | 1:51am



Stevenson Petit Photo: Victor Alcorn Photo: Victor Alcorn

She put a hex on his career.

A voodoo-practicing guidance counselor was given the boot from a Brooklyn high school because his principal was spooked by his religious practices, he told The Post.

Haitian-born Stevenson Petit was axed this month from the public It Takes a Village Academy in Brooklyn.

A July 8 letter from ITAVA Principal Marina Vinitskaya said Petit was being

"excessed" because his position was no longer necessary.

But Petit, 55, alleges the real reason is Vinitskaya objects to his religion and its association with magical voodoo dolls and mindless zombie slaves.

"I'm a voodoo ambassador. There's nothing wrong with being a Christian and a voodoo minister," Petit said. "She's trying to get rid of me because I have a Haitian background with a voodoo culture. It's discrimination."

Petit, who was assigned to ITAVA in 2010, said the bad juju dates to 2012, when he refused to accept a book that Vinitskaya offered him as a gift.

Shortly afterward, Petit said, he became the subject of a misconduct probe by the Office of Special Investigation.

The allegations against him were eventually ruled unfounded, but not before an investigator revealed why he had been subjected to scrutiny, Petit said.

"She filed a complaint that said I was a voodoo priest," he said of Vinitskaya, even though he is not a priest in the religion. "She called the Board of Education and they investigated me because [she said] I was a voodoo priest."

The situation heated up this past spring, when Vinitskaya moved Petit's office to a windowless, basement room at the Samuel J. Tilden Educational Campus in East Flatbush.

"The room has no windows, and, as a result, there is no air circulation, and this is a health hazard to me and the students that are mandated to receive counseling," Petit wrote in a

March 30 letter to Vinitskaya.

Petit took his complaints to school authorities, who sent him a letter acknowledging them on May 1.

Petit responded that he didn't want to file a formal complaint "at this present time."

He did, however, file a grievance with his union on July 13 to get his job back.

"I reserve the right to file a discrimination complaint," he told The Post.

Vinitskaya denied Petit's voodoo-related discrimination claims and defended dismissing him, saying, "It is a legal procedure. It's his right to grieve. I have the right to run the school.

"Don't you think it's strange what he said?" she added.

In a statement, the city Department of Education said, "We take this allegation very seriously and are looking into the matter."

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## I-5 'haynado' was 'spectacular; it was amazing'

Jul 23, 2015 katu.com



NEAR SALEM, Ore. – Look, up in the sky. Is it a tornado? A sharknado? No, it's a haynado!

Bruce Rutter of Medford was driving on Interstate 5 just south of Salem and captured video of a high-energy dust devil Thursday around 1 p.m. – but it was a swirling mass of hay.

Rapidly rising warm air whipped up the freshly cut hay in a field along

the freeway and spun it into a circular motion - creating, well, a haynado.

"I've seen those little whirlwinds before, but I've never seen one that big," Rutter told KATU by phone. "It was spectacular; it was amazing!"

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## BBC - Shropshire - Weird Shropshire - Ironbridge ghosts bbc.co.uk

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### 24 September 2014



View of Ironbridge Powerstation

Ironbridge has many ghostly goings on... from the monk that wanders into the coal bay at the power station, to the pub where they say the devil once played cards with the locals.

### The ghostly monk at the power station

Buildwas Power Station looks at odds with the surrounding countryside - even more so when you see the ruined abbey next door.

It would seem that the power station cuts into the old boundaries of Buildwas Abbey - especially the station's coal bay, where a ghostly monk has been seen.

The Black Monk is said to haunt the abbey ruins, but has more recently scared the pants off people in the power station itself.



Monks

Buildwas Power Station is haunted by the ghost of a monk from the monastery that used to occupy part of the site

One worker was loading the great bucket upon his digger with coal when, in the space left by the bucket, he noticed a shape of what he thought was a woman.

Thinking he'd stumbled across a murder victim, the worker got down from his cab.

But before he even reached the ground, the figure floated toward him before it vanishing, just a few feet in front of him.

He broke all world records getting out of the building!



Panoramic image of Wenlock Priory

Find out more about the medieval monks who ran Shropshire with our **feature**, **photo gallery** and **panoramic images** 

### A Victorian ghost at Benthall Edge

During the late Victorian period a gentleman was carrying the wages of his workers at the limestone works along Benthall Edge, when he was set upon by robbers.

Once relived of his money he was tied and gagged before being thrown into a pit. Over this was put a heavy stone.

The man's shouts went unheard due to the noise from his nearby workings.

When he was eventually missed a search was organised, only to find that the man's efforts to get out from under his tomb had led to his being crushed to death when the stone slipped.

Walkers still hear his calls for help echo along the edge and from below the stone.

## Monks at Madeley Court House

This fine Elizabethan manor house has many strange goings on, both inside and out.

At one time there was a small terrace of coalminers' cottages in the hollow.

Since their destruction the cottages and occupants sometimes make a ghostly return.

An old lady is also sometimes seen before the entrance of the house, smiling before disappearing.

Monks were said to walk the grounds, one family suffered an influx of monastic figures sitting upon the cross beams in the great hall - very off putting during lunch!

## The drowned children of Ferry Road, Jackfield

During the winter months the River Severn rises and becomes very treacherous.

It was at such a time that two young twins were playing on the spoil heaps from the Craven-Dunnhill Tile Works when the bank collapsed into the river taking the two boys with it.

They were swept to a point below the footbridge at Jackfield where they were caught in branches from an overhanging tree.

Their bodies were spotted some time later and recovered, still holding hands, from the water.

To this day young children can be heard crying in the house where they were first taken.

## Pub where the Devil plays cards

Many years ago the Devil is said to have visited the Boat Inn, Jackfield, just before Christmas to play cards with locals.

It was only when a card dropped to the floor that other players noticed his club foot.

No sooner was this discovered than a great gust of wind blew through the door to sweep the devil out.

More recently the landlady awoke to find a young lady standing beside her bed, beckoning her downstairs.

When she plucked up courage to descend she found a ground floor window forced open although nobody had got in.

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### Justice Story: Vampire king

MARA BOVSUN nydailynews.com

### Justice Story: The 'Vampire king' of Fresno kills 9 children

### Victims were his kids or grandkids he had fathered in incest with his daughters and nieces

BY Mara Bovsun **NEW YORK DAILY NEWS** Sunday, February 23, 2014, 12:01 AM



JEFF CHIU/AF

Marcus Wesson says "I love you" as he is led into a police truck by Fresno police on Saturday, March 13, 2004. He was found guilty of nine counts of murder and 14 counts of rape and molestation. He is still alive, on California's Death Row.

At more than 300 pounds and with dreadlocks cascading past his waist, Marcus Wesson, 57, was not what people generally think of when they hear the word "vampire."

But, when he stepped out of his home on the afternoon of March 12, 2004, one detail perfectly fit the image of the undead — he was covered in blood.

Police had been called to the house off the Golden State Freeway in Fresno to break up a domestic disturbance, a panicked call from a woman who said her child was being held captive.

It quickly became the scene of mass murder.

The corpses were piled in a bedroom. It took hours to figure out exactly how many there were, since the bodies were tangled up in bloody clothes. The final count was nine, all under the age of 25, the three youngest under two. All had been shot in the eye with a .22 pistol, which was found in the pile near the hand of the oldest victim. They were all still warm when police entered the room.

Wesson was docile as he was walked away in handcuffs to be charged with nine counts of murder. But, while the slaughter of innocents was the worst of his crimes, it was just the final act in the horror story that was life with this father.



From left, Jeva St. Vladensvspry Wesson, Aviv Dominique Wesson, Sedonia Vadra Wesson (bottom), Illabella Carrie Wesson (top), Marshey St. Christopher Wesson, Ethan St. Laurent Wesson (top), and Jonathan St Charles Wesson, are seen in an image from a memorial program for several of the Fresno, Calif., slaying victims.

Wesson fancied himself the leader of a new religion based on Christianity and vampirism, wrote Monte Francis in his book on the case, "By Their Father's Hand."

Incest was a big part of this new religion.

In "incest one produces the seed of perfection of one's self," Wesson wrote in "In the Light of the Light for the Dark," a tome in which he described his new faith and his conviction that he and his children were vampires.

The victims were all of his own blood, his children or the grandchildren he had fathered with his daughters and nieces.

The man who would become the vampire king of Fresno was born in Kansas in 1944, the eldest of four children of Ben and Carrie Wesson. The father was a drunk and child abuser who disappeared when Marcus was a child.



Roger Hornback/Getty Images

Marcus Wesson's Fresno house of horror, where nine bodies were found entwined in piles of clothing in a bedroom.

Friends and relatives remembered Marcus as kind and a good student who sang in his school choir and loved trains. He enlisted in the Army in 1966 and served as an ambulance driver for two years. Upon his return, he moved in with an older woman, Rosemary Solorio, who had several children from a previous relationship. She and Marcus had a child together, but before long, his eye strayed to Solorio's 8-year-old daughter, Elizabeth.

He married the girl in 1974 when she was 14 and he 27. They had 10 babies. One died as an infant.

Wesson moved his family around California, living in tents, on boats, shacks, trailers, and various houses. They got by with welfare and food stamps, often putting meals on the table by sending the children dumpster diving.

With the addition of nieces and nephews from his wife's sister, there were eventually 16 children in the clan. School was not on the agenda for any of them. Wesson took care of their education.

"Loving," Wesson's lessons in sexual technique, was a big part of the girls' curriculum. Their domestic responsibilities included washing his dreadlocks and scratching his head and armpits for him.

Sebrenah April Wesson, 25, one of Marcus Wesson's daughters, was shot in the face. Her father was charged with nine counts of murder.

Instruction in oral sex started early, at age eight or nine, the girls would later testify. He "married" his daughters, Kiani and Sebhrenah Wesson, and started to have babies with them. Nieces Ruby Ortiz and Rosa and Sofina Solorio also bore his children.

When they were old enough, the girls took jobs outside the home to support the clan.

Wesson kept the children under control through fear and violence. He offered sermons that said nothing was more important than keeping the family together, not even life itself. Police, he preached, were the devil in disguise and suicide was an acceptable way to escape them.

Not surprisingly, cracks started to appear in the Wesson fortress as the children grew older. Two of his



nieces ran away. On March 12, they returned with the intention of taking their babies with them. Wesson refused, leading to a screaming fight outside the house. Ortiz and Solorio called the police for help.

Wesson met police at the door, told them to wait and then disappeared into the house. When he appeared at the door again, his clothes covered in blood, nine of his children, including the babies of Ortiz and Solorio, were dead.



Elizabeth Breani Kina Wesson, 17, was another of Marcus Wesson's victims.

Wesson did not take the stand at his trial, which started in June 2005. His attorneys tried to raise doubt that he had pulled the trigger. Wesson's children had been so brainwashed that they believed suicide was better than being separated from him. His attorney implied that the oldest daughter, 25-year-old Sebhrenah Wesson, had shot everyone else before turning the gun on herself.

The jury didn't buy it and found Wesson guilty of nine counts of murder and 14 counts of rape and molestation. The sentence was death.

Wesson's surviving children have struggled to move on with their lives, chronicled in part in the book, "Where Hope Begins," by Alysia Sofios. In 2011, Gypsy Wesson, at 27, became the first member of her family to earn a college degree.

Wesson was marched off to San Quentin's death row, where he slimmed down, trimmed his dreadlocks, and waited. He is still waiting.

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## Kansas 'psychic' charged with murder for death he predicted

MEG WAGNER nydailynews.com

'Psychic' Kansas commune leader charged with murder for drowning he predicted

Daniel Perez is accused of killing Patricia Hughes in 2003. Weeks before she drowned, the self-proclaimed seer allegedly foretold the death. Perez led a Kansas-based commune that lived off of insurance payouts following the deaths of several members. Hugh's drowning was initially called an accident, but investigators reopened the case when a new witness claimed Perez and Hughes worked together to make the death look like an accident.

BY Meg Wagner NEW YORK DAILY NEWS Monday, February 2, 2015, 10:09 AM



Mike Hutmacher/AF

group. Jury selection begins Monday.

Daniel U. Perez is on trial for the firstdegree premeditated murder of Patricia Hughes, a 2003 drowning death he predicted weeks before it happened.

A self-proclaimed seer is set to stand trial for drowning a Kansas mom in 2003 — a death he allegedly prophesied weeks before it happened.

Daniel U. Perez, a 55-year-old Kansas commune leader, is charged with first-degree murder in the death of 26-year-old Patricia Hughes, a member of the Wichita-based

Prosecutors said Perez and his followers lived off of insurance payouts following the deaths of several members including Hughes, but the Wichita trial will deal only with her drowning death

Hughes drowned in a swimming pool in 2003, weeks after Perez predicted it. Investigators originally believed she died while trying to save her 2-year-old daughter from the water, but when a new witness came forward, they reclassified the case as a homicide.

A woman, who was just 12 years old at the time, said Hughes and Perez staged the death together and made it look like an accident.

The woman — who is not being identified because she is allegedly a sexual assault victim — testified that Hughes told her daughter goodbye just minutes before she was found dead in the pool. The 26-year-old mom also promised another child that she would return from the

dead, the witness said.

Then, Hughes helped Perez unfurl the pool vacuum to make her death look accidental, the woman said.



Photo from Sedgwick County (KS) jail/AP

Perez claims to be able to see future. He led a group of mostly female followers that lived together as they moved from state to state.

Perez told the woman to take Hughes' daughter to a nearby office. When he came back to them, his arms were wet. He ordered her to wait 20 minutes and then bring the toddler to the pool, she said. He told her to call 911 and tell police that Hughes fell while trying to save the girl.

Perez claims to be able to predict future. He led a group of followers that lived together as they moved from state to state. The commune —

made up of mostly women — lived lavishly off of life insurance payouts following the deaths of other members.

The group broke up after Perez was arrested in 2010 on identity theft charges and sent to federal prison for two years.

Since then, several of his followers testified about alleged sexual abuse. They said Perez was a domineering leader and that they were afraid of him.

Nobody has been accused of wrongdoing in the other commune deaths, including a 2001 plane crash and a 2008 traffic accident.

With News Wire Services

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## Kenyan woman kills 3 children, eats their intestine

A woman in Kenya has confessed to the police that she killed and ate her child. Published: 24.06.2015 Isaac Dachen



A 20-year-old Kenyan woman, has confessed to killing three children, one of them her one-week old son, removed his intestines and ate them raw, reports Nairobi News.

The woman who lives in Korogocho, a slum in Nairobi, is said to have have slit open her week-old son's stomach, removed his intestines and ate them before going to her friend's house and killing two other children.

The friend, Nelius Muthoni, told the police that the vampire woman came to her house in the morning and attacked her by trying to strangle her.

"She kept asking me why I named my son Peter Kimani and asked if I knew that my mother-in-law had been eating me. She said a lot of things and even said that there were demons inside me.

I ran out of the house to seek help from neighbours and when they arrived, they found her holding my 10-days-old son by the neck and under her feet was my 4-year-old

http://pulse.ng/ Published: 24.06.2015 07/26/15 1of 2

http://pulse.ng/gist/vampire-kenyan-woman-kills-3-children-eats-their-intestine-id3903687.html

daughter. She was stepping on her neck.

The neighbours pushed her out of the house and tried to help the children but they were announced dead at a nearby clinic."

When she was pushed out of the house, the woman is said to have run to the Korogocho Administration Police post where she reported that she had killed her child.

A police officer said:

"As we were interrogating her, neighbours who learnt that Muthoni's children had died, also came here. They wanted to beat her but we shielded her."

A neighbour who was at the police post said the woman did not seem shaken and even asked for a soda at some point.

The police have also concluded plans to take her for a medical examination to ascertain her state of mental health.

http://pulse.ng/ Published: 24.06.2015 07/26/15 2of 2

## Laennec's Baton: A Short History of the Stethoscope

thechirurgeonsapprentice.com



Since its invention in 1816, the stethoscope has become one of the most iconic symbols of the medical profession. Yet there was a time when doctors had to assess the inner sounds of the human body unaided. In 350 B.C., Hippocrates—the 'Father of Medicine'—suggested gently shaking the patient by the shoulders, while applying one's ear directly to the chest in order to determine the presence of thoracic empyema, or pus in the lungs. For over a thousand years, medical practitioners would follow in Hippocrates's footsteps, relying on only their ears to diagnose chest infections

in patients.

All this changed in the 19th century, when the French physician, René Laennec (below), was presented with a young, female patient who was 'labouring under general symptoms of a diseased heart'. Laennec tapped on her torso with his fingers—a technique called percussion—to determine whether fluid was present around her heart. Unfortunately, this didn't work 'on account of the great degree of fatness' in the patient. He considered pressing his ear to her chest, as Hippocrates advised, but rejected this idea due to her tender age. Desperate to find a solution, Laennec changed tactics.

I rolled a quire of paper into a sort of cylinder and applied one end of it to the region of the heart and the other to my ear, and was not a little surprised and pleased, to find that I could thereby perceive the action of the heart in a manner much more clear and distinct than I had even been able to do by the immediate application of the ear.



Laennec's original model (right) looked nothing like its modern successor. It was a hollow, wooden tube, which he called 'Le Cylindre', with only one earpiece. By the 1890s; however, the instrument had taken on its more familiar shape, consisting of two earpieces and a bell-shaped end.

Eventually, Laennec would call this instrument a 'stethoscope', from the Greek words meaning 'I see' and 'the chest'. Within a decade, Laennec's invention could be found proudly displayed in the

windows of medical shops around Paris. The instrument's ready availability—along with translations of Laennec's medical texts into German, English and Italian—helped to spread its use within the medical community. Before long, the stethoscope came to symbolise the progressive forces of medicine. Even George Elliot would write of a doctor who irked his conservative colleagues by advocating the value of the 'French instrument' in her 1832 novel, *Middlemarch*.



What the microscope did for scientists, the stethoscope did for doctors. For the first time in history, physicians were able to listen, with startling clarity, to the internal workings of the body. Laennec dedicated the next ten years of his life to studying chest diseases, and was the first to write comprehensive medical descriptions of bronchiectasis, emphysema, pleuritis, and pneumonia.

Then, in 1826, the good doctor fell ill while conducting studies on tuberculosis, the contagious processes of which were not yet understood. He asked his nephew to listen to his chest using his stethoscope. The findings were disturbingly familiar to the man who had heard just such sounds a thousand times in dying patients. A few months later, Laennec succumbed to the disease he had worked so hard to explain and describe. Ironically, it was with his

own invention that the French physician became aware of his inescapable fate.

On August 13th, René Laennec—the man who had invented the stethoscope and changed medicine forever—died at the tragically young age of 45.

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# Legs Found in New Haven Belonged to Homeless Man: Police

Updated at 9:54 PM EDT on Monday, Jul 27, 2015

nbcconnecticut.com

A pair of human legs found near the State Street Railroad Station in New Haven earlier this month have been identified as those of homeless man who was last seen in May, according to police.

No information has yet been released on a pair of arms found hours later.

Police said the legs belonged to Ray Roberson, 54, a homeless man who was last seen alive May 20 and missed a court date in New Haven on June 17. He was not reported missing.

Roberson had an extensive criminal record, but it consists of minor offenses, according to police.



A pair of human legs found near the State Street Railroad Station in New Haven earlier this month have been identified as those of homeless man who was last seen in May, according to police. (Published Monday, Jul 27, 2015)

Investigators found his legs, severed near the knee, on July 15 in the area of State and Court streets in New Haven.

Hours later, two dismembered arm were found three to four blocks away in a plastic bag, buried under the Chapel Street Bridge.

Police are treating this as a single case and said it's

unlikely, but possible, the arms are from another victim.

Authorities are investigating the case as a homicide but said they do not know where Roberson was killed or dismembered.

"We do not have anything in the investigation that tells us where these dismemberments occurred, so we are not certain that this is going to remain only a New Haven case," said New Haven police spokesman Officer David Hartman.

Investigators from the New Haven Police Department and Metropolitan

Transportation Authority Police will renew their search for additional body parts. Hartman said police are bringing in cadaver dogs and will expand the search area.

No additional body parts have been found or reported.

Authorities released a photo of Roberson on Monday hoping someone will have information that helps them piece together the events leading up to his death and dismemberment.

Police said the crime appears to be personal rather than a random act of violence.

Published at 12:00 PM EDT on Jul 27, 2015 © 2015 NBCUniversal Media, LLC. All rights reserved.

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## Cable network announces 'live exorcism' from house that inspired classic Linda Blair film rawstory.com

#### Arturo Garcia 30 Jul 2015 at 22:44 ET

Somewhere between science and superstition, the Destination America cable network is promoting what it calls a live exorcism to be aired on Oct. 30, the Los Angeles Times reported.

The network announced the program on Thursday, saying it would emanate from the St. Louis home that was the inspiration behind the William Peter Blatty novel *The Exorcist*, which genuinely disturbed audiences when it was released in 1973.

"By actually exorcising this iconic house live, Destination America will do what it does best — bringing never before seen experiences to television," the network's general manager Marc Etkind said following the announcement at the Television Critics Association's summer press event.

The "exorcism" will be conducted by the "Tennessee Wrath Chasers," the paranormal investigative team featured on one of the network's regular programs, *Ghost Asylum*. They will be joined by New Yorkbased psychic Chip Coffey, and the network said it is trying to recruit a Catholic priest to take part in the event.

Destination America also reportedly plans to interact with viewers online during the broadcast by posting live feeds from throughout the house, in which a boy later identified as "Roland Doe" was reportedly the subject of exorcisms by Roman Catholic Church priests. The purpose of the October event is to see whether there are "lingering spirits" on the property.

As the pop-culture site *Nerdist* reported earlier this year, the film, considered a horror classic, confounded moviegoers upon its initial release.

"When the movie hit theaters, audiences were just not prepared for this movie," Eric Diaz wrote. "Many people walked out of the theater, absolutely terrified, and some even fainted because what they were witnessing."

According to Tribune Media, the network reaches just over 57 million homes in the US.

[Correction: A previous version of this story incorrectly stated the property was currently vacant.]

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J Nathan Couch / Blog / Los Angeles National Forest: Goatman Territory!

### Los Angeles National Forest: Goatman Territory!

When it rains, it pours. Just yesterday I was informed of the legend of the Goatman of Nags Head Woods down in Kill Devils Hill, North Carolina. This morning I woke up and discovered yet another Goatman legend previously unknown to me, this one involving the Angeles National Forest, in southern California. A 700,000 acre forest in back of Los Angeles. Elevations range from 1,200 to 10,064 feet. Much of the Forest is covered with dense chaparral which changes to pine and fir-covered slopes as you reach the San Gabriel Mountains.



Los Angeles National Forest

I owe this discovery to a Goatman enthusiast by the name of Vila. According to Vila, her mother grew up in the 1950s with legends of a Goatman that roamed the forest. In the 1950s, this "Goatman" was allegedly a strange, mentally handicapped son of an old farmer. During Vila's own childhood growing up in the 1980s, the legend changed, specifying the farmer's son wasn't just mentally challenged, but a mutant who was born disfigured from atomic radiant from a nearby missile site.

Vila has recently been discussing the Goatman legend with the current generation of youth, and has discovered the legend has changed yet again. Now Goatman is allegedly disfigured and mutated thanks to exposure to DDT.

Vila writes: "The tales I've found from talking to kids is that the Goatman was disfigured via eating fish and game exposed to DDT that his dad brought home some time in the late 1980s and early 1990s. I only vaguely remember the massive wildlife die-off that over use of DDT pesticides caused – The California Condor was especially hard hit. Something like 50 to 60 percent of the Condor population died off and they became critically endangered."

Now that the cold war is long dead, the fear of nuclear radiation, while still a terrifying possibility in an age when all sorts of rogue nations (cough. North Korea. cough) are putting together nuclear missile programs, seems outdated: the stuff of 50s sci-fi films and Silver Age comic books. One of this generation's chief concerns is pollution and our own impact on the environment. It's no wonder that ecological concerns have been tacked onto a Goatman legend.

Thanks Vila, for not only pointing out there's a Goatman legend in Angeles National Forest, but also for mapping out its evolution of the past 60 plus years!

Now that the legends are known to me, I wonder if anyone has actually seen a strange creature like Goatman in the Angeles National Forest? It's certainly big enough, and wild enough, to be ideal cryptid territory. If anyone has seen a strange creature sighting there, please contact me!

For more information on Goatman legends and sighting across the country, please check out *Goatman: Flesh or Folklore?* 



Phone: 414-379-6182 E-Mail: wcwiparanormalproject@yahoo.com Web: http://www.jnathancouch.com

More of beautiful Angeles National Forest

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# BBC - Shropshire - Features - Weird Shropshire - Ludlow ghosts

bbc.co.uk

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### 24 September 2014



Ludlow Castle is said to be haunted by the ghost of sad Marion de la Bruyere, who has been re-enacting her dive to death from the Pendover Tower since the latter part of the 12th Century.

### Ghost on a rope

The ghost of Ludlow Castle is of Marion La Bruyere who loved an enemy of the castle's lord.

Late one evening Marion agreed to meet her knight, to do this she lowered down a rope from the high tower for him to climb up to meet her.

However, love was not all that was on his mind.

On one particular occasion her lover left the rope dangling to allow an enemy of the castle's owner to send in a small army.

Within a short time the castle was invaded by 100 men and Ludlow was in the hands of its enemies.

Realising her lover had betrayed her, Marion snatched her lover's sword and cut his throat.

Then in grief and shame, she threw herself from this tower onto the rocks below.

It is said that If you visit the tower at dusk on quiet evenings her ghost can be seen.

If, however, you go on the anniversary of her suicide, at the correct time you may also hear her screams...

### Soldier who walks the Ludlow streets

Another Ludlow ghost appears in Market Street, one of the older parts of Ludlow, and also haunts the Globe Inn where a grisly murder occurred long ago.

The phantom is alleged to be that of a medieval soldier, Edward Dobson, who was based at Ludlow Castle, and in the service of Richard, Duke of York.



Ludlow Castle
Ludlow Castle

He is reputed to have died during a pub brawl in 1553 and his ghost, a bewigged figure with a cloak around his shoulders, is said to hover around the spot of his demise.

The Hanging Tower of Ludlow Castle is said to contain the sounds of heavy breathing.

It is believed that the noises come from a ghost of a soldier who attempted unsuccessfully to gain access to the Castle during the 16th Century.

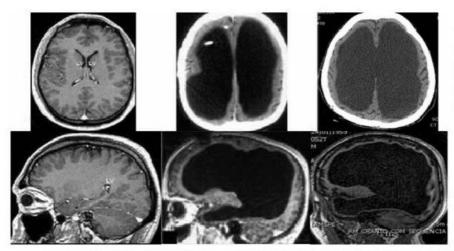
In Ludlow churchyard, the phantom of a tall elderly woman with grey hair shuffles among the tombstones dressed in a long drab-coloured robe. She has also been seen near the rectory.

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### Man born with "virtually no brain" has advanced math degree

By Cory Doctorow at 9:08 am Tue, Jul 28, 2015

boingboing.net



The subject of this paper grew up with a normal cognitive and social life, and didn't discover his hydrocephalus -- which had all but obliterated his brain -- until he went to the doctor for an unrelated complaint.

The authors advocate research into "Computational models such as the small-world and scale-free

network"— networks whose nodes are clustered into highly-interconnected "cliques", while the cliques themselves are more sparsely connected one to another. De Oliviera et al suggest that they hold the secret to the resilience of the hydrocephalic brain. Such networks result in "higher dynamical complexity, lower wiring costs, and resilience to tissue insults." This also seems reminiscent of those isolated hyper-efficient modules of autistic savants, which is unlikely to be a coincidence: networks from social to genetic to neural have all been described as "small-world". (You might wonder— as I did— why de Oliviera et al. would credit such networks for the normal intelligence of some hydrocephalics when the same configuration is presumably ubiquitous in vegetative and normal brains as well. I can only assume they meant to suggest that small-world networking is especially well-developed among high-functioning hydrocephalics.) (In all honesty, it's not the best-written paper I've ever read. Which seems to be kind of a trend on the 'crawl lately.)

The point, though, is that under the right conditions, brain damage may paradoxically result in brain enhancement. Small-world, scale-free networking— focused, intensified, overclocked— might turbocharge a fragment of a brain into acting like the whole thing.

Can you imagine what would happen if we applied that trick to a normal brain?



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## Police: Man shoots at lights because of "aliens"

2015/07/30 Waow.com

Posted: Jul 30, 2015 1:55 PM PDT By Robert Imrie, Content Manager

WISCONSIN RAPIDS (WAOW) - A 36-year-old Wisconsin Rapids man who told investigators he was protecting the universe from aliens was arrested for shooting at street lights, Wisconsin Rapids police said Thursday.

Officers found Daniel Collins after a 911 caller reported that someone was shooting at street lights near the intersection of 17th and Prospect streets early Wednesday morning, Lt. Kevin Schwatz said.

Carrying a concealed 9mm handgun, the man admitted to shooting at lights, claiming he was an alien and he was protecting the universe from other aliens, Schwartz said.

People who heard the shooting reported the man fired two to four shots, Schwartz said. "He was not a very good shot because he didn't hit any of the lights."

Collins has been charged with two misdemeanors -- endangering safety with a firearm and possession of drug paraphernalia, according to online Wood County court records. A judge ordered him jailed on a \$1,500 signature bond.



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## Kings and Queens in profile: Mary, Queen of Scots

historyextra.com Wednesday 29th July 2015



Mary, Queen of Scots. (Credit: National Galleries Of Scotland/Getty She was married three times: to Images)

Born: 8 December 1542, Linlithgow Palace, West Lothian, Scotland

Died: 8 February 1587, Fotheringhay Castle, Northamptonshire, England (executed)

Ruled: 1542-67

Family: Mary was the only child of James V of Scotland and Mary of

Guise.

Francis, King of France (1558-60); Lord

Darnley (1565-67) and the Earl of Bothwell (1567-78). Mary had one child with Lord Darnley in 1566, who went on to become James VI and I of Scotland and England.

Remembered for: Being involved in an assassination plot against her cousin, Elizabeth I, in an attempt to kill England's queen and take the throne for herself. Mary may also have been involved in the murder of her second husband, Lord Darnley, who was killed on 9 February 1567.

Mary was overthrown by the Scots and forced to abdicate in July 1567. She was executed at Fotheringhay Castle on 8 February 1587 at the age of 44.

Her Life: Mary was just six days old when she became gueen of Scotland following her father's death. Being only a baby, her mother, the French Mary of Guise, acted as regent on Mary's behalf.

Amid tensions between English and Scottish powers, when she was just eight months old Mary was betrothed to Prince Edward, Henry VIII's son, in the hope of calming rivalries between the two countries. However, Catholics opposed this betrothal and the match was eventually broken off.

To demonstrate his frustration, Henry VIII ordered a number of savage raids on Scotland, which later became known as 'The Rough Wooing'. Henry's army "set fire to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse where James V was buried, burned crops in the Tweed Valley and set ablaze the Border abbeys of Melrose, Jedburgh and Dryburgh."

In 1548, the Scots decided to resume their traditional alliance with the French by betrothing Mary to the four-year-old Dauphin of France, Francis. Mary was sent to the French court, where she was brought up among the daughters and wives of French nobles.

At the age of 15 Mary was married to Francis, who became king of France just a year later. The marriage created an alliance between the crowns of Scotland and France, but it was cut short when Francis unexpectedly died just a year later, in 1560.

As an 18-year-old widow who had spent most of her youth in France Mary returned to her home country of Scotland. The Catholic Mary found a country that had changed significantly over the years. It was now predominately Protestant, following religious reforms implemented under the guidance of Presbyterian theologian John Knox.

Initially, Mary was able to rule somewhat successfully under the guidance of William Maitland of Lethington and Lord James. However, her marriage in 1565 to her Catholic second cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, sparked a breakdown in relations between the monarch and the Scottish nobles at court.



Mary's second husband, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. (Credit: National Galleries Of Scotland/Getty Images)

Mary's marriage quickly began to collapse, and tensions at court reached new heights in 1566 when Darnley and a number of nobles burst into the room in which the heavily-pregnant Mary was having supper with her Italian secretary, David Rizzo, and stabbed him 56 times. The group claimed that Rizzo and Mary were having an affair, with Rizzo trying to gain greater influence at court.

Despite giving birth to a son, James, in June 1566, Mary relationship with her husband deteriorated further still. Just eight

months later, Darnley's body was found outside a house just beyond the walls of Edinburgh coincidentally, after an explosion in the house. Darnley's body was found outside, raising speculation that he had been unharmed by the explosion but instead murdered and left in the grounds.

Mary's suspected involvement in the murder of Darnley on 10 February 1567 was "a political mistake of the first order", says historian Sean Lang; her marriage three months later to the main suspect, the Earl of Bothwell, was "an act of breathtaking stupidity".

Mary's marriage to the Earl of Bothwell alienated the Scottish nobles, who in June 1567 raised arms against her army at the battle of Carberry Hill. Mary was forced to surrender and abdicate, while Bothwell escaped to Scandinavia.

Mary was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, Kinross-shire, and her infant son, James, was made king of Scotland. Just months later Mary managed to escape the castle, yet she failed to save her crown at the battle of Langside, outside Glasgow, in May 1568.

Mary then fled south, hoping that she could find shelter and support in England from her cousin, Queen Elizabeth I. However, as Mary held such a strong claim to the English throne and could threaten the queen's position, Elizabeth I had Mary imprisoned and kept under

surveillance for the next 19 years.

Being the next legitimate heir to the English throne, Mary became the subject of a number of Catholic plots against Elizabeth's life. Despite claiming innocence to association with the assassination plots in the 1570s and 1580s, Mary's personal letters were intercepted in 1586 by Elizabeth's spymaster, Francis Walsingham.

Walsingham found enough evidence to arrest Mary on the basis that she was involved in the Babington Plot against Elizabeth – a ploy led by Catholic noble Anthony Babington to assassinate Elizabeth and free Mary with the support of an invasion from abroad.

Mary was put on trial for treason and, in October 1586, she was condemned to death. Despite her initial hesitation, Elizabeth finally signed Mary's death warrant and, on 8 February 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringhay Castle at the age of 44.

Mary was initially buried in Peterborough Cathedral, but in 1612 James VI and I had his mother's remains moved to the King Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

BBC History magazine is published by Immediate Media Company Limited under licence from BBC Worldwide, which helps fund new BBC programmes.

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## #WeirdAnimalWednesday: Meet the Black Dragonfish (and other Creatures of the Deep)

discovery.com

posted: 07/15/15 by: Danny Clemens

A recent expedition to explore 50-million-year-old sunken volcanoes off of the coast of Australia yielded surprising photos of the shocking creatures of the deep:



Marine National Facility/Derek Cruz

bioluminescent black dragonfish (Idiacanthus atlanticus) is found at deep depths in temperate oceans across the globe. Female dragonfish can grow to be more than a foot long, while males max out around two inches -- such striking differences between sexes are known as sexual dimorphism, according to Quarks to Quasars. Unfortunately for the fun-sized male dragonfish, they have no teeth, no chin barbel and no digestive system: their main role is to aid their lengthy lady lovers in sexual reproduction. The males may be small, but they know what they're working with!

Unlike many other bioluminescent fish that use their light to attract prey, the dragonfish can actually see its own light -- the built-in deep-sea flashlight can help it hunt more efficiently, says the WWF.

These photos were taken during an expedition originally intended to investigate nursery grounds for larval lobsters. The trip took a surprising twist when the state-of-the-art equipment on the research vessel Investigator took note of four sunken volcanoes, submerged nearly three miles beneath the ocean's surface.

After the ancient volcanoes erupted, the land around them collapsed, forming a sort of crater -- the entire formation is known as a caldera.

"They tell us part of the story of how New Zealand and Australia separated around 40-80 million years ago and they'll now help scientists target future exploration of the sea floor to unlock the secrets of the Earth's crust," explains Australian National University Professor



Richard Arculus.



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July 22, 2015 4:37 PM



### MINNEAPOLIS (WCCO) -

Officials with Minneapolis parks say Minnesotans gave a little too much love to Minne the Lake Creature, the 13-foot-tall fiber glass water monster that floated in Lake Calhoun this summer up until Wednesday.

The Minneapolis Parks
Foundation said the sculpture
was brought in for repairs and
won't be out the rest of the
season.

This comes, officials say, after

people were seen recently climbing all over the sculpture, which looks like a small-scale Loch Ness monster.

Tom Evers, the executive director of the parks foundation, said that up to three people at a time were seen on Minne.

"Lake Calhoun embraced Minne the Lake Creature like no other lake – a bit too literally, at times," he said.

While Evers said he wants people to engage with the sculpture, he said it's best to do so at a distance.

Minne came to Lake Calhoun in June, and instantly became a selfie destination for many Minnesotans who visited the popular city lake.

The lake creature was supposed to stay up until September.

While it's yet unknown where Minne's aquatic destination will be next year, the parks foundation says regulations prevent them from posting "no climbing" signs on or near the lake creature.

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### 24 September 2014



High up in the hills of West Shropshire, close to the Welsh border, is Stapeley Hill, some 1,000 feet above sea level.

which is known as Mitchell's Fold. Mitchell's Fold

And on Stapeley Hill lie the remains of a once great stone circle,

Apparently there used to be three circles in the area, but now just two survive, and Mitchell's Fold is the best-known.

And as you'd expect, there's a legend of how the stone circle came to be.



Click to see our panoramic view from Mitchells Fold stone circle

Click here to see our panoramic view from Mitchells Fold stone circle

Many years ago a great drought hit the country, drying up wells, causing crops to fail and causing the death of the livestock that people depended on.



Mitchell's Fold

### Mitchell's Fold

However, a kind witch took pity on the starving people and provided a magic cow, which was kept on Stapeley Hill.

This cow had a seemingly inexhaustable supply of milk and would produce enough for everyone who came to her - as long as they only took one bucket to be filled.

Unfortunately, this good deed attracted the attention of a bad witch determined to ruin it for everyone.

This bad witch visited the cow at midnight and attempted to milk her into a sieve. The cow

gave enough milk to fill the bucket over and over again as the witch went on milking.

Apparently the cow was a little confused by this, and when a great storm broke over the hill, she looked around. By the light of a lightning flash the cow saw a great pool of wasted milk on the ground.

Realising she had been fooled, the cow kicked out at the witch and galloped away, never to be seen again.

The next morning, the locals arrived with their buckets to find the cow had gone. But they realised what had happened when they saw the sieve and the spilt milk.

They also found the bad witch - she'd been turned into stone as punishment.

The people set a ring of stones around her petrified body to stop her from escaping.



Mitchell's Fold

### Mitchell's Fold

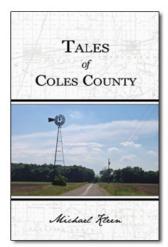
The legend of the witch and the marvellous cow has been literally set in stone - it was carved in 1879 around a sandstone pillar in Middleton Church, which is near Stapeley Hill.

In reality the stones were probably placed on Stapeley Hill by Bronze Age man - about 4,000 years ago.

Perhaps there were once as many as 30 stones on the site, although there are less than half that number left now. The tallest remaining stone today stands at six feet, while some are just stumps sticking out of the ground.

Nearby lie the remains of another circle, the Hoarstones, and there used to be a third, which was called The Whetstones and was supposedly destroyed in the 19th Century.

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Read about this location and more in Tales of Coles County, Illinois by Michael

An old Victorian Style home sits a few blocks east of the town square in Charleston, Illinois, along Monroe Avenue. Built in 1900, it has weathered years of neglect. From hidden rooms and hideaways in the attic, to disembodied footsteps and doors that slam on their own, to a pile of dusty bones in the basement, one former resident is convinced that its walls conceal a secret history yet to be uncovered.

Lisa (not her real name) was a young girl when her parents purchased the home in the early 1990s. It had been abandoned for nearly 20 years, until an enterprising couple fixed it up and sold it to Lisa's parents. From the moment her family moved in, Lisa knew something was amiss. The previous owners told her mother that during the days of Prohibition, an old man who lived in the house had hideouts in the cross-shaped attic where he would sit and drink his illegal liquor. They had even found old bottles and newspapers there before safety concerns compelled them to brick up the entry to this

attic hideout. There was a secondary entrance near the ceiling in the upstairs bathroom closet.

Lisa's bedroom contained three closets, each a different size. In the distant past, someone had carved a note into the wall of one of these closets, accompanied by a girl's name and the date. At one time, Lisa had a rubbing of the note, but has since misplaced it. That wasn't the only thing about her bedroom that sent chills down her spine.

"My mother had a friend who was Jehovah's Witness, and she usually brought over her kids over to play," she said. "One night, her daughter was up in my room at the top of the stairs while our parents were downstairs. When you came up the winding stairs, you faced east. If you went down the hall to the north, my door was literally right on your left. So you could not see anyone coming up the stairs, but the way the door opened on the north of the door, you could see if someone opened it inwards.

"We were talking or playing a game or something and all of the sudden, the door flung open. We had those doors with a window at the top and it let light in from the hallway. Both hall and room were lit. The door swung into my room but nobody was there. Then it slammed shut. Now, no windows were open, so that couldn't account for it closing or opening as it had been latched each time it closed. And then it happened again. Needless to say, we ran screaming down the stairs in tears."

The basement was perhaps the scariest part of the old house. With bricked off windows, sealed antechambers, and a dirt floor, it resembled a catacomb. Once, while exploring a dirt mound in the floor roughly four feet high and 20-30 feet long, Lisa and a friend stumbled upon a grisly discovery. "If you climbed up on there, there was a huge assortment of bones including one that looked like a human femur," she recalled. "My friend took that one home to ask his dad but never gave it back." Later, as an EMT/CNA and medical lab worker, she was

able to retrospectively identify the bone. She was never able to explore the sealed rooms, she explained, "because I knew breaking the brick out of those would lead to something I didn't want to see, if my parents didn't kill me first."

Today, the home sits inconspicuously on a quiet street, and someday Lisa hopes to return. "I've always said if I won the lottery, I would buy the house up and fix it back to its original condition." Adding, "Not because it was my childhood home. I was traumatized a little too much by all of the strange and spooky experiences I had there. I could never spend the night there again. But just to explore all of the undiscovered history of that building."

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### More residents begin to hear mystery noise

Wednesday 15 July 2015

penarthtimes.co.uk

The noise has been heard in Lower Penarth, Lavernock and even as far as Sully (31942172)

Anthony Lewis, Penarth Times reporter / Wednesday 15 July 2015 / News

MORE people are saying they can hear the mystery noise which is affecting residents near Cosmeston.

The sound which is described as a low droning has been heard in Lower Penarth, Lavernock and even Sully.

One local lady put out an appeal to find others who had heard it earlier this year and since then a number of residents have come forward, including in a letter written to this paper.

The woman says she has had trouble sleeping because of it and has had to put the radio on both up and downstairs to drown out the sound.

Western Power, the Water Board and the environmental health department of the Vale of Glamorgan Council have both been called out to inspect the noise but neither could identify the source.

They confirmed the noise was not due to water, gas, electricity or nearby pumping stations.

These readings have been sent off to be studied at a local university but so far no results have been determined.

So far, suggested causes have included nearby pumping stations and sewage systems but this has not been proven.

The lady said: "It's on and off. Sometimes it is quite loud and other times it is quieter. Some people can hear it and others can't as it is not in their range. I have heard even people in Sully have heard the noise."

She has lived in the area for about 12 years and is encouraging anyone else who hears it to come forward.

A number of her neighbours have admitted to hearing the sound and one such neighbour has tried to document when it occurs and how loud it is.

She said: "Someone must know where it is coming from. I want something to be done about it. Any helpful suggestion as to where the noise is coming from would be appreciated."

If you have heard the mystery noise or have an idea where it may be coming from, email penarthtimes@penarthtimes.co.uk

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### 24 September 2014



Renold's House in Much Wenlock

window?

Can you see the face at the

In Much Wenlock you'll find, Renold's House. Built in 1682. People claim that faces appear at the windows and children in Victorian outfits have been seen playing with spinning tops on the balcony.

#### Much Wenlock

In 1984 when renovation work was being undertaken a previously unknown cemetery was discovered. The articulated skeleton of an adult male was the first to be unearthed from beneath a wall.

Later, remains of two young ladies adjacent to the male were excavated. It is thought they may be Saxon or Roman civilians who lived nearby.

For many years local residents have talked of seeing a group of people, heads lowered, standing in the yard and nearby passage.

Just around the corner from the antique shop, in High Street is Renold's house, which is of a distinctive appearance with its fine timber frame and mid-floor balcony.

Built in 1682 it has had a chequered history including periods of standing empty.

It was on one such occasion that strange things began to happen.

Faces appeared at the windows and children in Victorian outfits were seen playing with spinning tops on the balcony.

### The haunted supermarket

More recently there were reports of a haunted supermarket in Much Wenlock.

And when workers began carrying out improvements to the Spar shop, just off The Square in Much Wenlock, things started happening.



The Spar at Much Wenlock

The haunted Spar shop at Much Wenlock

Shopping trolleys began moving on their own, heavy breathing was heard and there were even apparitions.

The problems started after the builders dug up ancient pottery and old bones underneath the building.

In early 2002,trainee manager Michelle Willis told BBC Midlands Today: "I was sitting over by the computer.

"I could hear breathing. I opened the door but nobody was there.

"What's been going on at the moment is enough. It's enough and I'm frightened of it."

Trolleys in the storeroom appeared to have moved on their own and one member of staff felt a hand on their shoulder.

Shop supervisor Jody Anderson also witnessed an unexplained event: "I was going out to the back to wash some cups, when I saw something appear.

"It stayed for something like 15 seconds and then it disappeared, totally," he said.

The shop is on the site of a medieval alehouse in the historic town.

But when they were digging down, the builders found unexpected remains.

"Items of crockery, lots of bones, definitely human bones," said builder John Todd.

"The abbey cemetery was moved here in the 12th Century and we came across all these human bones," he said.



Click here to see our panoramic image of The Square, Much Wenlock

**Click here** to see our panoramic image of The Square, Much Wenlock. The shop is in the red brick building to the left of the town clock.

### The Cavalier at Wilderhope Manor

#### Built

in the latter part of the sixteenth century by Francis Smallman whose initials, and those of his wife Ellen, appear in the plasterwork of the ceiling.

A writer spent a week's holiday at Wilderhope because he'd heard about the ghost of a cavalier who haunts the main hall.

For the first night nothing happened but the following day when he was up on scaffolding painting the fine plaster ceiling he suddenly became aware of a tall figure standing in the doorway.

At first he thought it was the warden checking up on him but then he noticed that the man was dressed in a full cloak, a floppy hat with a large plume, and thigh length boots.

He then thought he was a visitor in fancy dress, but when he said 'Hello' all the visitor did was to raise his head slightly, before walking across the room and passing through a solid wall.

He is joined on occasions by a young girl who smiles sweetly before screaming - a scream from Hell...

### The children of Whittington Castle

In 845 Welsh Prince Ynyr ap Cadfarch built a castle at Whittington, which was seized by the Norman lord Roger de Montgomery after 1066.

Montgomery then gave it to Sir William Peveril of Peak, who built a new castle on the site.



Whittington Castle

### Whittington Castle

When his young daughter Mellet wanted to marry, the challenge was put out to the bravest knights in the land with Whittington castle as dowry.

Guarine de Metz, Sheriff of Shropshire won the contest, wife and castle. Their descendants,

the Fitz Warines, held the castle for over 400 years.

In the twin gatehouse towers of the once proud castle, the ghosts of two small children are often seen peering out of the small windows.

### More on Whittington Castle

### The headless horseman of Ruyton XI Towns

Ruyton has an interesting history as a village created from eleven small hamlets under a charter of 1310.

If you're brave, walk to the church at midnight. Locals tell of a mist rolling up from the valley, engulfing the churchyard and old Ruyton castle.

Following the mist is a headless horseman seen riding toward the old castle keep, before disappearing through ever-thickening mist.

### The ghost in a bottle at Coton

One of the eleven townships which makes up Ruyton is that of Coton, which means 'town next door'.

The main house of Coton, Coton Hall, was owned at one time by Corbet Kynaston and it is he who is said to haunt the house, or rather did; for in 1788 the Rev. David Evans decided to put old Corbet to rest because his antics and noise were becoming unbearable.

Rev. Evans and five other ministers entered Coton Hall, prayed for the soul's to rest while they held candles.

By midnight they had enticed Corbet into a bottle which was sealed before being thrown into the nearby pool.

Although this laying to rest is supposed to work for one thousand years, tenants in Coton Hall at the turn of the century complained of milk churns rolling about and a bush at the edge of the pool bursting into blue flames.

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## Biblical Entheogens: a Speculative Hypothesis<sup>1</sup>

## **Benny Shanon**

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### Abstract

A speculative hypothesis is presented according to which the ancient Israelite religion was associated with the use of entheogens (mind-altering plants used in sacramental contexts). The hypothesis is based on a new look at texts of the Old Testament pertaining to the life of Moses. The ideas entertained here were primarily based on the fact that in the arid areas of the Sinai peninsula and Southern Israel there grow two plants containing the same psychoactive molecules found in the plants from which the powerful Amazonian hallucinogenic brew Ayahuasca is prepared. The two plants are species of Acacia tree and the bush Peganum harmala. The hypothesis is corroborated by comparative experiential-phenomenological observations, linguistic considerations, exegesis of old lewish texts and other ancient Mideastern traditions, anthropological lore, and ethnobotanical data.

Keywords: entheogens, psychedelic, psychotropic, shamanism, Old Testament, Acacia, Peganum harmala, Ayahuasca

Third, let me turn to the most sacred and tremendous event in the Hebrew Bible—theophany at Mt. Sinai. It is on this occasion that the Ten Commandments were given and it was then that the covenant between God and Israel was established. With this, Israel was made into a people. All the Children of Israel were present. They had to prepare themselves in three days of purification and sanctification, during which no sexual activity was allowed. It is said that God came upon the mountain and that under penalty of death no one except for Moses was allowed to step forward:

And it came to pass on the third day in the morning that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled ... And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking. (Exodus 19:16; 20:18)

[After the laws were given, the people of Israel offered sacrifices and]: They saw the God of Israel and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness ... And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. (Exodus 24:10, 17)

There are several features in the foregoing description that resemble prominent characteristics of the Ayahuasca experience. Before I turn to these, however, let me underline the three-day purification, including the abstention from sexual activity. In all traditional contexts of Ayahuasca use, such restrictions are standard.<sup>5</sup>

Turning to the experience of theophany itself, I shall highlight three features which are also common with Ayahuasca. The first is fire. In all contexts of its use, the Ayahuasca experience is characterized as an encounter with light. People who have partaken of the brew often speak of supreme light, many times in the form of fire. In advanced levels of Ayahuasca inebriation, the seeing of light is accompanied by profound religious and spiritual feelings. On such occasions, one often feels that in seeing the light one is encountering the ground of all Being—that which is the source of everything that exists and the power that sustains the cosmos, life, and the mind. Many identify this power as God. In Shanon (2002a), I devote special discussion to the experiences of supreme light. By way of example here is a report furnished by one of my informants:

In front of me was a most brilliant source of light, like a lantern of many, many facets. I knew that were I to look at it straight ahead I would collapse and perhaps die. Thus, I turned my head. During this experience, I felt as if I was losing my sense of self and the faculty of memory.

The second feature to be noted is the fear of death. Such fear is very common with Ayahuasca. Indeed, drinkers of the brew often feel that they are about to die. Significantly, as noted above, etymologically

the term "ayahuasca" is associated with death.

Third is synaesthesia, that is, the blending of percepts pertaining to different sensory modalities. In the biblical text cited above, we read that the Children of Israel saw the thunder and the noise of the trumpet. Both a review of the anthropological literature and my own empirical studies reveal that the seeing of auditory material is very common with Ayahuasca. Other synaesthetic effects are also encountered, but they are less common (for further discussion, see Shanon 2003d).

Going on with Moses' life, I now note the fourth episode:

And Moses said unto the Lord. See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people; and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in My sight. Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy way, that I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight ... And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest. And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence ... And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name ... And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy. And he said, Thou canst not see my face; for there shall no man see me, and live. And the Lord

said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock. And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and I will cover thee with my hand while I pass by. And I will take away mine hand and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen. (Exodus 33: 12-23)

This episode is most amazing. Indeed, it has perplexed traditional Jewish scholars throughout the ages. How can God have a face and a back? How can any part of Him be seen? Maimonides, the great Medieval scholar and rationalist philosopher, explained that in this context the epithets 'Face' and 'Behind' refer respectively to higher and lower levels of man's understanding of the Divine or to central or peripheral aspects of His essence (see Maimonides 1963). But again, the Ayahuasca experience suggests another explanation. Seeing creatures without being able to see their faces is a common aspect of the Ayahuasca experience. This is explicitly noted in the folklore of various Amerindian groups and corroborated in my own investigation. In one of the interviews I conducted with non-indigenous experienced drinkers of Ayahuasca in Rio de Janeiro, in response to my (standard) query as to the most impressive Ayahuasca vision that the informant had had, I received the following description:

I saw a creature. It was a woman, but not a normal person, not a regular human being. I saw this woman clearly, but I could not see her face. I so much wanted to see her face, and I implored her Please, please show your face to me. She walked forward, away from me, with her back to

me. I continued to implore her: Very swiftly she turned her head backwards, towards me. It was so swift that I could hardly see anything. The only thing I detected was a smile. She had smiled at me in a fashion which was both benevolent and slightly mocking, as if to indicate how small I was as a human being. And then she went on walking with only her back towards me.

What I find most striking in the biblical description is not only God's hiding of his face, but Moses' entreating. What happens during an Ayahuasca session, and in particular what one sees in the visions that the brew induces, is not merely a function of the brew itself. The person partaking of the brew has a most important contribution as well. With the same quantity of the same brew, different persons may experience visions of different degrees, as may a single person in different contexts. It is as if what happens during an Ayahuasca session is an interaction, a pas de deux, between the brew and the person who has partaken of it. As every long-term user of Ayahuasca discovers, with experience one learns to handle the brew and the mental energies it generates. And with experience one can go farther and advance in one's journeys in the regions of non-standard consciousness. As explained in detail in Shanon (2002a, 2002b), with experience one's interaction with one's visions becomes more active. At the beginning, one only sees 'things', later (or with higher levels of inebriation), one may step into scenes. With more experience, one can interact with the entities, creatures or objects that one sees in one's visions. In the most advanced (hence, rare) cases, one might even direct (as does the director of a film)

what is going to happen during the vision. Moreover, whereas the novice is utterly passive, advanced drinkers of Ayahuasca will often exercise more effort and attempt to penetrate the 'Ayahuasca world' more deeply. Some people may be more insistent than others. Facing a gate, some will venture to enter, others will be afraid to do so; seeing a door, some will attempt to open it, whereas others will pass by; if the door does not open, some will insist, implore, perhaps pray, hoping that it eventually opens, revealing more and more secrets. Indeed, many see the Ayahuasca experience as precisely that—an occasion to discover secrets—of this or other realities. My own investigations indicate that it is precisely the person with this attitude (as compared, for instance, to those who partake of the drink just in order to be cured and to gain well-being) who has the most powerful visions. Having such an attitude is symptomatic of certain personality traits; these include inquisitiveness, venturesomeness, courage, daring, determination, insistence, perseverance, as well as a propensity to be attracted to the magical and secretive. Reading the Scriptures reveals that Moses exhibited all these personality traits. In fact, we see this in his very first encounter with the Divine, the first episode examined here, that of the bush in the desert.

Not indicated in the biblical texts associated with Moses is the seeing of disembodied eyes. This, however, is a feature noted in the most explicit visual description of Divine revelation—that in the first chapter of the book of Ezekiel, known as the Vision of the Chariot. In an independent analysis (Shanon 2003b) I have compared this famous biblical account with powerful

Ayahuasca visions and marked significant similarities between the two. I shall note that the latter are also reminiscent of descriptions of celestial realms in the Jewish mystical tradition known as the literature of the Merkaya (chariot) or Heikhalot (palaces), which spans from the second to the fifth century CE.

The fifth and last item pertaining to Moses that I would like to mention as symptomatic of a psychedelic experience is that noted by all who saw Moses when he came back the second time from the Mount, bringing the tables of the Law—the skin of [Moses'] face shone (Exodus 34:30). I have found this to be a very common, practically universal, experience: after Ayahuasca sessions, people seem to be shining—they look younger, the skin of their face is smooth, their eyes are full of light, and they appear to be especially beautiful.

Let us take count. Inspecting various episodes in the life of Moses, one encounters striking similarities with features characteristic of the altered states of consciousness induced by the Amazonian brew Ayahuasca. Indeed, the biblical episodes describe experiences that are among the most common with this brew. These include serpentine metamorphosis, synesthesia, intense light, seeing creatures without faces and the encounter with the Divine. Whereas the detection of light and the encounter with the Divine are not specific to Ayahuasca, the other features noted are especially symptomatic of this particular entheogen. Having established the basis for the characterization of Moses' special religious experiences as DMT-induced altered states of consciousness, let me turn to the psychotropic substance at hand and

examine whether it could have been within Moses' (and that of his fellow Israelites) reach. The following discussion will attempt to show that the answer to this question is a definite yes.

### Shittim—a Possible Biblical Entheogen

In the book of Exodus, immediately following the account of the Mt. Sinai theophany, we read:

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering. And this is the offering which ye shall take of them: gold, and silver, and brass. And blue, and purple, and scarlet and fine linen and goats' hair. And rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins and shittim wood. Oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense. Onyx stones, and stones to be set in the ephod [the high priest's vestment, B.S.], and in the breastplate. And let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them. According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it. And they shall make an ark of shittim wood ... and thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about ... And thou shalt make stayes of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold. And thou shalt put the stayes into the rings by the sides of the ark, that the ark may be borne with them ... Thou shalt also make a table of shittim wood ...

and thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a crown of gold round about ... and thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me always ... And thou shalt make boards for the tabernacle of shittim wood standing up ... and thou shalt make ... sockets of silver under the ... boards ... And thou shalt make bars of shittim wood ... and thou shalt overlay the boards with gold. (Exodus 25: I-I4, 15-29, abridged)

And thou shalt make a vail of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen of cunning work ... And thou shalt make an hanging for the door of the tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needlework. And thou shalt make for the hanging five pillars of shittim wood, and overlay them with gold, and their hooks shall be of gold; and thou shall cast five sockets of brass for them. (Exodus 26: 31, 36-7)

And thou shalt make an altar of shittim wood ... and thou shalt overlay it with brass ... And thou shalt make stayes for the altar, staves of shittim wood, and overlay them with brass. (Exodus 27: 1, 2, 6)

The materials listed throughout this passage are precious. This is obvious for gold, silver, and precious stones. The dyes of blue, purple, and scarlet were extremely costly in the ancient Near East and they were highly valued. The only item that stands out is 'shittim', a type of wood. As indicated by the long citation, this item plays a central role in the construction of the tabernacle —the frame of the tent, the ark, the table, the supportive boards are all made of this tree.

Let me, before going on, make a linguistic clarification. In the original Hebrew text, the expression is "atzei shittim." Atzei is a plural form of etz, tree or wood, and shittim is the plural of shita, acacia. The proper translation of atzei shittim should have been "acacia trees". Indeed, the modern Jerusalem Bible translates the expression at hand either to "acacia" or to "acacia wood."

Why shittim? Traditional lewish scholars have explained that the poor, those who do not have at their possession gold and silver, should provide wood. I would like to propose another explanation—the tree having psychoactive properties. There are many varieties of the tree, and it grows not only in the Sinai desert, but also in Australia, Mexico, and South America. Subspecies growing in the Sinai peninsula and in the Negev desert of southern Israel and containing DMT are Acacia albida (Mimosaceae), Acacia lactea (Mimosaceae) and Acacia tortilis (Mimosaceae). Also containing DMT are Acacia seyal (Mimosaceae) and Acacia nilotica (Mimosaceae), which grow in Egypt (see Shulgin and Shulgin, 1997). Feliks (1997) proposes that the biblical shittim is Acacia albida; Duke (1983) associates the shittim with Acacia seyal. However, Danin (personal communication), the present-day leading expert on the plants of the Land of Israel, has pointed out to me that neither of these plants grows in the Sinai peninsula. (See also Alon, 1993; as well as on the Flora of Israel Online website, <flora.huji.ac.il> and website of the Hebrew University botanical gardens <www.botanic.co.il/A/catalog.asp>.) Thus, the most likely candidates seems to be Acacia tortilis and Acacia lactea, In sum, while the particular identification of the biblical

tree might be unsettled, it is a fact that some acacia subspecies that grow in the region do contain DMT.

The acacia tree is mentioned again in later Jewish texts. In the Talmud (Tractate Gittin, 69b) it is noted that the sap of Acacia serves as a medicine. In another context, the Talmud explains that the word shittim is derived from the word shtut (nonsense) (Tractate Sanhedrin, 106a). Is this an allusion to the psychological modifications that this plant can induce? Curiously, after enumerating the medicinal qualities of the plant, one Talmudic interpreter notes that some say that this is the sneh [the aforementioned bush from the biblical story] in biblical language (see Krispil 1988). Elsewhere in the Talmud (Tractate Avoda Zara, 24b) as well as in the early Jewish hermeneutical texts (Genesis Rabbah, 54) the following extolling poem appears (cited in Elior 2004, p. 252):

Sing, O sing, acacia tree Ascend in all thy gracefulness With golden weave they cover thee, The devir6 palace hears thy eulogy With diverse jewels art thou adorned.

While, to my knowledge, there are no contemporary data on medicinal or psychoactive use of acacia in the Near East, such use is encountered in South America. The indigenous people of the Brazilian state of Pernambuco use the bark of the roots of one species of acacia, Mimosa hostilis (Mimosaceae) in entheogenic ceremonies; in the local dialect it is called jurema (see de Mota 1979, 2005). As explained above in conjunction with Ayahuasca, for the DMT in jurema to have an effect, a second plant, one containing MAO inhibitors, must be added to it. Dr. Grünewald, a Brazilian anthropologist

who participated in jurema ceremonies, investigated the matter and could not discover any other plant admixture (see Grünewald 2005). I, with him, leave the issue open.

The acacia was regarded as sacred by the ancient Egyptians. In their mythologies the tree enjoys a very special status, being associated with the birth of the god Osiris and of that of the pharaohs (Helck 1975). Osiris was said to have been killed by being enclosed in a coffin from which an acacia tree sprouted; out of this tree Osiris (in other versions, Horus) came out to life. Indeed, the ancient Egyptians regarded acacia as the "tree of life" as well as a divine hypostasis (Koemoth 1994). Later legends linked the acacia tree with death and the afterlife. According to the "Book of the Dead" some children lead the deceased to the tree, and coffin texts describe that parts of it were squashed and bruised by the deceased, and then employed with magical healing effects (see <www.pantheon. org/articles/a/acacia.html>). Indeed, acacia served the ancient Egyptians for a variety of medicinal usages, and they also used it for the construction of sarcophagi (Krispil 1988). Moses, we may recall, came from Egypt, and some have even speculated that he was an Egyptian prince (see Freud 1953 [1939]).

These ancient Egyptian myths and legends are pertinent to our discussion here in still another respect. Manifestly, it is a myth of death and rebirth (and in fact it has been suggested that it is at the root of the Christian theology of resurrection as well). Death and rebirth are key facets of both the ayahuasca experience and the Amerindian lore associated with it. Recall that the name Ayahuasca means the vine of death.7

Recently, a personal communication came to my attention of the Israeli painter Ron Gang. Gang specializes in the painting of acacia trees in the desert areas of southern Israel (see <a href="www.rongang.net">www.rongang.net</a> and Figure 2). He notes that Bedouins have told him that they have the traditional custom of conducting oathmaking rituals under these trees. Lastly, and directly related to the old Egyptian myths, is the use of acacia branches as a central symbol of Freemasonry (Pike 1871).

### Acacia and Harmal

Connecting the different threads of our discussion together, let me consider the two plants, acacia and harmal, in tandem.

Recall that the key psychoactive molecules of the Ayahuasca vine are harmine and harmaline, whose name is derived from that

of the Mideastern bush harmal. Following my acquaintance with the Brazilian acacia species jurema, I learned that the seeds of Peganum harmala can be added to jurema and thus a brew can be prepared which, like Ayahuasca, is a mixture of DMT and MAO inhibitors. In a private setting in Brazil, I have partaken of such a brew. Unlike mushrooms, peyote or San Pedro (Trichocerus pachanoi, the South American cactus rich in mescaline) which induce very different psychological experiences, the jurema-cum-peganum concoction impressed me (as well as several other people I have conversed with, all having extensive familiarity with Ayahuasca) as exhibiting a definite resemblance to Ayahuasca. One might say that even though the experiences induced by the two potions are not identical, the feeling is that they both belong to the same family. By way of



Figure 2 'Acacia', a painting by Ron Gang (courtesy of Ron Gang)

analogy, I would say that the Ayahuasca and jurema brews are similar in the way red and white wines are similar to one another, and different from other major entheogens in a manner analogous to the way wines differ from other alcoholic beverages.

### Other Cases

There are several additional cases in ancient Israelite and lewish history in which the use of psychoactive plants other than harmal or acacia is suggested; the first two cases involve biblical stories, the others concern post-biblical reports and exegesis. The topics of these additional cases are neither harmal nor shittim, but they are all suggestive that the ancient Israelites regarded psychoactive plants in high esteem.

The first story concerns Rachel, Jacob's beloved wife, Jacob loved Rachel much more than he did Leah, her sister whom his fatherin-law obliged him to marry as well. "But when the Lord saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Genesis 29:31). "And when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister; and said unto Jacob, Give me children or else I die" (Genesis 30:1). All this is the direct background to our episode, which goes as follows:

And Reuben [Jacob's first son, whose mother is Leah] went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah: Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes. And she said unto her: Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said. Therefore he shall lie

with thee tonight for thy son's mandrakes. (Genesis 30: 14-15)

This story is truly amazing. After the biblical text makes it very clear that the most important thing in Rachel's life was the love of her husband whom she had to share with her hated sister, we are told that this very Rachel is willing to sacrifice her relationship with her husband in order to obtain some mandrakes. Furthermore, it is noted that Leah, too, greatly cherished the mandrakes, for she compares the taking away of these to the taking away of Jacob, the target of rivalry and animosity between the two sisters. Apparently, the reason the narrator inserts this episode within the main story, whose subject matter is Jacob's relationship with his wives and the manner in which his sons (the founders of the twelve tribes of Israel) were begotten, is to indicate how valuable mandrakes were in early Israelite society. Mandrakes are, of course, highly psychoactive (see, for instance, Schultes and Hofmann 1992).

The second biblical story is the Ur-story of them all, that of the Tree of Knowledge. This is one of the most important episodes in the Old Testament, and one of the most intriguing, and the literature about it is vast. Here, let me confine myself to two observations that directly concern the topic of entheogens. The first observation has to do with the cultural beliefs that the story presupposes. Whatever the interpretation one gives to this pivotal story, one thing is clear—it is being told in a context in which people believed that knowledge could be obtained by means of the ingestion of plant material. The second observation concerns the striking similarities between

this biblical story and Amerindian Ayahuasca mythologies. Ayahuasca is associated with more mythologies than any other South American psychoactive agent. In particular, there are many mythological accounts of the origin of the brew. I attribute this to the fact that the discovery of this brew is indeed mind-boggling. As noted above, Ayahuasca requires the combination of two plants, each of which alone does not produce a psychedelic effect. The Amazonian forest is so abundant that it is extremely unlikely that the combination could have been discovered by means of a simple method of trial and error. As acknowledged by several modern scientists, the discovery presents an enigma (see Furst 1976; Naranjo 1983; Narby 1998). Different Amerindian tribes have different stories about the origins of Ayahuasca. However, an examination of about ten such stories that I have found in the anthropological literature reveals some common themes. These include snakes and an act of a crime, usually an illicit sexual act. Furthermore, the first encounter with Ayahuasca is usually characterized as a cataclysmic event. Before, human life was paradisiacal—people lived in harmony with nature, all their basic survival needs were readily provided for, and they could also converse with the animals: since the appearance of Ayahuasca, human life has involved work and struggle. The discovery of Ayahuasca is also regarded as the birth of human culture. For instance, with it people discovered knowledge, their tribal identity, marital laws, and music (see, for instance, Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975 and Luna and White 2000). The resemblance to the biblical story of the Tree of Knowledge requires no further comment.

The next case is that of the incense employed in the Temple of Jerusalem (the ktoret, also known as ktoret ha-samim, the incense of drugs). This incense contained a series of ingredients, the identity of most not known to us today. Its recipe was held secret, known only to one priestly family, and with the destruction of the Temple it was lost. The ktoret was used daily in regular temple services, but only once a year was it offered inside the Holy of Holies, the inner sanctum of the Temple. This was done alone, by the High Priest, on Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. The Talmud narrates that there was a danger the High Priest might not return sound and well, and that therefore a chain of fine gold was attached to his robe trailing outside for others to monitor his well-being. Drawing on a phonological similarity of the word "ktoret" and the Hebrew word for "connectivity," the Zohar, the great kabbalistic text, explains that the ktoret established a connection between God and Man.

The sacred incense is also at the center of two other episodes from the life of Moses, both involved transgression with fatal consequences. In the first, Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, the first High Priest and Moses' brother, offered the incense not according to the regulations and without permit, and were immediately killed by fire that came out of the ktoret (Leviticus 10: I-7). The second episode concerns the revolt by the priest family of Korah against the authority of Moses; this revolt too involved an illicit use of the incense. The revolutionaries were punished by death, and later an epidemic broke out among the people. Aaron cured the afflicted using the incense (Numbers 16–17). Bringing the two

episodes together, later Jewish scholars and kabbalists explained that the ktoret was a drug both deadly and of great healing power.

For quite some time now, it has been suggested that the term 'cannabis' is a cognate of the Hebrew term knei bosem, which means fragrant reeds and is indicated as one of the ingredients of the sacred incense employed first in the tabernacle and later in the two temples of Jerusalem (for the original hypothesis, see Benetowa 1967 [1936]; for further discussion, see Bennett and McQueen 2001). Very recently, I have been told of a yet unpublished research project currently conducted by Mechoulam and Moussaieff (personal communication). These Israeli pharmacologists have discovered that the Boswellia resin is a mild psychoactive agent. This resin, levona in Hebrew, was a major component of the incense burned in the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem. It was also used in religious rituals by the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, as well as from the fourth century by Christians. Yet another curious piece of information is encountered in the writings of first-century Jewish historian Josephus Flavius who mentions that on the mitre of the Jewish High Priest there was golden image of the plant Hyoscyamus. This plant is known to be highly psychoactive (see Schleiffer 1979, pp. 169-70).

Lastly, after this paper had been written, I asked an orthodox lew well versed in the rabbinical and kabbalistic literature to read it.8 He directed me to the writings of Rabbeinu Be'cha'yei ben Asher, a medieval Jewish scholar (1255-1340) famous for his interpretation of the Torah. Rabbeinu Be'cha'yei writes that the purest of foods were created at the very beginning of

Creation in order to allow for the attainment of higher knowledge. He explicitly relates this to the biblical tree of knowledge, and comments further that such higher knowledge can also be gained through the use of drugs and medicines available at his time. In addition he notes that the Manna had such qualities as well (recalling the contemporary work of Merkur on the Manna as an entheogen mentioned earlier in this paper).

### Biblical Entheogens: a Speculative Conclusion

By way of conclusion, let me summarize the line of argumentation presented here. In the southern regions of the Holy Land and in the Sinai peninsula there grow two plants containing the molecules that together constitute the key ingredients of one of the most powerful psychedelic substances in existence, the Amazonian brew Ayahuasca. One plant is Peganum harmala, harmal in Arabic, the other is Acacia, shita (plural, shittim) in Hebrew; they contain betacarbolines and DMT, respectively. In the Bible, there are no indications of the use of the first plant, but there is clear evidence that the second plant was most valued. From it were made the tabernacle and the ark in which the Mosaic Tablets of the Law were guarded. The acacia tree was also regarded as sacred by the ancient Egyptians. Nowadays, traditional Arab and Bedouin healers employ both plants in their curative practices. Likewise, Jews throughout the Middle East use harmal in various forms for medicine and sorcery.

In the Bible we discover clear indications that psychoactive plants were highly valued in ancient Israelite society. Remarkably, several

In his book Poisons sacrés, ivresses divines (which, to my knowledge, has not been translated into English), Philippe de Félice (1970 [1936]) reviews various cultures throughout the world and notes the use of psychotropic substances in them. The use of such substances, most of which fall in our contemporary Western culture under the label "drug," has in many traditions been considered sacred. Indeed, de Félice points out that in many religions, both in the old world and in the new, the use of such substances was (and often still is) central. The substances, or the plants from which they were produced, were deemed holy and at times even divine. De Félice puts forward the hypothesis that the use of psychotropic substances is deeply embedded in human culture and intrinsically intertwined with what he characterizes as the most basic human instinct—the search for transcendence. Thus, he proposes, the use of psychotropic substances is at the root of perhaps all religions.

Subsequently, similar ideas have been expounded in various different quarters. Indeed, an increasing number of people refer to the psychoactive agents more generally known as psychedelic (mind-expanding) or hallucinogenic by the term entheogen—that is, agents that bring one in touch with the Divine within. This term was coined by Ruck et al. (1979) and further discussed by Ott (1996) and by Jesse (2001). For discussions of the relationship between entheogens and the origin of religion, as well as that of the use of entheogens in religious practices, the reader is referred to La Barre (1972), Wasson et al. (1986), Ott (1995), Smith (1964, 2000), the anthologies edited by Forte (1997), Roberts (2001), and Labate

and Goulart (2005) as well as Devereux (1997) and Rudgley (1993), the reviews by Shanon (2001b, 2002c) and the non-scientific proposals of McKenna (1992). A modern experimental study of the religious import of psychoactive substances is that of Pahnke (1972); illuminating intellectual discussions of the spiritual and religious significance of entheogens are offered in Smith (1964, 1976, 2000).

The recourse of powerful psychoactive plants and preparations in order to establish contact with the higher realms of spirituality has been at the very heart of shamanic practices all over the globe. Special mention will be made below of the major instrument of Amazonian shamanism, the hallucinogenic brew Ayahuasca. Psychoactive plants and substances were also prominent in the urban cultures of pre-Colombian America—the Aztec, the Mayan and the Incaic. For further information the reader is referred to Dobkin de Rios (1984), Harner (1972, 1973), Langdon (1979), Langdon and Baer (1992), Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975, 1978), Walsh (1990), and Winkelman (1995, 2000). Further information on hallucinogens and their role in traditional cultures is found in Dobkin de Rios (1984), Furst (1976, 1990), Harner (1973), Ott (1993), and Schultes and Hoffman (1992). For works especially concerned with pre-Colombian America see Emboden (1981, 1982), Emboden and Dobkin de Rios (1981), Ott and Wasson (1983), Ripinsky-Naxon (1998), Schultes (1972), Schultes and Winkelman (1995), and Wasson (1961, 1980).

But psychoactive plants and substances also played a key role in the religions of the old world. Wasson (1968) proposed that Soma, the magical nectar of the Hindu Vedas,

key episodes in the life of Moses exhibit features that are prominent symptoms of the Ayahuasca experience. These episodes include Moses' first encounter with the Divine and the Theophany at Mt. Sinai, traditionally regarded to be the most important event in all of Jewish history. Later Jewish rabbinical and mystical texts lend further support for the present entheogenic hypothesis.

Taken together, the botanical and anthropological data on the one hand, and the biblical descriptions as well as later Jewish hermeneutics on the other, are, I propose, suggestive of a biblical entheogenic connection. Admittedly, the smoking gun is not available to us. However, so many clues present themselves which, like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, seem to cohere into an intriguing unified whole. I leave it to the reader to pass his or her judgment.

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#### Notes

A good number of years passed between the conception of the ideas presented in this paper and their coming out in print. To a great extent this is due to the non-orthodox, iconoclastic nature of the thesis suggested here. I appreciate the open-mindedness of the editors of *Time & Mind* in dealing with this paper. An aural presentation of these materials was delivered at the Conference on Entheogenesis in Vancouver in February, 2004.

- 2 After all, would one ever conceive writing about music without ever having heard music him/herself?
- 3 However, there are reports that at sufficiently high dosages the harmaline alkaloids can produce hallucinations even without the addition of DMT (see Shanon 2002a; Ott 1993).
- 4 This is a play on words. The text means both 'The brew is force', etc., and 'Give me force', etc.
- 5 These restrictions are with reason. They come by way of minimizing adverse physiological reactions as well as physical malaise during the course of the inebriation.
- 6 The devir is the inner sanctum, the holy of holies, of the Jewish temple.
- 7 Interestingly, the Greek myths associated with the mysteries of Eleusis mentioned above also have death and rebirth as their main theme (Wasson, Kramrisch, Ott, and Ruck 1986).
- 8 This person did not want his name to appear in print.

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Figure | Peganum Harmala (photo: Avinoam Danin)

was actually an infusion of a hallucinogenic mushroom, Amanita muscaria. The sacred drink employed in ancient Zoroastrian religion, the Homa or Haoma, was also suggested to be a psychoactive agent, its constituent plant being the shrub Peganum harmala (harmal in Arabic). Indeed, Flattery and Schwartz (1989) argue that the Indian Soma was made of this shrub, not of a mushroom as suggested by Wasson.

The literary evidence concerning the prominence of altered states of consciousness in the religious rites of ancient Oh, King Soma, prolong our lives Like the sun who nourishes the days every morning.

\*

The Soma is full of intelligence It inspires man with enthusiasm It makes the poets sing.

\*

We have drunk the Soma: we have come to be immortal, we have arrived at the Light, we have reached the Gods.

\*

Half of me is in the skies, and the other extends to the low depths
Have I drunk Soma?
I am tall to the utmost, my elevation reaches the clouds
Have I drunk Soma?

(Rig Veda)

Oh Haoma of gold, I am asking you for wisdom, force, victory, health, healing, prosperity and grandeur.

(Zen Ayesta)

As for ancient Europe, Wasson and his collaborators (Wasson, Hoffman, and Ruck, 1978; Wasson et al. 1986) proposed that at

the center of the famous Greek mysteries of Eleusis was the consumption of yet another psychoactive brew, one containing ergot alkaloids. (See also Ruck 2006, where the entheogenic role of mushrooms is discussed.)

Suggestions have been made that the three great monotheistic religions of the West—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—also have their roots in the consumption of psychoactive substances. In his famous and controversial The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross, Allegro (1970) associated the origin of Christianity to a psychoactive mushroom; this work is primarily based on philological analysis. Other entheogenic theories concerning early Christianity were later put forth by Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich (2001) and Ruck (2006) as well as by Bennett and McQueen (2001) and, most recently, Gosso and Camilla (2007). In particular, basing their argumentation on the analysis of works of art and textual exegesis, Ruck and his associates proposed that early Christianity involved the use of psychoactive mushrooms. Further religious artwork from medieval Spain and Italy portrays associations between datura and sacred knowledge, hence a possible indication of an entheogenic use of this potent psychoactive plant (Celdrán and Ruck 2001).

Similar suggestions were also made in conjunction with Islam. Studying Arab and Bedouin folklore in southern Jordan, the independent investigator Rami Sadji hypothesized that Islam and pre-Islamic Arab religion are grounded in the use of entheogens (Sajdi at <a href="www.acacialand.com">www.acacialand.com</a>). And just as this manuscript went to press, a most interesting scholarly work discussing entheogens in Islam appeared (see Dannaway, Piper, and Webster 2006).

This paper is concerned with Judaism. Merkur (1985, 2001), a psychoanalyst and student of religion, proposed that the Manna the people of Israel received from heaven during their wandering through the Sinai desert was actually an entheogen. Here I would like to put forth a hypothesis, admittedly speculative, regarding other enteogenic uses in early Hebrew religion.

Before turning to the subject matter itself, I would like to clarify the nature of my involvement in the issues at hand. I am a cognitive psychologist and a philosopher of psychology whose main professional concern is the phenomenology of human consciousness. For about twenty-five years I have been studying normal waking consciousness, and I have attempted to formulate a structured theory thereof (see Shanon 1989, 1998c, in press). Fifteen years ago, the contingencies of life led me to encounter the Amazonian powerful psychoactive brew Ayahuasca, and to have my first personal experiences with it. Subsequently, when reading about the topic, I was struck by the similarity between the visions I have had with the brew and those reported in the records of the experiences of indigenous Amerindians. This made me entertain the idea that Ayahuasca visions are not, as anthropologists have claimed (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975), the manifestation of the fantasies of the minds of primitive people, but rather a symptom of the working of the human mind, the mind of Homo sapiens in general. I shall note that at the time of my first encounter with Ayahuasca practically all scientific studies of this brew belonged either to the natural sciences (botany, pharmacology, physiology, and medicine) or to cultural anthropology. My

assessment, however, is that in its essence. the phenomenon at hand pertains to the realm of internal experience, and thus to the discipline concerned with mind and consciousness. In line with the pioneering insights of William James (1929) and Aldous Huxley (1971), I regard the study of psychoactive plants and their effects as a most precious avenue for the study of the human cognitive system in general and of the phenomenon of consciousness in particular. Thus, I have launched the first cognitivepsychological study of Ayahuasca ever conducted.

Empirically, my work is based on the interviewing of a large number of persons coming from different locales and contexts of use as well as on my own extensive experience with this brew. (I have partaken of it about 160 times in various locales and contexts.2) Theoretically, this research project presents a systematic, comprehensive charting of the various facets of the Ayahuasca experience and offers a novel theoretical framework to conceptualize them from a cognitive psychological perspective. The results of these investigations are reported in my comprehensive monograph The Antipodes of the Mind (Shanon 2002a) as well as in Shanon (1998a, 1998b, 2002b, 2003a, 2003c). One main finding of my research is that, indeed, Ayahuasca visions exhibit significant inter-personal commonalities that defy socio-cultural variations.

Lastly by way of introduction, I am a Jew who, though not observant, finds the Jewish textual heritage to be personally very meaningful. Following my experiences with Ayahuasca, I came to regard various aspects of the Jewish heritage from a new

### Ayahuasca

Before I turn to Moses and the Bible, let me present some further information about Ayahuasca and about the Mideastern bush, harmal.

Ayahuasca is one of the most important, and most powerful, of the psychoactive agents employed in Amerindian cultures (see Schultes 1982). Etymologically, "ayahuasca" in Quechua (the language of the Inca empire) is a compound word meaning

"the vine of the spirits" or "the vine of death."The brew is made out of two plants. Usually, the first is Banisteriopsis caapi (Malpighiaceae), a liana, whereas the second is Psychotria viridis (Rubiacaea), a bush which in the vernacular is referred to as chacruna. In common parlance, the term Ayahuasca is used to refer not only to the brew but also to the first of the two constituent plants. The indigenous peoples of the upper Amazon region have used Ayahuasca for millennia, and in the vast region including western Brazil and the eastern areas of Ecuador, Peru and Colombia, Ayahuasca has been the main pillar of the native culture. In the past, Ayahuasca was used for all major decisions of a tribe, particularly declaring war and locating game for hunting. It was also at the center of initiation rites. Today, Ayahuasca remains a common instrument of shamans and medicine-men (see for instance Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, 1975, 1978; as well as Dobkin de Rios 1972, 1992; Langdon, 1979, and Luna 1986). The brew also serves as a pivotal sacrament in several new syncretic religions that bring together the old Amerindian traditions of the Amazon and popular Christianity (see Labate and Sena Araújo 2002; Polari 1999).

Typically, Ayahuasca induces powerful visions as well as hallucinations in all other perceptual modalities. Pronounced nonperceptual cognitive effects are also manifest. These include personal insights, intellectual ideations, affective reactions and profound spiritual and mystical experiences. Moreover, Ayahuasca may introduce those who partake of it to what are experienced as other realities. Those who consume the brew may feel that they are gaining access to new sources of knowledge and that the

mysteries and ultimate truths of the universe are being revealed to them. All this is often coupled with what Ayahuasca drinkers describe as an encounter with the Divine.

Chemically, the main active constituents of the brew are the alkaloids N,N-Dimethyltryptamine or DMT, harmine, and harmaline. The first is a potent hallucinogen, but it is inactive when taken orally. The deactivation of DMT is itself blocked by the other constituents, all beta-carbolines which are monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors. The beta-carbolines protect the DMT from deamination by the MAO and thus render it orally active. (For a classical review, see Schultes 1972; for more recent comprehensive discussions, see Ott 1993, 1994, as well as Strassman 2001.)

The consumption of each constituent of the Ayahuasca potion alone does not result in hallucinatory effects.3 For this, the two indicated plants (or their functional equivalents) are needed. Specifically, DMT, the substance inducing the hallucinations, is found in the chacruna, whereas the other compounds are found in the Ayahuasca vine. It is often said that the first constituent gives light, whereas the second gives forceful energy, but for the hallucinogenic effects the combination of the two is necessary. At times, alternative constituent plants are used, but the basic principle is always maintained: one plant contains DMT whereas the second contains the MAO inhibitors.

As noted above in Brazil there are several syncretic religions combining Christian and/or African traditions with Ayahuasca rituals. In one such religion, the Church of Santo Daime, hymns are sung during the Ayahuasca (in that context the brew is called Daime-in

vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, "give me") session. Personally, I was very much struck by the great similarity between many of these hymns and those of the Vedic and Zoroastrian traditions. The following are my own free translations of some representative fragments of Daime hymns; the interested reader is referred to MacRae (1992) and Polari (1999):

Daime force, Daime light Daime love !4

Daime ... the professor of all professors

I have taken this drink It has incredible power It demonstrates to all of us Here in this truth

I have climbed, I have climbed, I have climbed I have climbed with joy

When reaching the Heights I encountered the Virgin Mary

I have climbed with love

I have climbed, I have climbed, I have climbed

I have encountered the Eternal Father And the Redeemer, Jesus Christ

The hymns from which these fragments are taken are said to have been received by the founder of the Daime Church, Mestre Irineu Sera, a rubber-plantation worker who lived in the Bolivian and Brazilian Amazon during the early part of the twentieth century. Surely, he did not know of either the Vedas or of the Zoroastrian religion. I have cited from these hymns, even though they pertain to

a tradition totally different from that which is the topic of this paper, to give further support to the hypothesis, made by Flattery and Schwartz (1989) and cited above, according to which the Hindu Soma and the Iranian Haoma are to be identified with Peganum hammala, the Near Eastern harmal.

### Harmal

The MAO inhibitors harmine and harmaline contained in *Banisteriopsis caapi* are also found in the above mentioned shrub of the Near East, *Peganum harmala*. Indeed, the scientific name of the plant as well as the names of the active substances in question derive from the name *harmal*. In Arabic, this means "taboo" as well as "sacred." Of the same root is the Hebrew word *herem*, which means "taboo."

Having had quite extensive experience with Ayahuasca, I was curious about harmal. Following the instructions of Dr. Mina Paran, a pharmacologist who is an expert on the medicinal plants of the Land of Israel, I found a large field of the plant. It was just in front of the Oumran caves, the home of the Essenes, the ancient Judaic (and perhaps proto-Christian) mystic group who lived in the Judaean desert from the second century BCE to the second century CE. Qumran is also the place where the oldest biblical manuscripts (along with other religious texts), the so-called Dead Sea scrolls, have been found. I was startled. Intuitively, it seemed to me eyident: The Essenes must have made use of this psychoactive plant. I did not have any empirical proof for this but found the coincidence most powerful.

In the Bible there is not a single mention of harmal. Or rather, we do not know of any. Of course, the old Hebraic text is replete

with names of plants whose botanical identification we do not know or of which we cannot be certain.

However, harmal is associated with a long medicinal tradition in the Near East, Feliks (1997) reports that a twelfth-century lewish encyclopedia-like text describes harmal as a medicinal plant. Inquiries I have made in Israel with Jews from Iran and Morocco confirmed that harmal was traditionally associated with various magical and curative powers. In Iran, harmal (known as asphan) incense was used to exorcize evil spirits, whereas Moroccan Jews used harmal in various medical treatments as well as for the induction of abortion. Further still Yemeni Jews used the plant to heighten one's spirit and in treatments against depression, and in (Arabian) Egypt it was known to have hallucinogenic properties (for reviews of which, see Emboden 1972; Danin 1983; and Palevitch and Yaniv 1991). Surfing on the Internet I encountered the abovementioned site of the lordanian researcher of traditional Bedouin medicine, Rami Sajdi. Sajdi discovered that Bedouin healers have used harmal for both medicine and sorcery. Sajdi also reports on many mythological and folkloristic tales associated with the plant.

### Moses and the Psychedelic Experience

Let us now go back to the OldTestament, to Moses. As written in conjunction with his passing away, at the very end of the Pentateuch: "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face" (Deuteronomy 34:10; see also Exodus 33:11; all citations in this paper are taken from the King James translation). Indeed, in the Jewish tradition it is said that

whereas all prophets saw the divine through a speculum that does not shine, only Moses saw God through a speculum that shines and spoke to him directly, face to face (Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yevamot, 49b); for further discussion, see Scholem (1993) and Wolfson (1994).

Following are five episodes in Moses' life that struck me as exhibiting patterns that are typical of psychedelic experiences. More specifically, all patterns are very similar to ones that, in my own personal experience corroborated by interviews with a great number of other users of the brew, are encountered while under the effects of Ayahuasca.

The first episode is Moses' very first encounter with God. It took place in the Sinai desert, where Moses resided with his father-in-law, Jethro, who was the priest of the desert people of Midian. Consider the following:

Moses kept the flock of Jethro ... and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see. God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. (Exodus 3:1-4)

Encountering the Divine is one of the most powerful experiences associated with highlevel Ayahuasca inebriation, (For an extended description of the experiences within the

indigenous Amazonian context, the reader is referred to Payaguaje 1983; for other examples and further discussion, see Shanon 2002a, 2001b, 2002c.) Experiences of this kind, however, are private and delicate to the utmost and I prefer not to comment on them further Rather I would like to focus on the other element in the description, the bush which was not consumed.

I propose that this event involved no change in the real world, having nothing to do with either the bush or the fire. Rather, it reflected a radical alteration in the state of consciousness of the beholder—that is, Moses. Moses' sense of time changed, and an actual moment in physical time was subjectively perceived as an eternity. Such altered perception of time is common with high levels of Ayahuasca inebriation (Shanon 200 I a). Thus, gazing at the bush, Moses felt that much time had passed. In particular, he felt that enough time had passed for the bush in front of him to be burnt and consumed. But in the external physical domain, only a fraction of a second had elapsed, hence no actual change in the bush was perceived.

Also of interest is a comment made by Feliks (1994) in a lexicon of plants of the Holy Land. He notes that various (uncited) investigators have proposed that the bush was either a plant that produces light scintillations or that it was a hallucinogen. In the latter case, he suggests the gum that grows on acacia trees. We shall return to acacia below.

A second biblical episode is that of the encounter of Moses and his brother Aaron with Pharaoh's sorcerers. In it both parties transformed rods into serpents (or great reptiles). As attested by both the

# Murphy Ranch - The Nazi Compound in Rustic Canyon

# October 18, 2013 By Jeff Hester4 Comments



This easy 3.1 mile lollipop loop hike in Rustic Canyon has the added bonus of a lesson from one of the more bizarre chapters in Los Angeles history. In the 1930's, work began on an elaborate complex known as Murphy Ranch. Ostensibly, Ms. Murphy was wealthy heiress who wanted to build a mansion back in the secluded Rustic Canyon on land purchased from Will Rogers.

Records suggest that there never was a "Ms. Murphy" (although the name stuck) and in fact, the Silver Shirts — a pro-Nazi organization — was building a self-sufficient compound where they could ride out World War II until Hitler finally won. Obviously, things didn't turn out as they planned.

Distance: 3.1 miles Time: 1-2 hours Difficulty: Easy

Elevation gain: 630 ft

Dogs: Yes

When to go: Year-round

The day after Pearl Harbor, the compound was seized and the inhabitants arrested. But 80 years later, many of the structures and artifacts from the original compound remain. Hiking back to Murphy Ranch is scenic, but also a fascinating glimpse of "Hidden LA."

# Getting to the Trailhead

There is no official trailhead parking, and the street parking nearest the trail is permit only. We found free street parking on Amalfi Drive near the intersection with Capri Drive in Pacific Palisades, but be sure to read the signs carefully. From there, we walked uphill on Capri to the end and turned left on Casale Road, following it into Rustic Canyon. At the last house, the trail begins and Casale Road becomes the Sullivan Fire Road. You'll find the area here on Google Maps.

# Hiking to Murphy Ranch

About 1/4 mile down the Sullivan Fire Road we reached a gate with a sign for Camp Josepho. This is a Boy Scout camp operated roughly in the area further up the canyon beyond Murphy

#### Ranch.



Trail Details



Trail Details

At about one mile down the fire road, you'll reach a break in a chain link fence on your left. This leads to a series of over 500 concrete steps down into Rustic Canyon, built as part of a network of paths and stairs that dot the compound.

We started down the stairs. Just below the road is a large storage tank, apparently for fuel (there's another large tank for water you'll pass later). Put in that context, you can understand that the people who built this compound were really planning to hunker down. They were striving to be completely self-sufficient.



The tank is covered in street art, both outside and inside. As you wander around the tank, take a moment to peer into the opening near the ground and you'll be able to catch a glimpse artwork inside the tank as well.



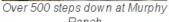
Trail Details

We headed down the steps. And down. And down.

It's really remarkable how many steps there are. Fortunately, we're not going to take the steps back out of the canyon.

Before you reach the bottom of Rustic Canyon, you'll come to a paved road. Turn right, and keep your eyes open for (you guessed it) another set of stairs heading down to the bottom of the canyon on your left.







Steps at the Nazi compound



More steps built back in the 1930's



To your left, you'll see the remains of the greenhouse.
Within these raised bed planters, the group planned to grow their own food.





Canyon



Trail Details



Trail Details

age and the simple fact that no one is maintaining it. The street artists who paint it have adopted it as their own ever-evolving canvas — with layers upon layers of art covering every inch of wall and ceiling.

From the power house, we followed Rustic Canyon Trail (an old paved road at this point) up the canyon to explore the other ruins.

It's surprising what you can see amid the rubble and rust. An old sink. A refrigerator. A stove. Signs that people lived here at one time, now long ago.

Taking in our fill of the compound, we turned and head back to the power house, then up the first stairs to the south. At the paved road, turn left this time, and follow it up into Rustic Canyon. You'll pass a grove of eucalyptus trees planted in the early 20th century by Abbot Kinney — better known for starting the city of Venice, California. The road winds around and



climbs higher and higher. You'll reach a bend that wraps around a large water tank, and then see the main gate to the complex ahead.

This gate leads back to the Sullivan Fire



Trail Details



Trail Details

Road. Follow the fire road south, about 1.25 miles back to your starting point. You'll see some great views back down Rustic Canyon on your way back to the trailhead.

# The Future of Murphy Ranch

Most of Rustic Canyon is part of the **Topanga State Park**, but Murphy Ranch is an "island"
currently owned by the City of Los Angeles.
The city would like to give the land to
Topanga State Park, but they won't accept it
until the ruins are demolished — a costly
proposition.

From time to time, there are reports and rumors that the buildings are scheduled for demolition. For now, Murphy Ranch survives as a canvas for local street artists and a reminder of a strange chapter in LA's history.

Tom Explores Los Angeles has some great details on the history of Murphy Ranch.



Click on any photo to view a larger version. You can also leave comments on any photo.



Rustic Canyon Entrance to Topanga State Park



IMG\_8674



Main Gate to the Murphy Ranch Abandoned Nazi Compound



Peering through the opening in the fence and down the Over 500 steps down at Murphy 8:07 am Ranch

- · There's plenty of sun exposure on the fire road. Bring sunscreen and a hat.
- · The area is not maintained, and the buildings and structures are in various states of ruin. There are many hazards, and I probably wouldn't bring children here.
- Dogs are allowed (unusual since the trail passes through Topanga State Park) but must be kept on leash.

June 11, 2013

Johnsays

November 11, 2013 at

Great post Jeff. I love

finding hidden gems like this.

2. Ranger James Valdezsays

stairs



Tank near the first stairs



Inside the Storage Tank





3. Hiker4 says

April 15, 2015 at 3:07 pm

HIKE WITH PRECAUTION! We checked out the compound on Saturday, April

> 11th, 2015 and were



Still more steps into Rustic Canyon



Steps at the Nazi compound



More steps built back in the 1930's



Murphy Ranch power house



Remains of the greenhouse

followed. The man appeared naked and with a large knife. He was white (but very tan), late40s-50s, and mustache. His knife was long, serrated, and curved. He asked if we were interested in him. Soon after hiking back toward the staircase, a cop car showed up.

# 4. Jeff Hestersays

April 15, 2015 at 5:04 pm



@Hiker4 – Holy Cow! That sounds scary! When I've been there, there were always plenty of other hikers in the vicinity. Makes a good case for going in a group. Glad you survived, in any case!

The Powerhouse at Murphy Ranch



Murphy Ranch - an island in Topanga State Park





http://socalhiker.net/murphy-ranch-the-nazi-compound-in-rustic-canyon/





Power house window

Fisheye view from the roof of the power house



Nazi compound ruins in Pacific Palisades





/\* Copyright 2014 Evernote Corporation. All rights reserved. \*/.en-markup-crop-options { top: 18px !important; left: 50% !important; margin-left: -100px !important; width: 200px !important; border: 2px rgba(255,255,255,38) solid !important; border-radius: 4px !important; } .en-markup-crop-options div div:first-of-type { margin-left: 0px !important; }

# One Man's Heartbreaking Return Home After 22 Years As A Slave

| By By MARGIE MASON huffingtonpost.com

Posted: 07/01/2015 12:05 am EDT Updated: 2 hours ago



TUAL, Indonesia (AP) — All he did was ask to go home.

The last time the Burmese slave made the same request, he

was beaten almost to death. But after being gone eight years and forced to work on a boat in faraway Indonesia, Myint Naing was willing to risk everything to see his mother again.

So he threw himself on the ground and begged for freedom. Instead, the captain vowed to kill him for trying to jump ship, and chained him for three days without food or water.

He was afraid he would disappear. And that his mother would have no idea where to look.

Myint is one of more than 800 current and former slaves rescued or repatriated after a year-long Associated Press investigation into pervasive labor abuses in Southeast Asia's fishing industry.

Thailand's booming seafood business alone runs on an estimated 200,000 migrant workers, many of them forced onto boats after being tricked, kidnapped or sold. It's a brutal trade that has operated for decades, with companies relying on slaves to supply fish to the United States, Europe and Japan — on dinner tables and in cat food bowls.

Myint, his family and his friends recounted his story to AP, which also followed parts of his journey. It is strikingly similar to accounts given by many of the more than 330 current and former slaves from Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand interviewed in person or in writing by AP.

In 1993, a broker visited Myint's village in southern Myanmar with promises of jobs for young men in Thailand. Myint was only 18 years old, with no travel experience, but his family was desperate for money. So his mother finally relented. When the agent returned, he hustled his new recruits to grab their bags immediately.

Myint's mother wasn't home. He never got to say goodbye.

A month later, Myint found himself at sea. After 15 days, his boat finally docked on the remote Indonesian island of Tual, surrounded by one of the world's richest fishing grounds. The Thai captain shouted that everyone on board now belonged to him: "You Burmese are never going home. You were sold, and no one is ever coming to rescue you."

Myint spent weeks at a time on the open ocean, living only on rice and the parts of the catch no one else would eat. As Thailand's seafood export industry has expanded, overfishing has forced trawlers farther into foreign waters. So migrants are now trapped for months, or even years, aboard floating prisons.

During the busiest times, the men worked up to 24 hours a day. There was no medicine, and they were forced to drink boiled sea water. Anyone who took a break or fell ill was hit by the captain. Fishermen said that workers on some boats were killed if they slowed down, while others simply flung themselves overboard.

Myint was paid only \$10 a month, and sometimes not at all. By 1996, after three years, he had had enough: He asked for the first time to go home.

His request was answered by a helmet cracking his skull.

He ran away. An Indonesian family took mercy on Myint until he healed, and then offered him food and shelter for work on their farm. For five years, he lived this simple life. But he couldn't forget his relatives in Myanmar, otherwise known as Burma, or the friends he left behind on the boat.

In 2001, he heard one captain was offering to take fishermen back home if they agreed to work. So, eight years after he first arrived in Indonesia, he returned to the sea.

But the conditions were just as appalling as the first time, and the money still didn't come. If anything, the slave trade was getting worse. To meet growing demand, brokers sometimes even drugged and kidnapped migrant workers to get them on board.

After nine months on the water, Myint's captain told the crew he was abandoning them to go back to Thailand alone. Furious and desperate, the Burmese slave once again pleaded to go home. That, he said, was when he was chained to the boat.

Searching desperately, he found a small piece of metal to pick the lock. Hours later, he heard a click. The shackles slid off. He dove into the black water after midnight and swam to shore.

Myint hid alone in the jungle in Tual. He couldn't go to the police, afraid they might hand him over to the captains. He had no numbers to call home, and he was scared to contact the Myanmar embassy because it would expose him as an illegal migrant.

He had lost nearly a decade to slavery, and had suffered what appeared to be a stroke, leaving his right arm partly paralyzed. He started to believe the captain had been right: There really was no escape.

By now, he had forgotten what his mother looked like and knew his little sister would be all grown up.

In 2011, the solitude had become too much. Myint moved to the island of Dobo, where he heard there was a small community of former Burmese slaves. He continued to live quietly, surviving on the vegetables he grew.

Then one day in April, a friend told him an AP report on slavery had spurred the Indonesian government to start rescuing current and former slaves. Officials came to Dobo and took Myint back to Tual — the island where he was once enslaved — to join hundreds of other free men.

After 22 years in Indonesia, Myint was finally going home. But what, he wondered, would he find?

The flight to Myanmar's biggest city, Yangon, was a terrifying first. Myint, now 40, was a stranger to his own country.

Making his way to his small village, he spotted a plump Burmese woman.

They exploded into an embrace, and the tears that spilled were of joy and mourning for all the lost time apart. "Brother, it's so good that you are back!" his little sister sobbed. "We don't need money! We just need family!"

Minutes later, he saw his mother, running toward him.

He howled and fell to the ground. She swept him up in her arms and softly stroked his head, cradling him as he let everything go.

He was finally free to see the face from his dreams. He would never forget it again.

EDITOR'S NOTE — Myint Naing's story comes from interviews with him, his family, his friends and other former slaves, and through following his journey to his home in Myanmar. He's among hundreds rescued and returned to their families after a year-long AP investigation exposed extreme labor abuses in Southeast Asia's seafood industry. Reporters documented how slave-caught fish was shipped from Indonesia to Thailand. It can then be exported to the United States and cloud the supply chains of supermarkets and distributors, including Wal-Mart, Sysco and Kroger, and pet food brands, such as Fancy Feast, Meow Mix and lams. The companies have all said they strongly condemn labor abuse and are taking steps to prevent it.

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# Myths and legends surrounding the Blarney Stone

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Kissing the Blamey Stone is said to brings people the "the ability to deceive without offending.

If every myth and legend about the Blarney Stone were true, it would be the most significant rock in history, but unfortunately, most seem to be fabrications, to say the least.

The stone was put into a tower of the Blarney Castle in 1446 and has become one of Ireland's most successful tourist attractions. As the legends goes, if one kisses the stone, they are said to be bestowed with the gift of eloquence and the skill of flattery. Where the stone exactly came from and how we arrived at our current understanding of the stone remains uncertain. The lack of a clear history has allowed mythological explanations to take prominence to what the Blarney Stone is and was.



Kissing the Blamey Stone is said to brings people the "the ability to deceive without offending."

Lets take a look at the popular tales, myths, and legends surround the Blarney Stone.

The first story involves the goddess Cliodhna and Cormac Laidir MacCarthy. Cormac was troubled with a lawsuit and feared the ruling would be against him. He prayed to the goddess Cliodhna and she told him to kiss the first stone he finds on the way to court. In the morning, MacCarthy kissed the

first stone he found and immediately was given the ability to speak with eloquence. MacCarthy won his case and afterwards brought the stone to be incorporated into the parapet of the Castle.

The most plausible of the tales involves Queen Elizabeth I and Cormac Teige McCarthy. Queen Elizabeth I wanted Irish chiefs to 'occupy' their own lands under title from her. Cormac Teige McCarthy, the lord of Blarney, was able to use his words and wit to keep the queen satisfied without officially signing over the rights to his land. Some assert that the stone gave Cormac the gift of eloquence after an old women told him of the stone's power while others believe no magic to have gone into Cormac's ability to avoid the Queen's wishes without offending her.

The official Blarney Castle website explains that, "we believe a witch saved from drowning revealed its powers to the MacCarthys." As the story goes, the witch simply told the MacCarthys of the stone's great power in thanks for saving her life.



Kissing the Blamey Stone is said to brings people the "the ability to deceive without offending



Kissing the Blamey Stone is said to brings people the "the ability to deceive without offending.

Others believe the Blarney Stone spent some time in Scotland. How the stone ended up in Scotland is whole other mix of tall tales that go all the way back to the Prophet Jeremiah. It is said that the blarney stone was originally the stone of Jacob from the Book of Genesis and was brought to Ireland by the Prophet Jeremiah. The stone was first used in Ireland as an oracular throne and would become known as the Lia Fail or 'fatal stone.' It was next said to serve as the deathbed pillow for St Columba before being removed to the mainland of Scotland.

In 1314, Cormac McCarthy sent 5,000 men to aid Robert the Bruce and Scotland in their fight against the English at the Battle of Bannockburn. Many believe the blarney stone to be a piece of the stone of the scone, or stone of destiny, the seating place of the first King of Scots during his coronation in 847. The stone is said to be gifted to

Ireland as a thank you for supporting Scotland at the Battle at Bannockburn. Modern technology dismisses the notion that the Blarney Stone originated anywhere outside of Ireland.

Some suggest that the stone was brought back to Ireland during the crusades. They assert that the Stone of Ezel, where David hid from Saul on the advice of Jonathan, ended up as the Blarney Stone.

A few people have even been brave enough to suggest that the Blarney Stone is the same stone that Moses himself struck to provide water for the Israelites after escaping slavery in Egypt.

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# Naked, banjo-playing Washington man taken into custody after two-hour standoff with police

rawstory.com

David Ferguson 28 Jul 2015 at 10:09 ET



Image: Vancouver, Washington banjo standoff (screen capture)

A Vancouver, Washington man was taken into custody on Sunday after a standoff with police in which he serenaded them while standing in front of his house naked and playing the banjo.

According to Oregon's KPTV, police received a call on Sunday afternoon about a naked man

walking around his neighborhood with a knife.

When officers arrived on the scene, they found resident Andrew Helmsworth outside his house. Helmsworth refused to surrender.

At one point during the two-hour standoff, he went inside, put on a pair of shorts and returned with a banjo, which he played for the officers before he was subdued with a non-lethal round and taken into custody.

Helmsworth reportedly assaulted a family member over the course of his bizarre outburst. He was charged with felony assault and booked into the Clark County jail.

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Mon, 07/20/2015 - 11:10am
Seth Augenstein, Digital Reporter
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(Shutterstock)

Additional remains of 86 victims of Nazi science have been found on the shelves at a French institute, according to local authorities.

The Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz were sent to the gas chambers in June 1943 – and their bodies were transferred to what was then known as the Reichsuniversitat Strassburg, as part of the program of August Hirt, the famous Nazi anatomist, according to the University of Strasbourg and officials with the Struthof concentration camp museum.

The 86 bodies, some intact and others dismembered, were preserved in alcohol in the infamous institute as part of Hirt's SS-backed "racial"

anatomy" studies.

The Allied forces who liberated Strasbourg found the bodies in November 1944.

The bodies were thought to all be buried in a common grave in 1946.

But two weeks ago Raphael Toledano found a jar and test tubes containing remains including skin fragments in a jar, and pieces of intestine and stomach in test tubes.

The containers were marked with the number 107969 – matching the number tattooed on the arm of Menachem Taffel, one of the 86 victims, they said.

Toledano was pointed to the presence of the additional remains by a 1952 letter written by Camille Simonin, a professor who had been assisting the postwar investigation into Nazi crimes.

Some 70 years after the victims were killed for the Nazi scientific program, the body parts are going to be buried in a Jewish cemetery in Strasbourg, the officials said.

Hirt, who was tapped by Nazi leadership to create the guidelines for the racial-based scientific anatomy program, evaded prosecution. He killed himself in July 1945, before the Nuremberg trials.

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#### New Jamestown Discovery Reveals the Identities of Four Prominent Settlers smithsonianmag.com

# The findings by Smithsonian scientists dig up the dynamics of daily life in the first permanent British settlement in the colonies



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dc9e429bd798/sep2015\_j03\_jamestown.jpg\_\_800x600\_q85\_crop.jpg" take down one leader and kill another. This man alt="" itemprop="image">

By Marilyn Johnson

One body was just 5 feet 5 inches long, and missing its hands, most likely from four centuries of deterioration. It had been jostled during burial, so the head and shoulders were scrunched long before the wooden coffin lid and the weight of the dirt above had collapsed on it. Flesh no longer held the jaw shut; when this skeleton was brushed free late in 2013, it looked unhinged, as if it were howling. The bones, now labeled 3046C, belonged to a man who had come to the New World on the first trio of ships from England to the spot called Fort James, James Cittie or, as we know it, Jamestown. He survived the first wave of deaths that followed the Englishmen's arrival in May of 1607. Over the next two years, he conspired to had a murderous streak. He died, along with

hundreds of settlers—most of the colony—during the seven-month disaster known as the Starving Time.

Jamestown's original fort is perhaps the most archaeologically fertile acre in the United States. In 1994, Bill Kelso, a former head archaeologist at Monticello, put his shovel in the clay soil here and began unearthing the first of two million artifacts from the early days of the settlement. His discoveries, all part of a project known as Jamestown Rediscovery, include everything from full-body armor, a loaded pistol and a pirate's grappling pike to children's shoes and tools from such a broad array of trades (blacksmith, gunsmith, mason, barber, carpenter, tailor and more) that it is clearly a myth that the settlers arrived unprepared. One firecracker revelation after another is now filling in the history of the first successful English colony in America. Kelso and his team captured international attention two years ago when they reported finding the butchered remains of a teenage girl, clear evidence that the settlers cannibalized their dead to survive during the famine. The team named the girl "Jane" and, along with Doug Owsley and the forensic anthropology lab at Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, reconstructed her skull and digitally recreated her face, thus populating this early dark chapter in American history. In another major find, a few years back, the team uncovered the foundation of the fort's original church, built in 1608—the earliest known Protestant church in the Americas, where Pocahontas married Virginia's first tobacco farmer, John Rolfe, and brought the warring natives and settlers to a temporary truce.

This was where 3046C was laid to rest, in the winter of 1609-10. In spite of being under siege, and with food so scarce they were scavenging rats and cats and gnawing shoe leather and even, on occasion, their dead, his fellow settlers gave him a fine burial in the church's chancel. A hexagonal oak coffin was made for him, a captain's staff put alongside him. Just before the dirt sealed him off for centuries. someone placed a small silver box on top of his coffin. When the archaeologist lifted it out of the trench and gave it a tentative shake, the corroded box rattled.

Three more skeletons, labeled 2993B, 2992C and 170C, have been pulled from beneath the chancel. All date to around the same time as 3046C, and though one was in a simple shroud, the other two also had

splendid coffins. Who were these men? Why were they buried, not in nearby fields with the other settlers, but beneath the floor of the church's altar? Kelso and Owsley have marshaled an army of experts who have dedicated thousands of hours of scientific and archival scrutiny to the task of matching the remains with the historic record. Now they are ready to unveil the identities of these latest Jamestown discoveries. Each has its part in the larger story of life on the edge of a New World.



Jamestown records refer to a "pretty chapel" in the fort's "middest. That's just where Bill Kelso and his team found the remains of the church where Pocahontas married John Rolfe (marked by a mud wall, in front of a later, reconstructed brick church). (Greg Kahn)



alphas, " says James Horn, president of Jamestown Rediscovery. (Greg East. They landed in Jamestown, prepared to In the early days at Jamestown, there were many "struggles between

On a chilly gray day in late April, Kelso urged me out of the headquarters of Jamestown Rediscovery and past the house behind the hedges where he and his wife live; I needed to see the whole site before the skies opened and drenched us. Unspoiled so far by commercial development and buffered by National Park Service land, the 22.5 acres purchased by the nonprofit Preservation Virginia in the early 1890s are dominated by monuments: an obelisk, a statue of Pocahontas and another of explorer John Smith, and a weathered replica of a brick chapel that eventually replaced the original church. They give weight to the landscape around Jamestown's original fort. The native tribes had laughed at the first Englishmen's choice of real estate. Who wanted to live in a swampland with no fresh water? But it's a beautiful spot, on a channel deep enough for multimasted ships yet far enough up the James River that its residents could anticipate attacks from their Spanish enemies.

Jamestown was England's attempt to play catch-up with the Spaniards, who had enriched themselves spectacularly with their colonies in South America and were spreading Catholicism through the world. After years of war with the Spanish, financed in part by pirating their ships, England turned to the Virginia Company to launch new colonial adventures. The first 104 settlers—all men and boys, women didn't arrive until the next year sailed with a charter from their king and a mission to find silver and gold and a passage to the Far scout and mine the land and trade with the native people for food. And they did trade, exchanging

copper for corn between eruptions of hostility. But as Jamestown's third winter approached, the Powhatan had limited supplies of corn; a drought was smothering their crops and diverting the once plentiful giant sturgeons that fed them. When English resupply ships were delayed, and the settlers' attempts to seize corn turned violent, the Powhatan surrounded the fort and killed anyone who ventured out. Brackish drinking water, brutal cold and the lack of food did their damage from within. Jamestown's early history is so dire it's easy to forget that it endured to become a success and the home of the first democratic assembly in the Americas—all before any pilgrims made camp in Plymouth. Abandoned in 1699 when Virginia's capital moved to Williamsburg, the colony was thought to have sunk into the river and been lost. The first archaeologist who brought skepticism to that story, along with a stubborn determination to test it, was Kelso.

He stopped by the current excavation site and introduced me to the begrimed crew toiling in the bottom



Kelso sifts through new discoveries from the Jamestown site. Some 2 million artifacts have been found here since 1994. (Greg Kahn)

of a pit six feet deep. The archaeological work here has a temporary feel among the monuments. Visitors are separated from the excavations by a simple rope because Kelso wants the public to share in the discoveries. Nearby, the location of an early barracks has been roughed out with lengths of saplings. Kelso has unearthed foundations that hint at the class lines imported from England: row houses built for the governor and his councilors, as well as shallow pits near the fort wall where laborers probably improvised shelters. "We're trying to reconstruct the landscape," Kelso says. "It's a stage setting, but it's in pieces and the script has been torn up." He found a major piece when he located the fort's original church. It was large, more than 60 feet long, the center of life for all the settlers in its day. John Smith called it the "golden

church" because, though its walls were mud mixed with black rushes and its roof thatched, two broad windows filled it with light and it was crowned with two bells. Kelso's team has outlined the foundation with a low uneven wall using the same mud-and-stud construction the settlers would have used to make their first buildings. Four stark iron crosses mark the places where the chancel bodies lay. Each received a distinct number; a letter identified the layer of dirt in which the body was found. Kelso stood by their resting places, now covered with crab grass and clover, as the sky darkened, a battered leather hat over his white hair.



(Greg Kahn)

"Everyone thought John Smith was sad because he was looking at the drowned fort," Bill Kelso said of a 1909 statue built facing the river. The fort, including the recently discovered chancel burials (marked with crosses), were later found behind the statue.

He nodded toward the first cross, which marked the burial of 2993B, the one laid to rest in only a shroud. "Robert Hunt, the minister, was the first buried here. He came with the original settlers in 1607," Kelso said. That first fleet to Virginia had been delayed by storms and stuck within sight of the village of Reculver in Kent, where Hunt was from, for six weeks in heavy seas—six weeks! Hunt, who from the ship would have been able to

see the spires of a church he knew well, was so ill that the others considered tossing him overboard. He had already said goodbye to his two children and quit the young wife he suspected of infidelity. He'd defended himself from accusations of an affair with his servant woman. He had made his will and turned his back on England. He would get to the New World if it killed him.

A slight and strong-willed man, Hunt delivered sermons and personal appeals to keep the peace among the leaders, whose clashes and quarrels fill the narrative history of Jamestown. In early 1608, a fire raged through Fort James, destroying all of Hunt's possessions, including his precious library of books. The fire might have been set accidentally by sailors who had arrived in the bitter month of January. Hunt did not complain (as John Smith wrote, "none never heard him repine"). The mariners were put to work rebuilding a storehouse and a kitchen and, while they were at it, constructing the future wedding church of Pocahontas. Hunt, who had been presiding over services outside under a stretched sail, must have taken consolation in seeing its walls go up. He died, probably of disease, within weeks of its completion.

A flock of children in matching red slickers surrounded us as the drizzle began. Two girls dragged their friend to stand by the chancel like Pocahontas at her wedding. One hovered, tightly sprung, by Kelso's side; she was dying to tell him that she wanted to be an archaeologist. Kelso, age 74 and a grandfather of four, recognized her intensity. "Study hard," he told her, "and don't let anyone talk you out of it."

All through the site, I noticed tombs and grave markers, a granite cross and dozens more of those black iron ones, evidence of the price paid by the colonists. I asked Kelso how many burials there are in Jamestown and he pulled out a map dense with tiny maroon rectangles. He started pointing them out, dozens on the side of the brick chapel and who knew how many inside...a trench with 15 burials near a cellar they're digging now...scores on the way to the visitors' café and beneath the elevated archaeology museum. Kelso's finger stopped by the far eastern border of the fort. "There don't seem to be any here," he said. Where are the bodies in Jamestown? It is easier to say where there are none.

James Horn, a British-born historian of the early colonies and president of Jamestown Rediscovery, explained to me the importance of religion to this tale, particularly England's desire to make Jamestown a base for the spread of Protestantism. "Pocahontas was a conversion story!" Horn said as Kelso and six or seven younger archaeologists and conservators gathered in Horn's office. They lowered the shades so they could present the discoveries that they had kept secret for more than a year. There was intense excitement, but the researchers took time to apologize before showing me photos of the skeletons. They are aware of how sensitive this type of work is. They are excavating graves after all. State historic preservation officers must be involved and satisfied that there is a scientific reason for the disturbance. And though the researchers invite the public to stand at the edge of the excavations, a fence goes up as soon as human remains are involved. They try to convey respect at every stage of unearthing and testing.

A screen lit up with a sequence of X-rays and CT scans of the "grave goods," the objects found with the best-preserved of the bodies, 3046C, now identified as Captain Gabriel Archer. Typically in English graves of this period only royalty were buried with such goods, but Archer boasted two. The captain's staff was a sign of leadership. The mysterious silver box appeared to have religious significance.

Archer was a gentleman who trained as a lawyer, but he might be better characterized as a provocateur. He had been shot in both hands with arrows by Native Americans on the day the first ships arrived in Virginia, the same day he learned that, in spite of his connections and high status and experience, including a previous expedition to New England, he had not been appointed to the colony's ruling council. John Smith, a soldier and the blunt son of a farmer, had. Their enmity was sealed, one of many "struggles between alphas," as Horn described it. The two men disagreed about whether Jamestown was the right spot for the colony (Archer said no) and how to wield power (Smith had no use for councils). They were alike in their belligerence. Archer helped unseat the first president of Jamestown, who branded him a "ringleader...always hatching of some mutiny." Smith had been in chains at least once on mutiny charges too.

When Archer finally secured a leadership position as the colony's official record-keeper, he used it to try to hang Smith. Archer called Smith's loyalty into question after two of Smith's scouts were killed in a skirmish with the natives; Smith was taken captive in the same incident, but returned unharmed. When this plot failed, Archer attempted murder, detonating Smith's pouch of gunpowder while he slept—so historians and Smith himself believed. Smith headed back to England, where he made a surprising recovery and wrote the accounts that figure so prominently in American history, including the story, perhaps apocryphal, of his rescue from death by the young Pocahontas. He became the best known of all the Jamestown leaders. Archer died soon after the attempt on Smith's life, from the bloody flux (dysentery) or typhus or starvation.

Kelso projected a short video of Jamie May, a senior archaeologist, lifting the silver box out of Archer's grave. "Feels like there's something inside!" she said, shaking it. After conservationists spent more than 100 hours carefully removing corrosion with a scalpel under a microscope and polishing and degreasing its surface, the silver-copper alloy still looked battered, but a crude initial, M or W, could be seen on one

side, and on the other, what looked like the fletching of an arrow. What was inside? Incredibly, the archaeologists have decided not to open the box. It is so fragile, they fear it would crumble to pieces. Instead they are using every scientific trick to glimpse its interior.



Scientists believe that this mysterious box, found buried with Gabriel Archer, is a Catholic reliquary. Detailed analyses suggest it's inscribed with an M (not a W). (Greg Kahn)

I was scribbling in my notebook when Kelso said, "Wait, she's not looking," and the researchers backed up the slide show to a high-resolution. noninvasive micro-CT scan of the box's contents: two pieces of a lead object—possibly a broken ampulla, a vessel to hold holy water—and several small pieces of bone. "Human? We don't know. The best we can figure is mammal," said Michael Lavin, a conservator. Only 41 years old, Lavin, like several others on the team, has spent his entire career with Jamestown Rediscovery. "We think it's a reliquary," a container for holy objects, a Catholic artifact.

But hadn't Catholicism been banished in England? Weren't they all Anglicans? Yes, Horn pointed out, but there were still Catholics practicing

> underground. Rosary beads, medallions of saints and a crucifix carved on jet have also turned up at Jamestown. Gabriel Archer's father was among the Catholics, called a "recusant" and cited in court for failing to attend Anglican services. Archer had learned resistance at home.

And was that an M or a W inscribed on the silver box? A Smithsonian expert in microscopy scrutinized the etching and showed that the letter had been formed using probably an M. One of Archer's

co-conspirators in his effort to kill John Smith had been named John Martin. Was it his silver box etched with the archer's arrow and left on Archer's coffin? Was it a token of sentiment, or of defiance?

The archaeologists here find themselves at a particular moment when the artifacts can still be recovered and the technology has advanced sufficiently to extract important information. The window for scrutiny is closing, though, as the skeletons still buried deteriorate and as changing climate lifts the waters of the James River. "These bones were almost gone," Kelso said. How long will it be before this site is completely swamped?

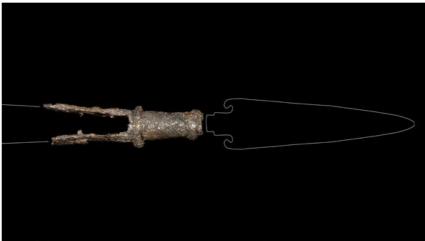


Since the silver box was firmly sealed, the research team relied on micro-CT imaging to determine that this artifact is likely a Catholic reliquary containing seven bone fragments and two four distinct down strokes. It was pieces of a lead ampulla, a container used to hold holy water. (Micro Photonics Inc.)



During Gabriel Archer's burial, someone set a captain's staff alongsid

him. The handle of the staff is shown here. (Greg Kahn)



An illustration demonstrates what the captain's staff might have looked like. (Courtesy of Jamestown Rediscovery/Preservation Virginia)



Merry Outlaw, curator at Jamestown Rediscovery, organizes the artifacts. Nearly 100 variations of pottery have been found at the site. (Greg Kahn)



Dan Gamble, a conservator at Jamestown Rediscovery, investigates what appears to be a newly discovered book cover or a box. (Greg

After Gabriel Archer died. along with most of the rest of the colonists, Jamestown came close to collapse. Survivors, so skeletal they looked, as one witness wrote, like "anatomies," were in the act of abandoning the fort in 1610 when orders from the new governor, arriving in June with a year's worth of food and hundreds of men. turned them back. Thomas West, known as Lord De La Warr (Delaware was named for him), marched in with a force of halberd-bearing soldiers, read

his orders in the golden church, then immediately began to clean up the squalor from the Starving Time. He had two valued deputies in this mission to revive the colony, his knighted cousin, Sir Ferdinando Wainman, and a younger uncle, Capt. William West. The relatives helped establish martial law and enforce discipline, including mandatory church attendance twice a day, and Wainman (also spelled Weyman and Wenman, among others) was given the additional responsibility in the newly militarized colony of Master of Ordnance.

Even connections and privilege and sufficient food could not protect these men from the dangers of the New World: Wainman died his first summer, probably of disease. His death was, according to one leader in the colony, "much lamented" because he was "both an honest and valiant gentleman." His skeleton, 2992C, was found between those of Hunt and Archer. Genealogical research, conducted by Ancestry.com, reveals that Wainman had an infant daughter in England, whose christening records list multiple noble godparents. The knight had invested 100 pounds in the Virginia Company, hoping to multiply it on his adventures. When he died, Lord De La Warr saw that the stake was given to Wainman's child.

West, only in his 20s, was killed later that year by Native Americans almost 50 miles upriver, and his body brought, with difficulty and sorrow, back to the church for burial. A close examination of West's ribcage revealed silver threads from a bullion

fringe, which would have decorated a sword or royal sash. His skeleton, 170C, suffered the most damage over the centuries. During the Civil War, the land had been scraped to build a fort, narrowly missing the bodies, but a utility line dug in the late 1930s took part of 170C's skull.

"Jamestown is a story of luck, figuratively and literally. Over and over, lost and rediscovered, lost and saved," said Kari Bruwelheide, a forensic anthropologist at the Smithsonian Natural History Museum, where I met her in an office with a cabinet lined with skulls. Bruwelheide noted one important way that archaeology had contributed to saving the site: High-density scans of the chancel remains had been made before excavation. "Someday, you'll be able to visit this site virtually."

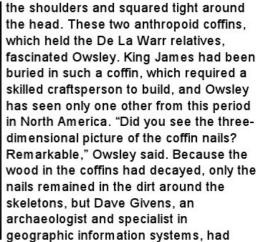
But what the scientists still don't know about the four bodies continues to tease them. "Not a one do we have a [forensic] cause of death for," Doug Owsley told me. Owsley, the prominent forensics expert who has worked on human remains from the controversial prehistoric Kennewick Man to 9/11 and beyond, was leading me through the warren of anthropology offices and down increasingly narrow halls. He inserted a key to a locked door, and admitted me to the layout room, where every surface, including the shelves of what looked like commercial kitchen serving carts, was arrayed with human bones. He pulled two chairs up beside a skeleton from Maryland set out as part of his long-term project, an exploration of what it means to become an American through burials and bones from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. He and his team have data on more than a thousand skeletons from burial sites throughout the Chesapeake region (most of these remains were threatened by erosion or development). By looking at burial practices and the chemical composition and shape of bones and teeth, the researchers can learn much about a person's life. They can tell whether a woman sewed from marks in the teeth left from biting down on thread.



A battery of scientific tests by Smithsonian scientists Kari Bruwelheide and Doug Owsley, along with genealogical records, have now revealed southern coastal regions of England. Of the three the identities of the four men. (Greg Kahn)

on the De La Warr relatives, whose remains were nearby. They had the forensic marks of wealth for the period: high lead counts, which came from eating off pewter or lead-glazed dishware. "The lead levels tell us these are somebodies," Owsley said. Neither the knight nor the young captain showed the dramatic development of muscle attachments common to people involved in heavy physical labor. Wainman did have pronounced ridges on his leg bones, suggesting greater use of leg muscles, perhaps from horseback riding. Readings of oxygen isotopes, accumulated in the bones from drinking water, suggest that all the men, including Hunt and Archer, were from the coffins, one had been hexagonal and two cut in at

I set my coffee near the ribs while Owsley reflected





In 2013, the four skeletons were discovered buried beneath the chancel of Jamestown's first church. (Greg Kahn)

mapped their locations, marking their depth and orientation, then plotting them

in a 3-D image. The nails seemed to float in space, clearly outlining the shapes of the coffins.

Strapping on a headband with a portable microscope and a light, Owsley pulled out a tray of jawbones from the chancel burials. "I'm re-editing my field notes, checking teeth to verify which sides the cavities are on," Owsley said. He explained that the longer the settlers had been in the colonies, the more decay you could see-the difference between the European diet based on wheat and the more destructive one based on the New World staple, corn. "And see?" he said, showing me the jaw with noticeably less-worn teeth. "Our young fellow [West] had one cavity. He was pretty new off the boat." Luckily his mandible had not been in the line of the utility trench. "I'd love to have his cranium, though," Owsley said. He picked up 2993B, "our older man [Hunt], the minister, who would have been 35 to 40. See that tiny dark speck in the tooth there? That's a break in the pulp. It was abscessing. That would have been weighing him down." He set it aside and picked up Archer's jawbones. "Now look at this: cavity, cavity, cavity, more cavities, 14 in all, teeth with enamel completely worn, a destroyed crown, broken exposed pulp chamber, two active abscesses. This guy was in agony. John Smith had returned to England after the attempt on his life because there was no surgeon at Jamestown to see to his burns, so we know there was no medical person around to pull this man's teeth." I remembered that when the archaeologists uncovered him, Archer looked like he was howling.



haven't thought of," Owsley said.

The men's teeth (one example held here by Kari Bruwelheide) offer an invaluable window into their lives.

So Owsley and his team chip away at the mysteries of the four Jamestown leaders buried with honor. The goal is to extract bits of factual evidence to piece together a larger picture, while still preserving the scientific data and guaranteeing access to it in the coming years. What we are learning now deepens our understanding of the force of religion in the early settlement, the fractious nature of leadership and how people of wealth and privilege were mourned in the wake of those great levelers, suffering and death.

"Students of the future will have questions we

In Jamestown, the rain fell gently as we gathered by the obelisk. The half-dozen or so archaeologists here take turns leading tours. Danny Schmidt, who started in 1994 as a high-school volunteer and is now a senior archaeologist and field manager, shepherded us to the current excavation pit, where two archaeologists were hard at work with brushes and dustpans in what appeared to be a massive cellar. Then he led us to the excavation of another cellar—the one used for trash from the Starving Time. "This was where we found butchered dogs and horses, a human tibia, and a few days later, most of a human cranium. Right away, we could see it had marks like those on the bones of the dogs. They belonged to a 14-year-old girl we called Jane."

Schmidt pointed out the steps constructed for Queen Elizabeth II, so she could walk down into one of the pits. She visited Jamestown for its 350th anniversary and returned in 2007 for its 400th. Of course she is fascinated by the site. This is the birthplace of modern America and, as one of the earliest British colonies, a nursery for the empire.

Schmidt turned to the foundation of the original church, "the great-grandfather of 10,000 Protestant churches," as he put it, now marked out with rough mud walls. "Yes, Pocahontas was married here, but not John Smith," Schmidt said wryly. Pocahontas changed her name to Rebecca and bore a son with

John Rolfe. The marriage brought seven years of peace between the Powhatan and the English and culminated in a celebrated voyage to England. But the peace ended with Pocahontas' death as she was departing for the trip home, and she was buried in England.

Nearby, the reproduction of the brick chapel offered temporary shelter from the drizzle. The rigid class lines of English society had bent in this colony where resourcefulness and mere survivorship mattered as much as connections, and in 1619, the first elected assembly of the Americas met here. This was also where Schmidt was married, he told us. Standing on its brick floor, I pictured ghosts in ruff collars smiling down on him and his bride.

The tour ended near a shrine to Robert Hunt, though Schmidt didn't mention the discovery of Hunt's body (the news had not yet been made public). A knot of history lovers surrounded Schmidt, asking questions. I noticed his pocket vibrating and his hand reaching in to silence his phone. Finally, one of the archaeological team approached and caught Schmidt's eye. "They found something?" Schmidt asked. Yes, they had.

We hurried past the 1607 burial grounds and Jane's cellar to the current pit. Schmidt waved me behind the rope and, electrified, I stood with Kelso and Horn and the others while, from the bottom of the excavation, a field archaeologist named Mary Anna Richardson passed up a tray of loose brass tacks. "We kept finding these, and now it seems we've found a bunch in a pattern—maybe a decoration for the lid of a wooden box or a book?" The mood was festive, and someone showed the tray of stray tacks to the small crowd gathered on the other side of the ropes. America, still being discovered!

Mike Lavin, the conservator, coached Richardson on how to protect the surviving wood with its pattern of tacks for the night: "Cover it lightly with soil, then upend two dustpans. We'll pedestal it and lift the whole thing out tomorrow." The rain was coming down steadily, and those who had hurried over from the offices and lab shared umbrellas while the archaeologists covered the pit with tarps. Horn grinned, his nice leather shoes spattered with mud. No one wanted to leave the place that so frequently delivered news of the people who founded a colony in a swamp and seeded a country with desperation and hope.

I mentioned Schmidt's marriage in the brick chapel to Kelso—what a fitting perk for those who toiled in the graves and garbage pits of Jamestown, to celebrate life on the site of the second historic church, the one with a roof and pews. Lavin looked up. "That's where I got married," he said. "Me, too," an archaeologist added, and another said, "I think we all did."

Richardson wiped her hands on her jeans: "And I'll be getting married there in September."

Marilyn Johnson's most recent book is Lives in Ruins: Archaeologists and the Seductive Lure of Human Rubble. She can be found at www.marilynjohnson.net or on Twitter.

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# 'Nosferatu' Director F.W. Murnau's Head Reportedly Stolen From Variety.com



July 14, 2015 01:58PM PT

## Pat Saperstein

Deputy Editor

German news outlets are reporting that the head of "Nosferatu" director F.W. Murnau has been stolen from his family plot in a cemetery in Stahnsdorf, Germany. The filmmaker of the early silent vampire movie, recognized as

one of the scariest horror movies of all time, died in 1931.

In a story reminiscent of one of his own movies, grave robbers opened a metal coffin to access the filmmaker's embalmed body, said the newspaper. Stahnsdorf is about 12 miles southwest of central Berlin. The nearby graves of his two brothers were not disturbed. Spiegel Online said some wax residue had been found near the grave, pointing to a possible occult connection.

Released in 1922, "Nosferatu" was an unauthorized adaptation of Bram Stoker's novel "Dracula." Murnau worked in Hollywood for several years, directing "Sunrise," which won several Oscars at the first Academy Awards. He died in a car crash near Santa Barbara but was buried in his native Germany.

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## ݽ The Haunted Old Talbott Tavern, Bardstown, Kentucky

Jul 27, 2015 by mrbricks in Strange and Unexplained

#### The History Of The Old Talbott Tavern

If you're looking for a haunted hotel to stay at that's rich in history, the old Talbott Tavern Bed and Breakfast is the place to go. It's been said it's one of the most haunted locations in Kentucky and for good reason.

It's been around since 1770 and has never once closed its doors.

The place is full of rich history and has been visited by some of the most famous people throughout its long history. Those who have visited are the French king Louis Philippe, George Rogers Clark, Daniel Boone, and even Abraham Lincoln.

It's also had some more infamous guests like Jesse James and other old west outlaws. The Tavern suffered heavy damage in a fire in 1998 but has been restored as well as some of the murals that were in it.

#### About The Old Talbott Tavern Inn

Don't expect to go into a place that has a ton of rooms, they only have 5 rooms but they're decorated in an antique style. It's a very home life place with nice people and good atmosphere and has also been featured on the Travel Channel and Food Network. Don't let the smiles and warm southern hospitality fool you though, it's said this place is 13th on the list of most haunted inns in the United States.

#### The Most Haunted Place In Kentucky

It's said that the ghost of the infamous Jesse James haunts this place, there's even an area filled with bullet holes that said to have been put there by Jesse James himself. There are numerous other ghosts in the Inn, and some say they don't let you sleep. Check out the video of the Old Talbott Tavern

Now while many people don't believe that ghosts are real, many others do. Whether or not you believe in ghosts or not, this place surely does have something going on. With such a rich and vibrant history, you have to think about all the different types of people and emotions that have filled the halls of this place.

Would you stay in this hotel?

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# Revisiting hydrocephalus as a model to study brain resilience

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Matheus Fernandes de Oliveira, Hospital do Servidor Público Estadual de São Paulo, Avenue Pedro de Toledo, 1800, Vila Clementino, São Paulo, Brazil. e-mail: mafernoliv@vahoo.com.br Hydrocephalus is an entity which embraces a variety of diseases whose final result is the enlarged size of cerebral ventricular system, partially or completely. The physiopathology of hydrocephalus lies in the dynamics of circulation of cerebrospinal fluid (CSF). The consequent CSF stasis in hydrocephalus interferes with cerebral and ventricular system development. Children and adults who sustain congenital or acquired brain injury typically experience a diffuse insult that impacts many areas of the brain. Development and recovery after such injuries reflects both restoration and reorganization of cognitive functions. Classic examples were already reported in literature. This suggests the presence of biological mechanisms associated with resilient adaptation of brain networks. We will settle a link between the notable modifications to neurophysiology secondary to hydrocephalus and the ability of neuronal tissue to reassume and reorganize its functions.

Keywords: hydrocephalus, resilience, brain, neural networks, plasticity

#### **PRESENTATION**

Hydrocephalus is an entity which embraces a variety of diseases whose final result is the enlarged size of cerebral ventricular system, partially or completely. Among usual classifications, the most important are those who differ the communicating from noncommunicating and congenital from acquired. Its prevalence is near 1–1.5% among general population and is progressively rising with populational growth, thus representing an impressive healthy concern. Congenital hydrocephalus due to a myriad of causes has a rate of 1–2/1000 births, being a common finding among pediatric age (Rekate, 2009).

The physiopathology of hydrocephalus lies in the dynamics of circulation of cerebrospinal fluid (CSF). There should be a disturbance either in production, circulation, or in reabsorption, resulting in positive balances and dilation of ventricular system, producing abnormal high pressure on the ventricles walls. Elevated pressure reflects blocked blood flow out of the lateral ventricle. The consequent CSF stasis in hydrocephalus interferes with cerebral and ventricular system development (Penn and Linninger, 2009).

Responses to elevated CSF pressure can be marked oxidative changes in hydrocephalus that are reflected in the way that injured neurons metabolize neurotransmitters and myelin. Contrary to the previously held belief that gliosis in the hydrocephalic brain is restricted only to the periventricular white-matter, gliosis extends through all of the cortex and the peri-aqueductal area (Penn and Linninger, 2009).

The pathology of cerebral cortex in human hydrocephalus show nerve cells swelling. The neighboring neuropil exhibits notable enlargement of extracellular space, synaptic plasticity and degeneration, damage of myelinated axons, and myelination delay. The astrocytes reveal edematous changes and phagocytic activity. Glycogen rich- and glycogen-depleted astrocytes are observed. Some oligodendroglial cells exhibit normal morphology, and other exhibit hydropic changes. The capillary wall shows signs of blood-brain barrier dysfunction. The role of ischemia, oxidative stress, increased calcium concentration, activation of NMDA receptors, and disturbance of ion homeostasis are discussed in relationship with the fine structural alterations of hydrocephalic brain parenchyma (Castejón, 2010).

Clinical manifestations depend especially on the time of appearance and form of onset, if acute/subacute or chronic. As a general rule, acute hydrocephalus produce pronounced symptoms as headache, vomitus, papilledema, and impaired consciousness, leading patient to coma and death (Drake, 2008). Chronic hydrocephalus, on other hand, produces skull enlargement, spasticity, progressive neurological deficits in children and dementia, urinary incontinence, and gait changes in elderly (Bergsneider et al., 2008; Ishikawa et al., 2008; Missori et al., 2010).

The treatment, usually represented by some variation of a diversion procedure, consists in deviating CSF flux and acts by reducing intracranial pressure, restoring periventricular, and global perfusion (Bergsneider et al., 2008; Drake, 2008). In children, it is generally performed to restore CSF dynamics and prevent worsening of symptoms. In chronic cases, it controls symptoms of intracranial pressure and interfere in cognitive and motor functions (Ishikawa et al., 2008; McGirt et al., 2008; Ladika and Gurevitz, 2011).

Thus, the form of onset is also the great determinant of cerebral tissue response, leading to physical adaptations, changing elastance and complacency, determining chemical and biological changes, including neuronal plasticity (Penn and Linninger, 2009).

In this context, we will try to settle a link between the notable modifications to neurophysiology secondary to hydrocephalus and the ability of neuronal tissue to reassume and reorganize its functions toward adaptation.

#### **HYPOTHESIS**

Computational models such as the "small-world" and "scale-free" network might explain clinical resilience in various situations (Friston and Price, 2003; Noppeney et al., 2004; Achard and Bullmore, 2007; Van den Heuvel et al., 2008). Small-world networks predicts that neuronal cells are engaged in clustered connectivity with fewer long-range connections (Friston and Price, 2003; Achard et al., 2006). Thus, there would be a shorter path length between any pair of neurons or Brain regions, resulting in higher dynamical complexity, lower wiring costs, and resilience to tissue insults. A scale-free network is characterized by the existence of a small number of nodes having more connections than the other nodes. The nodes that have such a high connectivity degree are referred to as hub-nodes and are suggested to play an important role in the overall network organization (Friston and Price, 2003).

Brain resilience may be also the final result of processes such as redundancy, degeneracy, and pluripotentiality of neural systems (Friston and Price, 2003; Noppeney et al., 2004). Another possible mechanism would be the local neurogenesis already reported in structures such as the basal ganglia, with preferential distribution in sub-regions of the ventral striatum (Stopczynski et al., 2008).

#### SCIENTIFICAL BACKGROUND

Neuronal plasticity is a continuous process where the central nervous system learn skills and remember information, structure neuronal networks in response to environment, and recover from brain and spinal cord injuries, being a fundamental tool in brain resilience to lesions (Johnston, 2009). Basic mechanisms that are involved in plasticity include neurogenesis, programmed cell death, and activity-dependent synaptic plasticity (Wojtowicz, 2011).

Clinical examples of adaptive neuronal plasticity include reorganization of cortical maps of the fingers in response to practice playing a stringed instrument and constraint-induced movement therapy to improve hemiparesis caused by stroke or cerebral palsy (Ewing-Cobbs et al., 2003; Johnston, 2009). Hydrocephalus, congenital or acquired, represents a model of brain resilience too, once transient or permanent perfusional deficits generate structural and/or functional injuries, being partially or completely compensated by remaining cortical areas (Ewing-Cobbs et al., 2003).

Much evidence shows that the brain has an astounding ability to modulate cognitive and motor skills after acute insults, during insidious neurodegenerative processes, psychological stress, or even along the aging course (Price and Friston, 2002; Meunier et al., 2009; Oliveira et al., 2011). Permanent and transient lesions caused by strokes, tumors, head trauma, and hydrocephalus are good models to understand how the compensation process works, following focal or even broader damage (Price and Friston, 2002; Oliveira et al., 2011).

Classic examples were already reported in literature. John Lorber (1915–1996), a British pediatrician recognized by his work with spina bifida and ethic issues in Sheffield University, had the opportunity of attending two young children with hydrocephalus presenting with normal mental development for their age. In both children, there was no evidence of a cerebral cortex, which was

filled by CSF. One of the children died at age 3 months, the second at 12 months. Later, a young man with macrocephaly was referred to Lorber (Lewin, 1980). Although the boy had an IQ of 126 and had a first class honors degree in mathematics, he had "virtually no brain." Thus, he thought, there should be a tremendous amount of redundancy or spare capacity in the brain. These ideas were shared with scientifical community in a pediatric conference in 1980. Later in the same year, his ideas were published by Roger Levin in Science magazine.

Additionally, Norman Geschwind (1926–1984), an American neurologist at Boston's Beth Israel Hospital known for his works with behavioral neurology, also stated a certainty of capacity for reassigning functions following trauma and injuries in the brain, what should represent a high level of organization of cerebral tissue in order to promote adaptation (Berker et al., 1992).

Other reports even generate a scientifical query in the past, where the main question was the seemingly normal brain function with remarkable images of hydrocephalus and congenital malformations (Lewin, 1980). For example, scans of a 44-year-old man's brain, showed fluid-filled ventricles, leaving little more than a thin sheet of actual brain tissue. He was married and father of two children, and worked as a civil servant. The man went to a hospital after he had mild weakness in his left leg. He used to have a shunt inserted into his head to drain away hydrocephalus as an infant and was removed when he was 14. Intelligence tests showed the man had an IQ of 75, below the average score of 100 but not considered mentally retarded or disabled, either (Feuillet et al., 2007). In Figure 1, we try to illustrate this scene by presenting the brain parenchyma of a normal subject followed by the brain of a normal subject with impressive hydrocephalus (Oliveira et al., unpublished data) and then an equally impressive hydrocephalus of a patient with profound symptoms (Oliveira et al., unpublished

The surprising question is that patients with very similar neuroradiological aspects may present with different and complex neurological impairments, from motor to cognitive.

# DISCUSSION

Some important discussions about symptoms in hydrocephalic and non-hydrocephalic patients were already reported. Previous studies of 10 sets of twins discordant for hydrocephalus in early life displayed differences in quality and quantity of development of verbal versus non-verbal cognitive functions, birth order, and hand and eye preference (Berker et al., 1992). The differences between those discordant twins seems to indicate systematic changes in pre-, peri-, and/or early postnatal organization and development of hemispheric function (Berker et al., 1992).

Other study considering the development of five language domains (word finding, fluency and automaticity, immediate sentence memory, understanding of grammar, and metalinguistic awareness) was held in children and adolescents, 75 with hydrocephalus in the first year of life, and 50 normal controls (Dennis et al., 1987). The results revealed a limited resilience of language to the effects of early hydrocephalus (Dennis et al., 1987).

#### OUTCOME

In adult hydrocephalus, especially idiopathic normal pressure hydrocephalus (INPH), it is observed recover after shunting

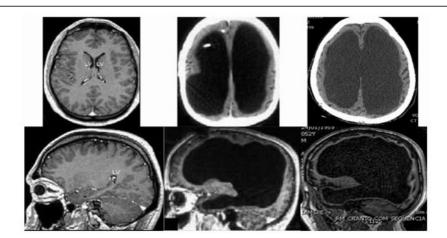


FIGURE 1 | The contrast among a normal brain in a normal adult (left), the brain of a normal man with impressive hydrocephalus (Oliveira et al., unpublished data; middle), and an equally impressive hydrocephalus in a 54-year-old man with deep cognitive and motor impairment since childhood (right; Oliveira et al., unpublished data).

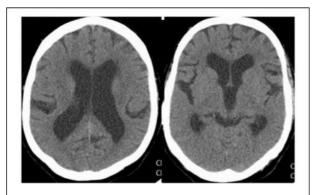


FIGURE 2 | Neuroimaging in normal pressure hydrocephalus.

procedures, which represents proof of brain resilience (Bergsneider et al., 2008; Ishikawa et al., 2008; Ladika and Gurevitz, 2011). A study displayed significant improvements at follow-up demonstrated on tests of verbal memory as well as in one test of psychomotor speed. Eight of 10 patients showed improvement by more than 1 SD on at least one memory test. Six of 10 patients improved significantly on more than 50% of the tests administered (McGirt et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2009). Our own experience with INPH shunting is also in accordance with literature results. Patients elected for surgery and with good response after execution of tap test in the pre operatory period, usually present a remarkable recovery in cognitive and especially motor functions gradually (Oliveira et al., unpublished data). In a report, there was a significant reversal in neuropsychological test scores with increased brain volume and increased regional cerebral glucose utilization in several brain regions after shunting of INPH (Simon et al., 2009; Figure 2).

Rat models of chronic hydrocephalus suggested that disturbance in the postsynaptic integration processes, rather than axonal conduction or synaptic transmission, are more important for the production of the neurological deficits seen in chronic hydrocephalus (Kaye et al., 1990; Miller and McAllister, 2007; Kondziella et al., 2008). In the same models, it was found impaired hippocampal plasticity (Tsubokawa et al., 1988).

Recent evidences also hypothesize the role played by dopamine D2 receptors in normal pressure hydrocephalus. In NPH, D2 receptor down regulation was attenuated at 1 month after shunt surgery (Nakayama et al., 2007). A PET study showed significant increases of glucose metabolism in the cerebral cortical areas after surgery and a micro dialysis study showed a postoperative reduction in the glutamate content of the cerebral cortex, pointing that shunting and consecutively better regional perfusion reestablish the citoarquitecture and synthesis of dopamine D2 receptors, attenuating motor dysfunctions (Nakayama et al., 2007).

#### CONCLUSION

Therefore, several examples can be elicited to assign neural plasticity and resilience applied to hydrocephalic models, reassuming concepts of basic neurophysiology and discussing neural networks and integration, regeneration of neuronal tissue, and resilience to injuries. Degeneracy and resilience are probably continuous and simultaneous events taking part in this complex process.

We should not forget that, as long as there are large hydrocephalic, tumoral, traumatic, and ischemic samples of brain resilience and recovery, there are also cases of specific and punctiform lesions, sometimes only seem in high definition image studies, causing aggressive impairment of neurological function, even compatible with death.

Clinical experience and experimental models have already shown the resistance of the brain tissue to injuries, acute or chronic. Until now, what we have summarized are pieces of individual reports and atypical manifestations of neurological diseases. Doubtlessly, further multicenter investigations will be needed to clarify the infinite questions asked about neuronal tissue physiology.

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## Oregon children take un-detonated mortar shell to play date

yahoo.com

July 15, 2015 6:13 PM

By Courtney Sherwood

PORTLAND, Ore. (Reuters) - A group of Oregon children who stumbled across an un-detonated, decades-old military-grade mortar shell in a Portland wildlife refuge took it to a play date but escaped unharmed, Portland police said on Wednesday.

The foot-long (30-cm-long) weapon was likely tossed as refuse into the Oaks Bottom Wildlife Refuge, and officials do not expect to find any more un-detonated bombs in the area, said Portland Police Bureau spokesman Pete Simpson.

"It's a mortar shell and very old. Not clear how old, but certainly decades, at least," Simpson said.

The children who found the dull-green, stout torpedo-shaped explosive carried it about one mile to a local home, at which point an adult called police.

Police officers evacuated several surrounding homes, according to a department press release.

Experts with the 142nd Oregon Air National Explosives Ordinance Disposal Team and a second, local agency, bomb squad worked together to deactivate the object, which was still potentially dangerous, the press release said.

It is rare, but old ordinance is occasionally found around Portland, though usually buried or left underwater, not discarded above ground in areas where children play, according to local officials, who said they doubt there are more mortars at the Oaks Bottom Refuge.

"Community members are asked not to touch or disturb these items, as they can be very dangerous if moved," the Portland Police Bureau said in a statement.

(Reporting by Courtney Sherwood in Portland, Oregon; Editing by Eric M. Johnson and Sandra Maler)

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# Outrage as 'Britain's first female museum' is dedicated to Jack the Ripper

13:27, 29 July 2015 By Kirstie McCrum

mirror.co.uk

# Outrage as planned 'female museum' is dedicated to women killer Jack the Ripper



Glenn Copus

In poor taste: The museum which celebrates
Jack the Ripper - with no mention of
women's achievements as planned

A tourist attraction sold to city planners as planned "female museum" has sparked outrage after being dedicated to notorious women killer Jack the Ripper.

The venue was given the go ahead last year in London's Tower Hamlets as a celebration of females and their achievements.

But following the unveiling of the building, it has now been shown to be the morbidly named Jack The Ripper Museum.

Film maker Julian Cole, 51, told the Evening Standard: "We feel we have been completely hoodwinked and deceived. My neighbour thought it was some kind of sick joke."

The sinister black frontage is complete with the name in blood-red paint and three silhouetted pictures - one of a Victorian man with a walking stick and two appearing to show surgical tools and a coffin.

Below the front window is a creepy black skull and crossbones on red, and details about what's apparently inside have been shared online vira social networks.

It was launched by former Google diversity and inclusion chief Mark Palmer-Edgecumbe.

Hanging on the wall above are two fake Blue Plaques naming the woman thought to be the Ripper's fourth victim, Lizzie Stride, and one of the myriad Ripper suspects, George Chapman.

Campaigners have voiced their anger at the project, which is less than half a mile from the Tower of London.



Macabre museum: Protester Jemima Broadbridge says that it's misleading to

There has also been swift reaction on Twitter, with some questioning the tastefulness of the museum's souvenir shop.

In London's history, Cable Street is renowned as the site of a 1936 battle with Oswald's Mosley's British Union of Fascists, and not associated with the anonymous killer who stalked the East End in 1888.

When the planning application was put forward last year, it contained no mention of Jack the Ripper, and included images of suffragettes and 1970s Asian women campaigning against Brick Lane's racist murders.

It read: "The museum will recognise and celebrate the women of the East End who have shaped history, telling the story of how they have been instrumental

in changing society.

"It will analyse the social, political and domestic experience from the Victorian period to the present day."

In its favour, it cited the 2013 closure of Whitechapel's Women's Library in Old Castle Street, calling the new scheme, "the only dedicated resource in the East End to women's history".



Glenn Copus

Strong complaints: Jemima Broadbridge and Jenny Boswell-Jones (centre) outside Ripper Museum with other protestors

The website for the new opening says: "The Jack the Ripper Museum will present a serious forensic examination of the crimes within the social context of the East End of London in 1888.

"The museum presents the lives of the women, how the press presented the cases, the police investigation and how they dealt with the women as well as the contrast between the wealth of the West End and the poverty of the East End."

Tower Hamlets council said: "Ultimately the council has no control in planning terms of the nature of the museum... The council is investigating the extent to which unauthorised works may have been carried out."

A notorious killer whose serial nature was supposed by police at the time, attacks credited to Jack the Ripper typically involved female prostitutes who lived and worked in the slums of London.

Many of those thought to have been his victims had their throats cut prior to mutilation of their bodies.

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# Romania: 'Pay with blood' at Transylvania music festival - BBC News

bbc.com

By News from Elsewhere... ... as found by BBC Monitoring

17 July 2015



Festival organisers are hoping Dracula, and free tickets, will help to attract blood donors

Taking inspiration from the world's most famous vampire, a Romanian music festival is offering free or discounted tickets to people who give blood.

The Untold festival takes place in Transylvania at the end of July, and organisers are hoping that their "pay with blood" campaign will encourage more donors to come forward, the national news agency Agerpres

reports. Playing on the region's association with Count Dracula, posters for the campaign show a vampire hooked up to a blood bag. "Given that Romania faces an acute blood shortage in medical facilities, a campaign that takes inspiration from these myths in order to draw attention to a real problem is more than welcome," says the festival director Bogdan Buta.

Festival-goers who sign up to become blood donors online will receive discounts, and those who show up in person at centres in Bucharest and Cluj will be given one-day tickets on the spot. The campaign is being run in conjunction with Romania's National Blood Transfusion Institute. Romania has one of the lowest figures for blood donation in the whole of Europe - less than 2% of the population are active donors, far lower than elsewhere in the European Union

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# Elusive New Pentaguark Particle Discovered After 50-Year Hunt

livescience.com

by Tia Ghose, Senior Writer | July 14, 2015 05:54pm ET

After 50 years, the hunt is over.

Scientists at the Large Hadron Collider, the world's largest atom smasher, have found proof of the existence of the pentaquark, an elusive subatomic particle that was first proposed to exist more than 50 years ago.

"The pentaguark is not just any new particle," Guy Wilkinson, a spokesperson for the LHC experiment that discovered the pentaquark, said in a statement.

"It represents a way to aggregate quarks, namely the fundamental constituents of ordinary protons and neutrons, in a pattern that has never been observed before in over 50 years of experimental searches. Studying its properties may allow us to understand better how ordinary matter, the protons and neutrons from which we're all made, is constituted." [See Photos of the World's Largest Atom Smasher (Large Hadron Collider)]

The new discovery validates a long-held notion about the nature of matter. In 1964, physicist Murray Gell-Mann proposed that a group of particles known as baryons, which include protons and neutrons, are actually made up of three even tinier charged subatomic particles known as quarks. Meanwhile, the theory went, another group of particles called mesons were composed of guarks and their antimatter partners, antiquarks.

The theory was soon validated by experimental results, and Gell-Mann's work won the Nobel Prize in physics in 1969. But crunching the numbers in Gell-Mann's theory also led to the conclusion that other, more exotic particles could exist, such as the pentaguark: a group of four quarks and an antiquark. Over the past several decades, people have seen hints of pentaquarks in experimental data, but those all turned out to be false leads.

In the current study, Wilkinson and his colleagues examined the decay of particles after collisions in the Large Hadron Collider (LHC), a 17-mile-long (27 kilometers) underground ring beneath Geneva, Switzerland. The team studied how a particular baryon known as lambda B decayed into three other particles: a proton, a particle known as J-psi and a charged kaon.

However, while analyzing data from these collisions, researchers noticed spikes that suggested the lambda B baryons took a pit stop on the way to decaying to these other three particles, transitioning into other, intermediate particles on the way.

"We have examined all possibilities for these signals, and conclude that they can only be explained by pentaquark states," said study co-author Tomasz Skwarnicki, a physicist at Syracuse University in New York.

The new evidence for pentaquarks is much more robust than past hints because the LHC experiment uses a detector that identifies all the final states of the particles after a collision, study co-author Sheldon Stone, a physicist at Syracuse University, told Live Science in an email. As a result, the scientists can use mathematical detective work to better identify the intermediate decay states.

Based on the LHC data, the team concluded that these intermediate particles were pentaguarks made up of two up quarks, one down quark, one charm quark and one anticharm quark. (Quarks come in six flavors: up, down, top, bottom, strange and charm.) The researchers have now submitted their findings to the journal Physical Review Letters.

The new results not only validate the Standard Model, the dominant physics theory that explains the mess of subatomic particles that make up the world, but they also raise new questions.

For instance, it's still not clear exactly how the pentaquarks are "glued" together. Some theories suggest that constituents of the pentaquark are tightly bound together, while others propose a loose association between the teeny subatomic particles. Understanding how the strong force binding pentaquarks work could be important in other arenas, too.

"This may be important in star formation, for example," Stone said.

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# Museum staff terrified after paranormal evening reveals candlelit 'GHOST'

12:18, 19 July 2015 By Glen James

mirror.co.uk

### Photo of candle-lit 'ghost' terrifies museum staff after spooky paranormal evening



Staff at a museum say they are terrified after they captured this spooky photograph of a candle-lit 'GHOST' creeping between the artefacts.

The scary snap appears to shows a woman in old clothing emerging from the floor and casting her eyes down towards a light.

It was taken during a ghost hunting evening at Torquay Museum in Devon and staff claim nobody else was in the room when it was shot.

The image was captured in the museum's Old Devon Farmhouse Gallery - a mock-up of a cottage filled with 300-year-old artifacts and furniture.

Staff were randomly taking photos and only spotted the figure when looking back at the images later.

Marketing manager Carl Smith said: "We saw something in the middle of the photo and when we adjusted the contrast we clearly saw the woman.

"It was a bit of a surprise and pretty creepy.

"From the angle of the photograph it looks like she is submerged into the floor, almost like she is below floor level.

"There was no-one else present when the photo was taken so we are at a loss to explain it.

"It is a bit of a mystery, and there seems to be no other explanation."

Paranormal: Torquay Museum has featured a lot of 'spooky' activity

The snap was taken in May but only emerged when Carl was going through photos in preparation for the next paranormal Night at the Museum event later this month.

It was taken by him at around midnight in front of the fireplace in the room which is set up as a traditional Devon farm house.

He said: "Most of the equipment in the Old Farmhouse was left to us by a benefactor, and the



oldest chair in the collection has been dated at around 300 years old.

"All of the furniture and equipment has had a lot of human interaction, and maybe this is where the energy has come from.

"We were very excited about the picture. We were taking photos all over the place, and it wasn't until afterwards when we examined them more closely that we noticed it, which was quite spooky.

"We've had a lot of spooky activity at the museum. Books will just fly off the shelves in the shop and people have said they have spotted a Victorian lady in a blue dress."

The museum was founded in 1844 and its highlight is the mummified remains of a four-yearold boy from Ancient Egypt.

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# Pre-historic disaster: 97 bodies found stuffed into 5,000-year-old 'house of horrors' - News18.com

news18.com

Press Trust of India | Tue Jul 28, 2015 | 14:59 IST

# Archaeologists have unearthed remains of 97 human bodies stuffed into a 5,000 year-old small house, possibly killed in an epidemic of some sort, in northeast China.

The bodies of juveniles, young and middle-age adults were packed together in the house - smaller than a modern-day squash court - before it burnt down.

A "pre-historic disaster," possibly an epidemic of some sort, killed these people, researchers said.

"Hamin Mangha site is the largest and best-preserved pre-historic settlement site found to date in northeast China," researchers wrote in the journal Chinese Archaeology.



Pre-historic disaster. 97 bodies found stuffed into 5,000-year-old

In 2011, researchers unearthed the foundations of 29 houses, most of which are simple one-room structures containing a hearth and doorway.

The house with the bodies, dubbed "F40," was nearly 20 square meters.

"On the floor, numerous human skeletons are disorderly scattered," researchers said.

"The skeletons in the northwest are relatively complete, while those in the east often [have] only skulls, with limb bones scarcely remaining," they said.

Fire likely caused wooden beams of the roof

to collapse, leaving parts of skulls and limb bones not only charred but also deformed in some way, the report said.

Researchers at the Jilin University in China have found that about half of the individuals were between 19 and 35 of age. No remains of older adults were found.

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### Religious conman threatened to kill victim's daughters before stealing gems



A sinister conman posing as a Sikh children's charity worker threatened to kill a woman's two daughters before taking her treasured jewels as a 'donation'.

The man, who claimed he was a religious guru, took the jewels after repeatedly targeting the family's home in Stonor Road, Hall Green, with demands for cash.

The crook's campaign of terror began in April when he first visited the woman's home, claiming he was representing a Handsworth temple collecting cash for hungry children.

The woman handed over £120 and he left.

But he returned five days later and insisted on conducting prayers with her.

When he was inside the house, he threatened to kill her daughters, who are in their late teens and early 20s, unless she handed over more money.

PC Andy Bishop, of West Midlands Police, said: "Terrified, the lady handed over £1,000, but that wasn't enough.

"The bogus charity worker then demanded that she hand over her family's treasured jewellery."

He escaped with thousands of pounds-worth of gold and gems.

PC Bishop added: "This man preyed on the woman's good nature by claiming to be a religious man or guru.

"I can think of no religion which would advocate such despicable actions.

"It is quite possible others have been targeted in this way and I would urge those people to come forward too."

The crime was reported to police on June 1 when an investigation was launched.

Officers have spoken to neighbours of the family and reviewed hours of CCTV footage in the area before securing an image of the suspect.

Anyone with information should call 101 or Crimestoppers, in confidence, on 0800 555 1110800 555 111 FREE.

# birminghammail

## © Trinity Mirror Midlands

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# Robert Hooke and the Dog's Lung: Animal Experimentation in History

thechirurgeonsapprentice.com

#### May4 by The Chirurgeon's Apprentice



In 1664, Robert Hooke—a pioneering member of the Royal Society and lead scientific thinker of his day—decided to investigate the mechanisms involved in breathing. In his laboratory, he strapped a stray dog to his table. Then, taking his scalpel, he proceeded to slice the terrified animal's chest off so he could peer inside the thoracic cavity.

What Hooke hadn't realised before he began his experiment was that lungs were not muscles, and that by removing the animal's chest, he had removed the dog's ability to breathe on its own. To keep the animal alive,

Hooke pushed a hollow cane down the dog's throat and into its windpipe. He then pumped air into the animal's lungs with a bellow for over an hour, carefully studying the way in which the organs expanded and contracted with each artificial breath. All-the-while, the dog stared at him in horror, unable to whimper or cry out in agony.

On 10 November 1664, Hooke wrote to Robert Boyle about his experiment. In his letter, he described how he 'opened the thorax, and cut off all the ribs' of the dog, and 'handled...all the other parts of its body, as I pleased'. But despite these rather horrific details, we see through Hooke's words a man deeply moved by the suffering he had caused, for he ends, 'I shall hardly be induced to make any further trials of this kind, because of the torture of this creature'. [1]

The term 'vivisection', which refers to the act of dissecting a live animal or human being, was coined in 1709. Yet, it celebrated a long tradition reaching back thousands of years. One of the earliest recorded accounts dates from 500 B.C., when Alcmaeon of Croton severed the optic nerves of live animals in order to understand how it affected their vision. Indeed, William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of blood around the heart in 1628 was made possible by his use of vivisection; and it is likely that it was Harvey's work which prompted Hooke to conduct his own experiments several decades later.

Hooke may have abstained from further vivisections after seeing the anguish he caused in the dog, but others were not necessarily willing to abandon these types of experiments simply because animals suffered as a result. [2]

In particular, surgeons-in-training found vivisection a helpful tool for learning how to operate quickly and confidently. In a pre-anesthetic era, the slightest hesitation could cause a patient to die from shock and blood loss. Working on the bodies of live animals allowed the

inexperienced surgeon to operate at his own pace, learning from his mistakes as he went without the fear of accidentally killing another human being. In early modern England, where bear-baiting and cock-fighting were national pastimes like football or rugby are today, it was perfectly acceptable to allow for such extreme suffering in animals under these conditions.



L0006244 Claude Bernard and his pupils. Oil painting after

That is not to say, however, that there were no objections to vivisection during this period. Most protests, though, were not centered on animal cruelty, but rather the argument that animals and humans differed too much anatomically for vivisection to be useful. Still, there were those who spoke up in defense of animals.

In 1718, the poet Alexander Pope—a renowned dog lover—condemned the experiments of his neighbour, Reverend Stephen Hales, who often cut open the abdomens of stray dogs while investigating the rise and fall of blood pressure. While conversing with his friend, Joseph Spence, Pope reportedly said of Hale:

He commits most of these barbarities with the thought of its being of use to man. But how do we know that we have a right to kill creatures that we are so little above as dogs, for our curiosity, or even for some use to us? [3]



Similarly, Dr Samuel Johnson—essayist and author of *A Dictionary of the English Language*—spoke out against vivisection in the Idler (August, 1758). He condemned the 'race of wretches, whose lives are only carried by varieties of cruelty' and whose 'favourite amusement is to nail dogs to tables and open them alive'.

The image of a live dog being nailed to a table may seem an exaggeration on the part of Johnson to elicit feelings of disgust and horror. Sadly, this is not the case, as evidenced by the testimony of Mr Richard Martin, who moved to bring a bill for the repression of bear-baiting and other forms of cruelty to animals, to the Irish House of Commons in 1825:

There was a Frenchman by the name of Magendie [picture above]... who at one of his anatomical theatres, exhibited a series of experiments so atrocious as almost to shock belief. This M. Magendie got a lady's greyhound...nailed its front, and then its hind paws with the bluntest spikes that he could find, giving as reason that the poor beast, in its agony, might tear away from the spikes if they were at all sharp or cutting. He then doubled up its long ears, and nailed them down with similar spikes...He then made a gash down the middle of the face, and proceeded to dissect all the nerves on one side of it.... After he had finished these

operations, this surgical butcher then turned to the spectators, and said: `I have now finished my operations on one side of this dog's head, and I shall reserve the other side till to-morrow. If the servant takes care of him for the night, I am of the opinion that I shall be able to continue my operations upon him to-morrow with as much satisfaction to us all as I have done to-day; but if not, ALTHOUGH HE MAY HAVE LOST THE VIVACITY HE HAS SHOWN TO-DAY, I shall have the opportunity of cutting him up alive, and showing you the motion of the heart. [4]

Stories, such as these, are very disturbing, and illustrate that some medical men took pleasure in such sadistic practices. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in Hooke's letter to Boyle, it would be wrong to assume that all those who performed vivisections during this period were calculating and heartless.

Most importantly, however, we must remember that many ground-breaking discoveries were made as a result of vivisections, and it is to these animals we owe a huge debt for advancements made in medical science during the early modern period.

If you enjoy reading my articles, please consider becoming a patron of The Chirurgeon's Apprentice. Support my content by clicking HERE.

- 1. Letter from Robert Hooke to Robert Boyle (10 Nov 1664). In M. Hunter, A. Clericuzio and L. M. Principe (eds.), The Correspondence of Robert Boyle (2001), vol. 2, p. 399. I am indebted to Druin Burch for pointing me to this extraordinary story in Digging up the Dead (2007).
- 2. Hooke did not perform any further vivisections per se; however, he did continue to use animals in his experiments.
- 3. Cf. Joseph Spence, Observations, anecdotes, and characters of books and men collected from conversation, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford, 1966), vol. 1, p. 118.
- 4. Qtd from Albert Leffingwell, An Ethical Problem, or, Sidelights upon Scientific Experimentation on Man and Animals (London, 1916).

# 9 comments on "Robert Hooke and the Dog's Lung: Animal Experimentation in History"



 the-right-to-dream says: July 13, 2015 at 1:03 PM

https://righttodreamblog.wordpress.com/2015/07/13/liebster-award1/



Mary Jean Adams says: May 16, 2015 at 8:42 PM

Thank God we have evolved. However, it makes me wonder how future generations will see some of the practices we take for granted today.



3. ziomaramaldonado says: May 15, 2015 at 7:24 PM

what are they doing to that poor dog and they are going to do that to the other dogs

### Reply



🌉 4. Yumna says:

May 12, 2015 at 4:21 PM

Reblogged this on VINTAGE STUDENT.



5. Yumna says:

May 12, 2015 at 4:20 PM

If it were today, Hooke would definitely have been accused of animal cruelty by animal right societies as well as the press and maybe even prosecuted. They would not have taken into account the inherent need of vivisections in the progress of medical science



6. Whewell's Gazette: Vol. #47 | Whewell's Ghost says:

May 12, 2015 at 3:12 PM

[...] The Chirugeon's Apprentice: Robert Hooke and the Dog's Lung: Animal Experimentation in History [...]

7. The Weekly Index: 8th May 2015 says:

May 8, 2015 at 1:45 PM

[...] • Sad, but should be talked about – doggy experimentation in medical history. [...]



8. themonkseal says:

May 5, 2015 at 5:48 PM

Reblogged this on themonkseal.



9. Tessa Harris says: May 5, 2015 at 3:12 PM

Fascinating post. John Hunter was another great surgeon who was seemingly immune to the suffering of animals.

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### What Really Happened at Rustic Canyon's Rumored Nazi Ranch?

Wednesday, September 24, 2014, by Hadley Hall Meares

curbed.com



[A blueprint for part of Murphy Ranch. Image courtesy UCLA's Young Research Library.]

For decades, hikers, ghost hunters, taggers, writers, and amateur historians have explored the ruins of **Murphy Ranch** in Rustic Canyon. Many have developed their own theories about what happened in this valley in the decade before World War II. Rumor has it that, throughout the 1930s, neighbors in the canyon spied men patrolling the hills on

weekends, in uniforms similar to those of the Silver Shirts, an American fascist group. Another rumor hints at an attempt to build a "Nazi White House" on the property in preparation for the Third Reich's arrival. But what really happened at Murphy Ranch? A treasure trove of curling, seemingly forgotten plans, including those for and by the firm of the legendary Paul R. Williams, suggest that the owners of Murphy Ranch dreamed of a complex, self-sustaining "utopia" with a mansion fit for a world leader. But the plans never went further than architectural drawings and the construction of some now twisted and rusted infrastructure.

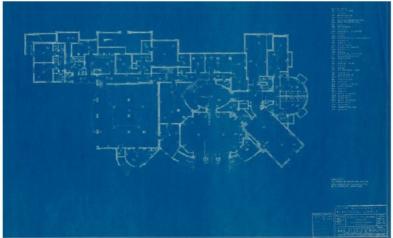
Exploring the legend of Murphy Ranch. >>

The legend of Murphy Ranch springs almost exclusively from a one-page affidavit that offers the only available first person account of life at Murphy Ranch. Its author was Dr. John Vincent, a professor at UCLA and the director of the Huntington Hartford Foundation, an esteemed artist's retreat that occupied the property from 1950 to 1965. Vincent's story (propagated by local historians Betty Lou and Randy Young) starts in 1948, in the waning days of Murphy Ranch:

When I first visited ... Winona and Norman Stephens were living in the steel garage, employing a caretaker to help maintain the extensive plantings. A guard was also employed who unlocked the gate to admit me. The entire property was surrounded with a chain link fence topped by barbed wire. A few people were present on the grounds. Goats, sheep and cows were kept on the flatlands at the bottom of the canyon ...

The couple were eager to sell the money-sucking 50-acre property to the Hartford Foundation—and to tell Vincent their tale. They claimed to be a **wealthy couple originally from the East**, Norman a mining engineer and Winona a Chicago heiress with a deep interest in "metaphysical and supernatural phenomena." This passion led her to a persuasive man identified only as "Herr Schmidt," who she came to believe possessed "supernatural powers." Herr Schmidt warned that Germany would soon defeat the United States and that the end of the world was at hand. Whether Schmidt foresaw this outcome with his "mystical powers" or by his association with the fascist, increasingly bellicose government in Germany is unclear.

Schmidt urged Norman and Winona to build a "self-sufficient farm based on National Socialist ideals." So on August 28, 1933, the couple allegedly bought land in the Pacific Palisades using the pseudonym "Jessie M. Murphy, widow." According to Vincent, a building program was quickly underway,



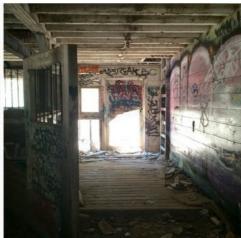
[Murphy Ranch blueprint courtesy of UCLA's Young Research Library.]

improvements was four million dollars.

some of it under the supervision of Welton Becket of the respected firm Plummer, Wurdeman, & Becket.

A virtual Utopia was begun, with its own water supply from springs, a double-generator power station ... and a 20,000 gallon fuel oil tank. Terraces were leveled and planted with trees, all supplied with copper pipes and a watering outlet for each tree. A culvert was built for the stream and a cold storage locker for storing food. The estimated cost of the





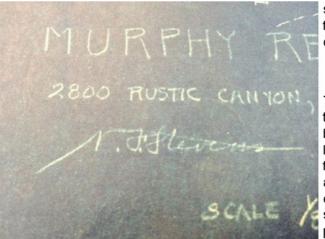
[What Murphy Ranch looks like today. Photos by Hadley Meares.]

Herr Schmidt and his followers had grand plans for their "self-sustaining farm." They began hiring architects to dream up a mansion for the property. Many of the drawings, dating from 1934 to 1941, are now housed in the Lloyd Wright collection at UCLA's Young Research Library. Though drawn in different hands, they have certain common features: a four-story mansion with a basement devoted to recreation, mechanical, servants' work, and

usually an **indoor pool**; a main "public floor" centered around a grand central hall, featuring multiple libraries, social rooms, and sometimes grand bedrooms; and upper floors with a plethora of bedroom suites and private rooms of various sizes.

Architect Eric Lloyd Wright believes his father Lloyd Wright was given these plans by the property's "former owners" when he became the principal architect for the Huntington Hartford Foundation. (Lloyd Wright does not appear to have worked on any projects for the owners of Murphy Ranch.) And who were these former owners? Official documentation of Norman and Winona Stephens could not be found. But census records from both 1930 and 1940 show engineer Norman F. and Chicago native Winona B. Stevens living in Pasadena and Hermosa Beach during that time. Most telling of all are sets of architectural plans in the Wright collection from March 1935, which appear to have been signed, and possibly drawn, by an NF Stevens.

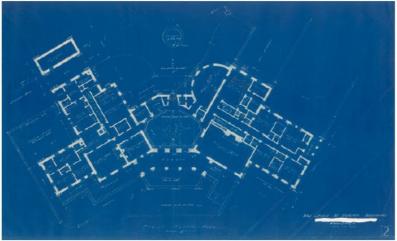
The Stevenses clearly had a great deal of money at their disposal, wherever it came from, and they spent it on some of the best architects in the LA area. In 1933 and '34, we know that **Plummer**, **Wurdeman & Becket**, designers of the Pan-Pacific Auditorium, drew up architectural plans for the ranch: the Wright papers include a topographic map of Murphy Ranch from 1934 that was prepared for Charles F. Plummer, though the firm's name is nowhere else in the collection. The first plans for the mansion in the Wright papers are from August 1934, and the architect's name has been carefully cut out of each page. Another set of plans with the bottom right corners cut off, perhaps to obscure the creator and date,



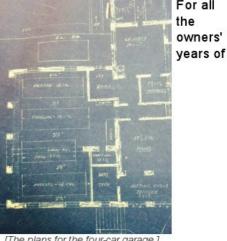
[Murphy Ranch blueprint courtesy of UCLA's Young Research Library.] expanded "Clue" board game. Whatever the IWhat Murphy Ranch looks like today. Photos by Hadley Meares. 1 [A Murphy Ranch blueprint with the architect's name cut out. Image courtesy UCLA's Young Research Library.] [The plans for the four-car garage.] [A map drawn by Williams' firm showing the existing buildings on the Murphy Ranch property.] [Murphy Ranch as it looks today. Photo by Hadley Meares.]

shows a large fountain in the center of the main foyer, rendering the 12 signs of the zodiac in

The NF Stevens plans, rendered in a rougher hand than the others, features another odd detail. In the basement, near the dairy, maid's room, and laundry, is a four-car garage with specific spaces for two Packards, a Cadillac, and a Ford. There is also a mysterious "tower room" in these plans. extensive patios and balconies, a huge library suite, a music room, and even a "glass roof over pool terrace." One has the feeling of looking at an motives or apocalyptic expectations of the group, they certainly aspired to a high standard of living.



[A Murphy Ranch blueprint with the architect's name cut out. Image courtesy UCLA's Young Research Library.]



For all the owners'

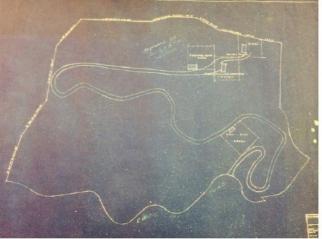
[The plans for the four-car garage.]

planning, it seems that by the late '30s

the building program at Murphy Ranch had progressed very little. A plot map from the time shows only a few buildings on the property: the steel garage/living quarters, barn, and another small building, the ruins of which are all still visible today. Electrician David Trumbull of Sure Light Electric has confirmed that electric fixtures still present in what is left of the garage and barn date from the '30s and '40s. (Some rewiring took place in the '50s and '60s, when the buildings were repurposed by the artists' retreat.)

In 1939, the owners hired one of the biggest names in Los Angeles, architect Paul R. Williams. Williams's firm designed an evolved but essentially similar mansion, although (perhaps due to financial considerations) there is no longer an indoor pool. They also created the only rendering of what appears to be the proposed exterior of the Murphy Palace, a gargantuan Neoclassical structure with detached servants' quarters. Many of the plans bear the initials JTR and ECD, while Williams's own signature or initials do not appear anywhere.

The Williams plans stop in 1941, the year the United States entered World War II. Close inspection of the rather sloppy flagstone and iron gate at the entrance of the property makes one wonder if they—along



[A map drawn by Williams' firm showing the existing buildings on the Murphy Ranch property.]



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with other aspects of the ranch, like the endless concrete steps, the terracing, and concrete greenhouse—were a do-it-yourself project. Workmen and contractors had to have helped install the double-generator power station and the massive storage tank, but the construction process is as murky as the group's true purpose.

And what of the mysterious "Schmidt," the man supposedly behind the Stevenses and the dream of Murphy Ranch? No proof of his existence has ever been found. But a Los Angeles Times article titled "Trouble for Traitors," from June 30, 1940, may offer the only known contemporary mention of the elusive "Schmidt":

Out in Santa Monica, only a few days ago, a man who is a veteran of the World War ... answered the doorbell one night. "Vere is dot Herr Schmidt lives?" the caller asked in broken English. The former flyer appraised the man quickly, then smiled and directed him to Herr Schmidt's residence nearby. Within 10 minutes, the [man] had informed US Navy intelligence ... and within 20 minutes the investigation was on. An operative who lived in the neighborhood was assigned to the case. You may be sure that when he finishes, Naval intelligence will know all about Herr Schmidt and his mysterious visitors, but whether they are

right or wrong, no one but Naval intelligence knows.

The article warned that as soon as war was declared, traitors would be rounded up and dealt with. Legend (backed by no proof) has it that the day after Pearl Harbor, Schmidt was arrested at Murphy Ranch and the colony scattered. The mansion was never built. By 1948, the Stevenses were living above a steel garage, instead of the grand mansion of their dreams.

#### Comments (9 extant)

"So what happened was, these Palisades NAZIs hired and African-American architect...." That's some strange mathematics.

#1. 09/24/14 01:45 PM alangregg1060

An interesting article that seems to incite more interest into the mysterious background of Murphy Ranch.

#2. 09/24/14 04:33 PM E.W.92 Nazi's with taste? It's the only rational I could come up with for why a Nazi would commission a black man to design...well anything. I think it would be a cool project to build, considering they have the blueprints. It could be a great conference/wedding venue.

#3. 09/24/14 06:23 PM palgeorge 575

More shocking is what has become of the ruins, I haven't hiked down there in 10 years, in that time the beautiful intact horse coral - barn has been stripped of its siding, heavily tagged and that same damage seems to have occurred with power plant.

#4. 09/25/14 11:45 AM sara 2

Thank you for researching and telling this obscure and mysterious "rumor-legend." 1940's - not so long ago - but seemingly a different world entirely here in LA . An era not without its intrigue. Thank you for adding.

#5. 09/25/14 01:25 PM amycondit 4

The ranch was originally owned by Will Rogers prior to purchase by the Stephens (or Stevens).

#6. 09/25/14 02:29 PM shmily 2

I'm a genealogist. It appears that Winona Stevens was the daughter of Arthur Bassett and Theophila Campbell. Arthur was born about 1853 in Massachusetts and Theophila was born about 1858 in Wisconsin. This information came from census records. Normal F. Stevens and Winona had 4 kids. Dale B, Robin C., Carlile, and Norma T. I have not been able to figure out where the money came from...

#7. 10/03/14 06:13 PM shmily 2

A few other details. There are pictures I've found of Norman and Winona, although not together. Norman was born on 22 Dec 1892 and died on 20 Feb 1993. Winona was born on 20 Dec 1891 and died on September 3, 1954

#8. 10/03/14 06:18 PM charliew 1

What about the rest of the time leading up to the Mandeville Fire?

#9. 12/10/14 11:59 AM

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# The Satanic Temple Asks Protestors To Sign Over Their Souls To Enter Their Latest Stunt

07.28.15 Uproxx.com



Via Facebook

When it comes to the folks involved with The Satanic Temple, it's hard to get mad (unless you're wholly against them and what you think they stand for). They know the right buttons to push usually and their antics are only flipping established rules and norms the majority of the time. This time around, they unveiled their newest Baphomet statue in Detroit on Saturday night to a fairly civil crowd of onlookers.

It's the same type of statue that was revealed in Oklahoma and is set to be placed at the Arkansas state

capitol to coincide with their other religious icons on display. The unveiling in Detroit was threatened by protestors who disagreed with the "church's" beliefs, but as you can tell from the response in the video, they didn't get a chance to show. According to Patheos, The Satanic Temple laid out a series of rules for people to follow in order to make their way to the event:

According to TST spokesperson Lucien Greaves, attendees for the event had to go through the following process:

- 1) Show up at the location stated on the e-ticket.
- 2) Go through a security checkpoint there.
- 3) Sign a contract transferring their souls to Satan.
- 4) Get the real location for the event, which was miles away.

It worked. The event went off without a hitch.

I think they could have just stuck with 1,2 and 4 there and people would have given up, but I like the idea of the contract. It's that black bit of humor that really drives home the silliness of it all. Here's the full contents of the pact the folks in attendance would have signed before getting their pass:

I agree that by signing this document under any name, given or adopted, actual or pseudonymous, I am hereby avowing my soul to Satan (aka Abbadon, aka Lucifer, aka Beelzebub, aka The Antichrist). I do so knowing that He (aka The Fallen One, aka The Father of Lies) or any of His representatives may choose to collect my eternal soul at any time, with or without notice. I understand that my signature or mark representing any name, real or made up, upon these papers constitutes a lasting and eternal contract, and that there will be no further negotiations on the matter of my eternal soul.

Joke's on them because some of us have already given our souls up when we signed up for Plenty Of Fish. Read the fine print, idiots.

2015 UPROXX Media

# Satanists Claim Abortion Waiting Periods Violate Their Religious Beliefs

Melissa Cronin
July 29 2015 2:54 PM Slate.com

#### By Amanda Marcotte

Conservatives are increasingly citing their right to religious liberty to defend using state property to proselytize and disobey laws protecting women and LGBTQ people from discrimination. But those efforts are getting a little more complicated, thanks to a group of pranksters who claim to worship Satan.

Whenever Christians erect Christian monuments on state property or distribute religious materials at public schools, the New York-based Satanic Temple is there doing its part, passing out satanic materials or erecting statues celebrating Satan. Now these expert trolls are tackling anti-abortion regulations, which they claim violate satanic religious beliefs; followers of the king of hell should be allowed to opt out of those regulations, they say.

Satanists are rallying around "Mary," who lives in rural Missouri and needs an abortion but is struggling to afford the extra expenses that the state's 72-hour waiting period will impose on her. Mary has the money for the abortion, but she doesn't have the estimated extra \$800 that she needs to travel to the only abortion clinic in the state, in St. Louis, a trip that will require gas, hotel, and child care. "I personally would have liked to have the procedure done as soon as possible," Mary told the *Riverfront Times*. "But with all the difficulties, how hard it is do this, it's been put off for several weeks." She's now nearly 12 weeks pregnant.

The Satanic Temple raised the money for Mary in a day; its plan is to present a letter to the abortion provider asking for an exemption on the grounds that, as a Satanist, Mary believes her body is "inviolable" and the waiting period imposes a "substantial burden on my sincerely held religious beliefs." As a legal maneuver, this leaves much to be desired: The clinic, too, is being victimized by the regulation, and they're not the authorities standing between Mary and her abortion. The legally sound way to demand "religious liberty" exemptions to waiting periods is sue the state government, but the Satanists don't have those sorts of resources—they're not Hobby Lobby.

While the Satanists did misfire by taking aim at the clinic, as a public act of trolling, this stunt gets an A-plus. It exposes the double standards of those who claim to stand for "religious freedom," and it highlights how waiting periods and other restrictions are actually an attempt to impose religious dogma about abortion on those who don't agree with it. Being denied medical care is actual religious oppression. Letting someone access her own medical care is not.

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## Scientists Unearth 4000-Year-Old Skeleton Near Stonehenge

By Ted Ranosa, Tech Times July 24, 9:31 AM

 $\underline{\text{http://www.techtimes.com/articles/71567/20150724/scientists-unearth-4000-year-old-skeleton-near-stonehenge.htm}$ 

Archaeologists from the University of Reading in the United Kingdom have unearthed the remains of a 4000-year-old adolescent child at an excavation site located in the Vale of Pewsey in Wiltshire.

The ancient skeleton, believed to be from the Bronze Age, was discovered at a spot in the vale, between Avebury and Stonehenge. It measures at about four feet and 11 inches long, and was uncovered in a fetal position, wearing what appears to be an amber necklace.

The Reading researchers will now conduct an analysis to determine the gender and age of the child, as well as trace the location from where he or she possibly came from.

Experts believe the newly-discovered specimen will help provide further insight regarding the lives of people who had lived near Stonehenge thousands of years ago.

While the Vale of Pewsey, where the Bronze Age skeleton was found, has been the subject of a three-year excavation project, the researchers involved in the excavation were focused on surveying the Wilsford henge and Marden henge over the past six weeks.

The Marden henge, which was erected in 2400 BC, is considered to be the largest of the henges, or ancient monuments, ever to be built in the UK.

Dr. Jim Leary, a researcher from Reading's archaeology department, described the 4000-year-old skeleton as a "wonderful discovery."

Leary explained that the finds they were able to make in the first five weeks of their dig have been exciting, but as it is often the case during such excavations, the best discoveries are revealed near the end. The ancient remains will help scientists uncover more information regarding the lives of those people who lived under the Stonehenge's shadow during a time of frantic activity.

Leary added that a scientific examination of the skeleton will provide further information on the child's gender, diet, pathologies and burial date, and that it could also reveal where he or she had lived.

The three-year University of Reading excavation project is conducted in cooperation with the Wiltshire Museum and the Historic England, the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Its objective is to develop understanding on the way of life of people who existed in areas around Stonehenge.

Discoveries made by the archaeologists at the dig site to date include blades and arrowheads made of flint, a Roman brooch, decorated pottery and bracelets made of copper and shale.

# REVEALED: Special Branch tailed UFO cult leader for FIVE YEARS over fears he was communist

express.co.uk

SPECIAL branch operatives tailed a UFO cult leader who said he was in telepathic contact with aliens, it emerged today.

By Nick Gutteridge

PUBLISHED: 17:41, Tue, Jul 28, 2015 | UPDATED: 18:01, Tue, Jul 28, 2015



The bizarre high-level decision saw Scotland Yard's finest infiltrating rallies and meetings of George King's secretive 'space society' amid fears it was a front for Russian spies.

The former London cabbie claimed he could communicate with an alien called Aetherius, who was orbiting Mars.

In another of his freakish outbursts he warned the public

that space travellers from Venus were already living among them.

However, it has now emerged that detectives from the Metropolitan Police feared his zany antics may have been an elaborate front for Soviet moles.

They launched a five-year surveillance operation into his activities, which was revealed for the first time today after Scotland Yard unsealed top secret documents.

A modern day member of his Aetherius Society, which still has more than 1,000 members, branded the police operation "ridiculous".



Classified files reveal how detectives studied pamphlets and quizzed elderly ladies about their beliefs, whilst King made TV history by going into a trance live on BBC2 to relay a message from 'Mars Sector 6'.

The half-hour broadcast, called Mars and Venus Speak to Earth, featured King speaking about his strange cosmic experiences to a

consultant psychiatrist, who

bizarrely the BBC refused to name.

The anonymous presenter then interviewed the alien Aetherius during the ambitious live broadcast, shown in 1959.

An enraptured audience was told that King was in a trance and the alien had taken over his vocal chords.

Meanwhile, detectives mingled with his followers at meetings in halls, noting they were either "elderly ladies in felt hats" or "earnest young men in duffle coats".

They suspected that his bizarre antics were all part of a Communist plot to overthrow democracy and stop Britain becoming a nuclear power.

Top secret files reveal that police launched their probe after the now defunct Empire News newspaper picked up King's anti-nuclear rhetoric and linked his UFO society to Moscow.

The paper handed over copies of the society's Cosmic Voice newsletter to detectives, in which the cult leader wrote that aliens had appealed to him to stop nuclear experimentation.



This was at the height of Cold War paranoia about 'Reds under the Beds'

X-Files expert Dr David Clarke

King himself claimed to have heard a voice while drying the dishes, telling him that he was to be the messenger for an "inter planetary Parliament".

He later told followers he had

been visited by aliens who had taught him yoga and telepathy to communicate with the mothership.

After emerging exhausted from his trances, King urged his audience to "ban the atom bomb" and claimed he had been given the date of World War Three.

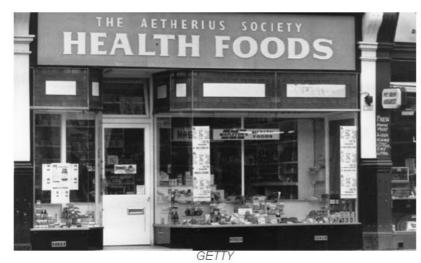
Special Branch interest intensified when King organised the world's first public rally "to demand the truth about flying saucers" in Trafalgar Square in August 1958.

The secret dossier - obtained from the Metropolitan Police under the Freedom of Information Act - reveals how this and a subsequent demo in 1959 were both infiltrated by undercover officers.

It noted: "He himself has a brisk business-like air and wears a blazer ostentatiously bearing the emblem of the Aetherius Society in gold thread.

"Since its inception, the Aetherius Society is said to have grown from a few members to the largest metaphysical society of its kind.

"It boasts of branches operating in Australia, Canada, South Africa, Rhodesia, Japan, West Africa, Canada and the Netherlands."



In spite of being ridiculed by the mainstream media, King's public meetings became more frequent and support for his organisation blossomed world-wide.

The secret dossier was obtaind by British X-Files expert Dr David Clarke, who will use the findings in his new book How UFOS Conquered the World.

He said: "This was at the height of Cold War paranoia about

'Reds under the Beds.

"King's society also organised the very first public UFO disclosure protest - decades before UFO believers called on US Presidents to reveal 'the truth' about Roswell.

"Special Branch later dismissed the movement as a money-making scam.

"But the fact remains that King lived a relatively modest lifestyle until his death in California in 1997, where he had emigrated," Dr Clarke added.

"Special Branch interest in the Society faded away in the 1960s - clearly because investigations found no evidence King was involved in spreading Soviet propaganda."

The Fulham-based Aetherius Society - Britain's first flying saucer religious society- was founded in the mid-1950s by King and still has 1,000 UK members.

Mark Bennett from the society said: "There's nothing remotely red about the society. I'm amazed they went to all that trouble.

"At the end of the day, Dr King's claims are true. It's the most ridiculous thing in the world to think that we were anything to do with Communism.

"It does not make any sense on any level. But it was a paranoid time."

A Scotland Yard spokesman said: "We've got no knowledge of this."

#### 5 Comments

ScrewlooseNEW1 day ago

Not surprised The Branch were interested in this group of nutters - didn't they all stand around chanting 'Ommm..' to charge up 'prayer banks' or something..?

They probably got caught-up in the paranoid backwash from the operations against the similarly-lunatic beliefs of the Scientologists.

When it was discovered that Hubbard's mob had infiltrated a lot of sensitive government departments and were busily acquiring classified info, 5 and their boot-boys really went to town on them - half of the Guardians' Office ended-up as agents of the Branch and the Citadel was totally compromised.

### George HarperNEW1 day ago

But Special Branch did not follow the Westminster Paedophile Ring, Or Janner, Smith and all the other Paedophiles that operated freely in London for over 50 Years, Now what a surprise this is.

ScrewlooseNEW1 day ago

The Branch do exactly what MI5 tell them to do - they're coppers, so not very bright.

Who tells 5 what to do - the homosexual paedo ring does.

Mike SpilliganNEW1 day ago

Perhaps Special Branch confused him with King George.

George HarperNEW1 day ago

Special Branch are always confused, Paedophiles confuse them the most. They do not know what to do with them, charge them or abuse them, and they are still considering this 50 years on.

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# Squirrel takes out opera singer

metrowebukmetro metro.co.uk

The Squirrel Menace has struck again, this time in Finland – and now the furry psychopaths are targeting helpless opera singers.

Finnish opera singer Esa Ruuttunen was knocked unconscious and recieved a broken nose when a kamikaze squirrel launched the attack as he cycled to work.

The squirrel ran into the spokes of his bicycle as he journeyed to rehearsals at the Helsinki Opera House, leaving the singer concussed and in hospital.

The squirrel incident came just before of the world premiere of a new Finnish opera, Kaarmeen hetki (Hour of the Serpent), which is due to open on September 15.

However, it is not thought that the production will be delayed because of the rodent assault.

'He is not yet singing in rehearsals, but thinks he will be able to perform at the world premiere,' said Heidi Almi, a spokeswoman for the Finnish National Opera.

The squirrel did not survive the encounter.

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# Storms uncover 7,500-year-old 'drowned forest' on Ireland's west coast

01:58 AM 2015-07-23T01:58:00-0700

irishcentral.com



The stump of a 7,500-year-old tree exposed by storms at Spiddal, Co Galway. Photo by: Irish Times/Joe O'Shaughnessy

Recent storms battering Ireland's west coast have exposed patches of extensive forests along Galway Bay that marked the country's Atlantic rim 7,500 years ago.

Powerful winds and the pounding sea from the storms have stripped away layers of sand and stone on the shoreline have uncovered parts of a "drowned" woodland along the north Galway coastline west of Spiddal, the Irish Times reports.

Geologist Prof Mike Williams said the forest, once populated by people, wolves and bears, extended out into lagoons and marshlands that pre-dated the formation of Galway bay. Oak, pine and birch stumps surrounded by

extensive root systems are for the most part undisturbed. A carpet of peat was also exposed in the same location and was formed by organic debris which once covered the forest floor. "These trees are in their original growth position and hadn't keeled over, which would suggest that they died quite quickly, perhaps in a quite rapid sea level rise," said Prof Williams. Prof Williams explained that up until 5,000 years ago Ireland experienced a series of rapid sea level rises and forests along the western coastline were flooded and recycled into deposits of peat up to two meters thick, which were then covered by sand. He told the Irish Times that sea level would have been at least five meters lower than it is today and most west coast sand-dune systems can be dated back to a "levelling" off period in sea level change about 5,000 years ago

He has found tree stumps in south Mayo and Clare, as well as Galway, which have been carbon dated to between 5,200 and 7,400 years ago.

Prof Williams, who is due to publish a paper on his findings in the 'Irish Journal of Earth Sciences' with his colleague Eamon Doyle, believes locations where the stumps can be found should be given special area of conservation status.

"Come the summer and the sands will have covered this over again until the next experience of extreme weather," he said.

http://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/storms-reveal-7-500-year-old-drowned-forest-on-north-galway-coastline-1.1715303

Storm during 2014 battered Ireland's west coast exposing patches of extensive forests along Galway Bay that marked the country's Atlantic rim 7,500 years ago.

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# Strange skeleton with 'alien' skull unearthed at 'Russia's Stonehenge'

dailymail.co.uk 11:07 EST, 27 July 2015

#### Wednesday, Jul 29th 201511PM

Strange 'conehead' skeleton unearthed at Russia's Stonehenge: Elongated head was bound in tribal tradition 2,000 years ago

- Skeleton with long skull was unearthed in Arkaim, central Russia
- It's thought to belong to a woman living almost 2,000 years ago
- · Her skull is elongated because it was bound out of tribal tradition
- Arkaim is known as Russia's Stonehenge because it may have been used by ancient people to study the stars, like the British site

By Sarah Griffiths for MailOnline

A skeleton with an unusual-shaped skull has been unearthed on a site known as Russia's Stonehenge.

When images of the remains were first published, UFO enthusiasts rushed to claim they were proof that aliens had once visited Earth.

But archaeologists have revealed that the bones belong to a woman who lived almost 2,000 years ago and had an elongated skull because it was bound out of tribal tradition.

#### Scroll down for video



A skeleton with an unusualshaped skull (pictured) has been unearthed on a site known as Russia's Stonehenge, UFO enthusiasts were quick to claim it was proof aliens visited earth when it was first found

The remains were found in Arkaim, near Chelyabinsk in central Russia - a settlement

dating back almost 4,000 years.

It is believed the woman belonged to a tribe that was part of what is now modern day Ukraine.

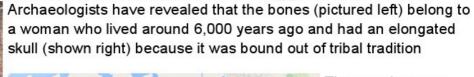
Researcher Maria Makurova has confirmed to the Russian news agency TASS: 'We have

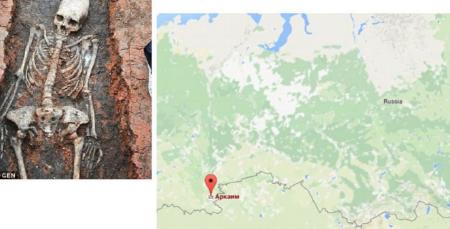
found a well-preserved skeleton.

'I would not exclude the possibility that the skeleton belongs to a woman from the Sarmati tribe that lived in the territories of what is now modern day Ukraine, Kazakhstan and southern Russia.

'Her skull was elongated because the tribe did so by tying up the heads of their children with rope. It was clearly a tradition in the tribe.'







The remains were found in Arkaim (shown with a red marker) near Chelyabinsk in central Russia. The site is generally dated to the 17th century BC, although some experts think it could have been created in the 20th century BC

#### THE ANCIENT SITE OF ARKAIM

Arkaim is located in the Southern Urals in Russia and is thought to date to the 17th century BC.

The 220,000 square foot (20,000 square metre) settlement was protected by two circular walls before it was burned down and abandoned.

It had a central square surrounded by two circles of houses separated by a street.

Historian KK Bystrushkin likened the site to Stonehenge in 2003, saying both allowed ancient people to study the stars.

However, his interpretation is not universally accepted.

She declined to comment on speculation it was attributed to alien visitors saying that currently they were still working on theories as to why the tribe had the tradition but had nothing fixed yet as a reason.

The skeleton is thought to date to the second or third century AD, making it considerably younger than the site.

It is just another of the mysteries to be unearthed at the spectacular site of Arkaim known as Russia's Stonehenge, which is believed to have been built in the 17th century BC.

It is believed by some that, like its 5,000-year-old English counterpart, it was used to study of the stars.

But Arkaim is thought to be more advanced.

Stonehenge allows for observations of 10 astronomical phenomena using 22 elements, while Arkaim enables observations of 18 phenomena using 30 elements.

This means that ancient people could have observed and tracked certain events in the sky by using the site in certain ways from particular positions, and that Arkaim offered more observable events than Stonehenge.



circles found near the site are shown

Researcher Maria Makurova said the woman's skull is elongated because the tribe tied their children's heads with rope as a tradition, to distort the shape. The skeleton is shown

It is just another of the mysteries to be unearthed at the spectacular site of Arkaim known as Russia's Stonehenge. It is believed by some that, like its English counterpart, it was used to study of the stars, but Arkaim is thought to be more advanced. Stone

Russian archaeologist K.K. Bystrushkin, who made the comparison between the two sites in 2003, said Stonehenge offers an observational accuracy of 10-arc minutes to a degree, whereas Arkaim offers accuracy of one-arc minute.



This precision was unheard of at the time the monument is thought to have been built.

The Akraim archaeological site was discovered in 1987 and

since then it has yielded spectacular discoveries including some artefacts from the Bronze Age.

As well as being a primitive astronomical observatory it was also a village that was fortified by two large stone circular walls.

The settlement covers an area of some 220,000 square feet (20,439 square metres) and consists of two circles of dwellings separated by a street, with a central community square in the centre.

Mc-Jeniverson11 Ayr, Limerick, Ireland, about 5 hours ago

Bring it on conspiracy theorists and ancient alien historians!

LasvegasEd777, Las Vegas, United States, about 2 hours ago

As ancient alien theorists contend

Rarely Incorrect, UK, United Kingdom, about 8 hours ago

Without the Russians we would be speaking German.

markoflondon, London, about 10 hours ago

Changing the shape can be easily explained with some instruments used in those times but, how do you explain the increment in the volume?

Robert K Walters, Asheville, United States, about 10 hours ago

Oh, this is too lovely. We find a skull that looks like the hilarious drawings and depictions of "aliens" in comic books and grade B movies and immediately Nimrods around the world proclaim it to be an ALIEN. Because aliens have to have elongated heads, of course. . . I imagine when and if we meet a true alien being, it will look more like Peter Lorre with a lumpy forehead and a 6 ft prehensile tongue . . .

lamyouonlydifferent, Telford, United Kingdom, about 6 hours ago

There are more of these skulls that have been found and they all have a greater brain capacity than human skills that have been elongated

Stop Scaremongering, Swindon, United Kingdom, about 4 hours ago

lamyouonlydifferent I suggest you try reading up on the subject from reputable archaeological sources and see what genuine experts have to say instead of reading pseudoarchaeological horsecrap about ancient aliens and such like pedalled by "alternative historians" many of whom might better be described as charlatans. I think you will find that when an infant's skull is deliberately deformed it can be elongated in exactly this way and that all elongated skulls are just deformed human skulls. The idea that they are alien is daft the idea that they are alien x human hybrids is way beyond daft it is ludicrous beyond belief.

Keln, Columbus, United States, about 12 hours ago

Someone has to say it: I'm not saying it was aliens, but it was aliens.

Weareallinittogether, Downing Street, United Kingdom, about 14 hours ago

The real reason for the constant alien propaganda is in the media and the coming alien threat psyop "Some one remarked that the best way to unite all the n ations on this globe would be an attack from some other planet. In the face of such an alien e nemy, people would respond with a sense of their unity of interest and purpose. We have the next thing to that at the present time (WW1). Before a common menace, North and South America, the Occident, and Orient have ....joined forces amply and intimately in a common cause with one another and with the European n ations which were most directly threatened. What dreamers hoped might happen in the course of some slow coming century has become an accomplished fact in a few swift years. In spite of geographical distance, unlike speech, diverse religion, and hitherto independent aims, n ations from every continent have formed what for the time being is nothing less than a world state." John Dewy 1917

Weareallinittogether, Downing Street, United Kingdom, about 13 hours ago

BringForthRevolution.....yeah sure, with the fake pyramids on mars photos they've got their story all set. Bill Cooper outlined the plot of the fake story 20 years ago and it is beginning to take shape. That's why the DM every now and then reprints the NASA scientist Dr John Brandenburg's hoax nuclear war on mars story. See the "Bill Cooper Mars Hoax" video. Terrorism is a stop gap for the final joke on the sheep.

Sher, JAX FL - USA, United States, about 10 hours ago

Even Reagan said at the United Nations that an alien threat would unite the world.

JOECAM, NEW YORK CITY, United States, about 14 hours ago

Cool, I Love This Stuff!!!

Michael, Cornwall, United Kingdom, about 14 hours ago

Not ONE of the 'its aliens mate' brigade on these boards has bothered to even google "Hunnic skull deforming" because to do so would shatter their blinkered opinion with actual evidence. And STILL some people dont see the point of teaching philosophy in schools - critical thinking; its a wonderful thing.

BringForthRevolution, EU Occupied, United Kingdom, about 14 hours ago

While cranial deformation can change the shape of the skull, it is a simple statement of fact that it can not alter its volume or weight. The Paracas skulls were found to have a cranial volume up to 25 percent larger and weighed 60 percent more than any known conventional or intentionally deformed human skull.

Michael, Cornwall, United Kingdom, about 14 hours ago

I looked at the Paracas some time ago and yes, its all very interesting - until you put 'debunked' at the end and we are back to believing evidence or believing whatever uninformed opinions and basement blogs on the internets. Its all there, but you have to work

gaz, wales, about 14 hours ago

the reason heads were bound in ancient times was to recreate the heads that the gods/aliens that visited them.

Quintus, Bedford, about 14 hours ago

Er no....Very few cultures did it and it was considered a thing of beauty.

Weareallinittogether, Downing Street, United Kingdom, about 15 hours ago

The history channel watching fools who believe they are being told hidden "truths" on ancient aliens. Do you know how the establishment hides real truths from people? Well for one, they don't allow them to be told on any TV channel. Simple really.

FizZviz, brighton, United Kingdom, about 14 hours ago

No, but they allow them to be told on silly T∨ programmes like Ancient Aliens, along with easily debunked stuff, so that nobody takes them seriously

Michael, Cornwall, United Kingdom, about 13 hours ago

ow do you know? You must have read or seen it somewhere... oh ... wait ...

peter, guildford, United Kingdom, about 15 hours ago

When I lay down my fingertips are almost to my kneecaps. However her fingertips are just past her hips this is a very tall lady

FizZviz, brighton, United Kingdom, about 14 hours ago

Fingertips almost to your kneecaps? What are you part urangatan?

Part of the Daily Mail, The Mail on Sunday & Metro Media Group

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# 'VIRILE STRENGTH IN A FEMININE BREAST:' WOMEN, HOSTAGESHIP, CAPTIVITY, AND SOCIETY IN THE ANGLO-FRENCH WORLD, c. 1000- $\,$ c. 1300

### A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Colleen Elizabeth Slater
August 2009

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and imagery here is likely exaggerated, as will be discussed below, scholars should not discount that large numbers of men and women were taken captive for the purpose of slavery, or that many of these captives suffered as a result of their capture.

The Welsh regularly, too, took female captives for slavery. John of Worcester mentions that in 1136, in a battle between the English and the Welsh near Cardigan, besides taking men into captivity, the Welsh also captured 10,000 women, whose husbands and children had been killed. The Gesta Stephani also mentions this event, and the author describes the Welsh victory with no little amount of horror, stating that "the young of both sexes they delivered over to chains and captivity; women of any age they shamelessly abandoned to public violation."

Disapproval and clear exaggeration of the chroniclers aside, the abovereferenced passages indicate that slavery was still an option for women who were
unfortunate enough to be captured in border warfare well into the 12<sup>th</sup> century. And
although the references to captivity here are often very brief in these cases, they
provide some valuable insights worth discussing. Although the number 10,000 in the
Welsh example is likely an exaggeration and just implies a significant number of
women, the evidence from all these cases confirms that women were just as likely if
not more so to be taken captive as men.

It also indicates that, as with female hostages, captive women were probably often subject to rape by their captors, suggesting that women were probably not treated any better than men during times of warfare or during captivity. Mentions of rape are rather frequent in the sources; John of Worcester is quite explicit about an incident in 1013. The Vikings, led by King Swein of Denmark, killed all the men they

<sup>52 &</sup>quot;Subsecutum est hoc anno, bellum aliud grauissimum apud Karadigan, mense Octobrio, ebdomada secunda, in quo tanta hominum strages facta est ut, exceptis uiris in captiuitatem abductis, de mulieribus captiuitatis decies centum decime remanerent, maritis earum cum paruulis innumeris, partim aqua demersis, partim flamma consumptis, partim gladio trucidatis." JW, 3:220-1.

<sup>53 &</sup>quot;...iuuenes utrisque sexus uinculis et captiuitati addixerunt; feminas cuiusuis aetatis publico incestui impudenter dederunt." GS, 18-19.

captured, and "kept the women for the satisfaction of their lust." As Julie Coleman remarks in her discussion of rape in Anglo-Saxon England, rape was a common byproduct of warfare, but as with hostageship, it had deep symbolic meaning. Not only could the treatment of women in captivity symbolically represent an individual's weakness, but also a kingdom's. 55 When a woman had the freedom to walk about without fear of violation, a nation was deemed strong, peaceful, and secure. Conversely, when a woman was captured and violated, the act implied that a nation was weak and defenseless. The body, as Mary Douglas has suggested, "is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can stand for any boundaries which are threatened or precarious." Like a microcosm, the body reflects the world writ-small; on the body are written "the powers and dangers credited to social structure."56 Thus women may have been targeted to be captives not only for the purposes of slavery, but to make a public and visible statement of the relationship between kingdoms and peoples. Swein's soldiers' rape of the English women was a powerful reminder to the local population as well as to the king and his nobles of Viking strength and England's apparent inability to stop or effectively combat Viking raids and territorial gains of the early tenth century. Likewise, the rape of English women by Scotsmen and Welshmen was a way for these peoples to rebel against English authority, assert their independence, and publically remind the English that they were not as in control of Scotland or Wales as they would like to imagine.

Nor was this merely an early medieval phenomenon. The violation of women continued to be a means of expressing domination over a conquered people throughout the Middle Ages. Richard I, for example, as Count of Poitou before his ascension to

<sup>54 &</sup>quot;...feminas ad suam libidinem explendam reservarent." JW, 2:472-3.

<sup>55</sup> Julie Coleman, 195-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: an Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo (New York, 2002), 118

the English throne, brutally ravaged Aquitaine. Aquitaine had always been a land unlikely to submit to overlordship, and perennially rebellious against the Plantagenets. In response, Richard not only ravaged the land, but he ordered the hands of his captives cut off, their eyes gouged out, and their women violated.<sup>57</sup> Taking captives in general, but women in particular, then, along with rape and other forms of bodily harm, appear to have served as a form of medieval terrorism. The idea that no man and especially no woman was safe from terrible violence might make the potential victims much more docile and willing to comply with any demands a raider, lord, or king might want to extract or more agreeable to making peace.

Aristocratic ladies, because they often travelled with their husbands on wartime campaigns, also became captives. For example Orderic Vitalis reports that in 1132, Geoffrey of Andria and his wife were captured by Roger of Sicily in a castle near Potenza. 58 According to John of Worcester, Aethelwald, the son and heir of King Edward the Elder, married a nun of Wimborne while he was rebelling against his father. When he fled to the Danes to avoid being taken into custody, she appears to have been left behind and captured, eventually forced to return her to the convent.<sup>59</sup> Jordan Fantosme's poetic chronicle of the 1173-4 rebellion of Henry II of England's son, Henry the Young King, describes how Petronilla, the wife of Robert of Leicester, was captured fleeing the battle in such a panic that she almost drowned.60

While high status was theoretically supposed to protect those of noble birth, capture after battle might also result in imprisonment, harsh punishment, or even death for aristocratic ladies as well commoners. If a woman supported her husband or male relative in his rebellion against the king, she was likely to be considered an enemy of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Amy Kelly, Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 194-5.
<sup>58</sup> OV, 6:434-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Jordan Fantosme, Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle, ed. with intro., trans., and notes R. C. Johnston (Oxford, 1981), 70-9. Her capture is also chronicled in Roger of Howden, Gesta, 1:58, 60-2; Ralph of Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1876), 1:367-8.

the king just as much as her husband, and so be treated the same way. When the Danish nobles Morcar and Sigeferth were executed for treason in 1015, King Aethelred had Sigeferth's wife imprisoned at Malmesbury. 61 The Gesta Normannorun Ducum indicates that in 991 when Count Odo II of Blois and Chartres rebelled against the French king, Richard, Duke of Normandy, captured Odo and his wife and sent them to be hanged for their crimes. 62 Matilda of Braose joined her husband's rebellion against King John and fled with her husband to Ireland after refusing to give up their son as a hostage. She was besieged with her son at Meath and captured. Matthew of Paris reports that they were imprisoned in Windsor and later died of starvation, although the veracity of this cannot be confirmed. It therefore may only represent what Matthew assumed or imagined the behavior of King John, already by the time Matthew was writing depicted as a "bad" king, to be like. 63 Matthew says that the reason for Matilda's harsh punishment seems to have been that she told the king's emissaries "with the imprudence of a woman" [procacitate muliebri] that she would not give up her son to a man who had murdered his nephew. 64 Not only was she a rebel, but Matthew has her insulting the king, the source of her particularly harsh punishment.

Perhaps the most famous imprisonment of a wife is Henry II's capture and incarceration of his own wife Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1173. She had joined her eldest son Henry the Young King's rebellion against his father and was caught dressed as a man fleeing to join him. As punishment for her betrayal, Henry kept her his prisoner

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The fate of Morcar's wife is unknown; Ann Williams supposes that she was already dead at the time. Sigeferth's wife was later secretly released from prison by Aethelred's son, Edmund, whom she married. Given this ultimate fate of Sigeferth's fate, Paul Hyams' suggestion to me that her imprisonment may have been to protect her or to protect her dead husband's land and assets from being claimed by another man, may be likely. ASC, 146. For detailed history of Aethelred's reign, see Ann Williams, Æthelred the Unready: The Ill-Counselled King (London, 2003).

<sup>63</sup> Flores Historiarum, ed. R.H Luard (London, 1890) 2:139.

<sup>64</sup> CM, 2:523-4.

for sixteen years until his death, although she seems to have started to reappear in public in 1184.65 Captured in the same cause were Marguerite of France, Henry the Young King's bride, and her sister Alais, along with Henry II's daughter Joanna, Constance of Brittany, and Emma of Anjou. They were taken to England as prisoners; Marguerite appears to have been held in the castle of Devizes. 66 Margaret of Scotland, widow of Duke Conan IV of Brittany, also appears to have joined the rebellion against Henry II and was held as a prisoner. 67

The level of punishment women suffered often had to do with their relationship to the event in question. As Jean Dunbabin has suggested, the more directly guilty a woman was of her supposed "crime," the harsher her punishment. Philippa, the daughter of Count Guy of Flanders, for example, was imprisoned from 1298 until her death in 1306 in response to her father's attempt to marry her to the future Edward II of England without the permission of his overlord, Phillip IV of France. Since the fault was with her father, Philippa's incarceration appears to have been fairly mild, despite condemnation in the chronicle that reports it. 68 The fate of Robert the Bruce's female relatives clearly demonstrates the fate of women who were considered meddlers in politics. Robert was defeated by royal forces in 1306 at the Battle of Methven. Robert himself escaped, but many of his adherents, including his wife and sisters, as well as Countess Isabel of Buchan, who had crowned Bruce at Scone, were captured. While the women did not suffer the same fate as many of Robert's male supporters—most of whom were executed in brutal fashions—they were confined.

What is particularly noteworthy here is that the harshness of their captivity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Gervase of Canterbury, The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1879), 1:242-3; Roger of Howden, Gesta, 1:41-3. For her possible motivations for rebelling, see Warren, Henry II, 118-21, and 601-2 for her release in 1184.

66 Roger of Howden, Chronica 2:61; Ralph of Diceto, 1:382. See also Kelly, 183-4.

67 K.J. Stringer, Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219 (Edinburgh, 1985), 26.

<sup>68</sup> Dunbabin, Captivity, 117.

seems to have reflected Edward I's understanding of their political involvement in Robert's ascendency. Robert's wife, who at his coronation had wryly commented that they were like children playing at being king and queen, was merely confined in a manor house in Holderness, and was allowed two female attendants. Christian Bruce, Robert's elder sister, was forced to retire to a nunnery in Lincolnshire. Countess Isabel and Mary, Robert's other sister, who made unkind comments about Edward, were both locked up in wicker and iron cages and then confined in the towers of Berkwick and Roxburgh castles respectively. Nor was this a short-term punishment. Isabel remained in her cage until June 1310, when she was transferred elsewhere. 69 Robert's wife and his sister Christian seem to have been less politically involved in Robert's rebellion against the English. If anything, his wife's comments seem to have been construed by contemporaries as a critique of Robert's actions, and therefore may have gained her some reprieve. But Countess Isabel and Mary inserted themselves into politics, Isabel most obviously by daring to crown Robert, a direct insult to Edward who saw himself as overlord of Scotland. The exception to this rule was Robert's daughter, Marjorie, whom Edward at first ordered to be hung in a similar cage in the Tower of London where he would not allow her to speak with anyone other than the Constable of the Tower. He later revoked this order and sent her to a nunnery at Watton, perhaps due to her relative innocence in the whole affair, at a maximum age of twelve, she was unlikely to have been politically active. 70

The fate of aristocratic women in captivity was such an anxiety that medieval literary texts explore the issue repeatedly. Images of ladies imprisoned in towers or held captive are found in numerous sources: chansons de geste like Girart de Vienne<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Barrow, 210-11.

<sup>70</sup> With his victory at Bannockburn and the capture of the Earl of Hereford, Robert was able to negotiate

the release of his wife and daughter from prison. Ibid., 302.

The Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, Girart de Vienne par Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, ed. Wolfgang van Emden (Paris, 1977).

and The Knights of Narbonne, <sup>72</sup> all of Chretien de Troyes' numerous romances, <sup>73</sup> the romance of Daurel et Breton, <sup>74</sup> and Aucassin et Nicolette. <sup>75</sup> But again, the anxiety is male-centered, focused on how men understood themselves. "Even when idealized and adored," Richard Kaeuper suggests, "women seem to have been considered property in much chivalric literature, prizes to be won by knightly prowess or to be defended against the prowess of others." Even rape, with its violence to the female body, becomes matter of male pride and skill. As Gravdal notes, rape is a "set piece to display chivalric prowess," "a contest, a competition between the villain and the hero," and "a test of the hero's character and sense of duty," and captivity, which often makes rape possible in the romances, also becomes a mechanism by which the hero's chivalric nature is revealed.

Raoul de Cambrai, the late twelfth/early thirteenth century chanson de geste, provides an excellent example. It explores the potential abuse of captive women through the capture of young Bernier's wife, Beatrice. On the way back from the wedding, King Louis, the implacable enemy of Bernier, attacked the wedding party, capturing Bernier's father and Beatrice. When Louis returns to his court with his prize, he confers Beatrice upon Erchambaut of Ponthieu. Although it is not explicitly stated, Beatrice's response that Louis would disgrace Christianity if he did this because she is still a virgin implies that she was to be given to Erchambaut to be raped. Beatrice's rape is supposed to become the mechanism of Louis's revenge upon Bernier because of the shame it will confer upon Bernier. Louis, however, is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Les Narbonnnais: Chanson de geste, 2 vols., ed. Herman Suchier (Paris, 1898).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> For example, in *Cliges*, 103-4; 131; in *The Knight and the Cart*, 170-1, 188-9, 209-17, 318ff. Page numbers refer to Chrétien de Troyes, *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, trans. and intro. David Staines (Bloomington, IN, 1993).

Daurel and Beton: A Twelfth-Century Adventure Story, trans. Janet Shirley (Felinfach, 1997), 55.
 Auccassin and Nicolette (Aucassin et Nicolette), ed. Anne Elizabeth Cobby, trans. Glyn S. Burgess (New York, 1988), 121-4, 161-2.
 Kaeuper, 226.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Gravdal, 45-7.

eventually convinced not to follow through with his plan, but only because it would only bring the wrath of Bernier even more on his head, not out of any concern over Beatrice's fate. Beatrice is given over to the care of the queen, but when Louis's lords report that she is dying for her love of Bernier, Louis again contemplates giving her up to rape. Thinking that Beatrice is faking, Louis says, "By God the righteous, her wiles will certainly not prevent me from handing her over to my squires: they can take her on foot into the ditches and do whatever they like." In response, "More than forty of them have leapt to their feet, ribald fellows who were overjoyed at the prospect." Beatrice faints, and the queen intervenes, chastising her husband as wicked and cursing him, and removes Beatrice to her apartments again. 78

Louis' desire to seek revenge against Bernier, whom he hates "more than any man alive" by having Beatrice repeatedly violated by low born squires, creates an apparent tension between him and Beatrice, the queen, and the lords who desire to protect Beatrice's virtue. Furthermore, Beatrice's argument about the disgrace of Christianity and the queen's curse against Louis that God will punish him with a disaster implies that the rape was considered against the laws of God. But Louis and his knights' laughter in response to the queen suggests that rape of female captives, even those of high birth, was a regular by-product of war and an acceptable form of revenge against one's enemies.

Furthermore, the potential rape of Beatrice becomes a major episode that leads to Bernier's retribution on King Louis, implying the importance of rape as a trope within the genre. As suggested earlier, rape in the romance is a "formulaic challenge: potential assaults are set up at regular narrative intervals so that knights can prove their mettle." The same seems to be true here in Raoul de Cambrai. The capture

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Raoul de Cambrai, ed. with intro, trans, and notes Sarah Kay (Oxford, 1992), 358-69, laisses cclxviixxiv.

79 Gravdal, 44.

and potential rape of Beatrice serves two narrative functions: first, to demonstrate that King Louis is not a good king because he advocates the rape of virgins, and second, to set up Bernier's revenge. But in both of these cases, the narrative functions are about men, not women. To modern audiences reading the text for the first time, this is perhaps opposite of what is expected. In the current age, women are understood as the victims of rape and the focus of the crime and violation is placed on them. What the texts indicate here is that the anxieties expressed have little to do with women themselves, but with how their status as captive and/or violated women affects men.

Literary texts can also clearly be judgmental against captive women within the narrative, shifting blame away from the captors and on to the captive. Layamon, for example, writes in his *Brut* that Cordoille, daughter of King Leir and Queen of England after her father's death, was captured by her nephews Morgan and Cunedaigius. She went insane in prison and killed herself, an act that Layamon treats ambiguously. On the one hand, he appears to condemn the nephews because they "drove their aunt demented more than they should have," yet also suggests that committing suicide was an "evil way" for her to die. Wace, in the earlier version of this story, puts more emphasis on the foolishness of committing suicide. "In the end they captured Cordeille and put her in a dungeon. They did not want to take any ransom, but held her so long that she killed herself from sorrow, a foolish deed." Layamon and especially Wace have little sympathy for Cordeille who chose to take her own life rather than continue to suffer in prison. It matters little that her nephews appear to have tortured her, refused ransom, and drove her insane. It is her choice, not theirs, that bothers the authors.

The focus on the crime or deeds of the women may result from the medieval misogynistic belief that women were desirous of violence against them, even as they

<sup>80</sup> Lawman, 49-50; Wace, 52-3.

fought against it. In Chretien's Story of the Grail, for example, he has the knight
Orgueilleux speak extensively on the sexual duplicity of women. He had left his
beloved in a tent when Perceval happened upon her and forced her to kiss him. When
Orgueilleux returned, his beloved confessed to the kiss, but Orgueilleux refused to
believe in her innocence of any other sexual acts. He argues:

Since he kissed her against her will, did he not have all he desired afterwards? Yes. No one will ever believe that he kissed her without doing more. The one act leads to the other. If a man kisses a woman when both are alone together, and does nothing more, then I think the decision is his. A woman who surrenders her mouth easily grants the remainder, if the man earnestly requests it. She may indeed defend herself. Yet it is well known, beyond doubt, that a woman...claws, and bites and struggles, yet wants to be overcome. She defends herself against this, yet longs for it. She has such cowardice about surrendering, yet wants to be taken against her will, never then showing goodwill or thanks.<sup>81</sup>

As Gravdal's analysis of this episode suggests, this misogynistic diatribe serves two purposes. First, it evokes pity from the audience because, as the audience is aware, Orgueilleux's beloved did not give in to Perceval, and the fact that Orgueilleux would not believe her makes him the villain. That Perceval ultimately triumphs over and kills him is a sign that Orgueilleux's view is the false one. But it also intertwines the misogynist argument so deeply within the story that the relationship between the poet's moral about Orgeilleux's innocence and his diatribe against women is unclear. One is left wondering if Orgeilleux is the exception or the rule. 82

Women who did receive sympathy tended to be those who died naturally and sacrificially as a result of their treatment. An example from Layamon is again illustrative here. Layamon writes about the brutal fate of the English saint Ursula and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Chretien de Troyes, 387.

Solution of the larger body of chivalric literature. As Richard Kauper as argued, "Chivalric literature, then, does not establish a single ideological position, some uniform and elaborate code, but rather shows an intense concern with the issues of the relations between males and females. It seems impossible to press all of these views into a single ideology and attach a label such as 'courtly love' or even fin'amours in confidence that we have captured the essence of the medieval view. The texts show us not a single view, but a running debate." Kaeuper, 211.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASC	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Ed. and Trans. by Michael Swanton. London: Phoenix Press, 2002.
CM	Paris, Matthew. Chronica Majora. 7 vols. Ed. by Henry Richards Luard. London: Rolls Series, 1872-83.
GND	The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Junièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni. 2 Vols. Ed. and Trans. by M.C. Van Houts. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
GS	Gesta Stephani. Ed. and Trans by K. R. Potter. Intro and notes by R.H.C. Davis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
GR	William of Malmesbury. Gesta Regum Anglorum. 2 vols. Ed. and trans. by R.A.B. Mynors. Completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1998.
нн	Henry of Huntingdon. Historia Anglorum: the history of the English People. Ed. and trans. by Diana Greenway. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
HN	William of Malmesbury, <i>Historia Novella</i> . Ed. by Edmund King. Trans. by K.R. Potter. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998
JW	John of Worcester. The Chronicle of John of Worcester. 3 vols. Ed. by R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk. Trans. by Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
ov	Orderic Vitalis. The Ecclesiastical History. 6 vols. Ed. and Trans. by Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
The Empress Matilda	Chibnall, Marjorie. The Empress Matilda. Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.

her 11,000 virgins. Although the origins of their story are unclear, their passion supposedly took place in 238 AD, and the story of their fate was retold again and again throughout the Middle Ages. According to Layamon, the ladies, sent on ships to meet Ursula's future husband, were waylaid by a storm, which caused them to be captured by the Huns. Once captured, they were subject to the worst crimes. Layamon writes: "Since this world was established it has nowhere been published / in song or in story, nor could anyone report it, / That there were any women so wretchedly tormented, / Nor so pitifully upon the sea seduced." Ursula herself was raped by the Hunnish king Melga and then given to the crewmen "to have her as a whore." The Huns either drowned the rest or sold them as slaves. As the passive victims of pagan outsiders and as women who died as a result of the violence done to them, these women garner the sympathy of the authors. Cordeille, who, whether insane or not, took matters into her own hands, does not.

The trope of rape and other violence in captivity is also found in more historically minded texts in the imaginative scenes sprinkled into the recounting of events. Here, too, the purpose is less to evoke sympathy for the victims than to point out the nobility of the male participants. Aelred of Rievaulx's narrative of the Battle of the Standard, for example, contains several speeches of the leaders of the English forces, invented as was the convention of the time. Walter Espec, for example, rouses the knights to battle by saying:

But putting aside the king for a while, no one would say that it is not just that we raise an army for our kingdom, that, danger looming, we fight for our wives, our freedom.... [...] Rember what they [The Scots] did when they crossed the Tyne, and do not hope for kinder treatment if the Scots win. [...] spared no age, no rank, no sex. The nobly-born, boys and girls, were led into captivity. Modest matrimony was defiled by unbelievable lust. [...] A pregnant woman was run through, and an impious hand smashed the tender fetus, ripped from her womb, against rocks. [...] Certainly, we must either

<sup>83</sup> Lawman, 154-6. The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine tells a similar version of events. The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, ed. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ, 1993), 2:256-60. For Wace's version, see Wace, 152-55.

conquer or die. For who would choose to be a survivor of a Scottish victory in order to see his wife subjected to the lusts of the Scots, his children pierced by lances?<sup>84</sup>

Aelred's obsession with the Scots perpetration of violence against women is, as John Gillingham notes, a sign of the hysterical reaction of English chroniclers towards the "barbarian" Scots, but it is even more my present point to note the obsessive fear of so many chroniclers about violence done to women and the duty of men to defend their women from that violence. Moreover, the threat of rape becomes a means for Aelred to build suspense and extend his narrative. He heightens the tension about whether or not the English will successfully defeat the Scots in battle.

Nor is Aelred's account an isolated use of such narrative tactics. There also seems to be a lurid fascination with the rape and enslavement of female captives on the part of medieval chroniclers in general. In the *Flores Historiarum*, Roger of Wendover recounts with a vivid reimagining the Danish sack of the city of Canterbury in 1011. While the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle remarks only that the Danes "seized all ordained people, both men and women, in there" and then searched the city for treasure, <sup>85</sup> Roger invents details. Not only does he depict violence towards men and monks, but also women. Children were "torn from their mothers' breasts... and

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<sup>84 &</sup>quot;Sed, ut interim de rege taceamus, nullus certe justum negabit, quod pro patria arma suscipimus; quod pro uxoribus nostris, pro liberis nostris, proecclesiis nostris dimicamus, imminens periculum propulsantes. Urget enim necessitas. Recolite quid in Transtinanis partibus egerint, nec mitiora sperate si vicerint Scotti. Taceo caedes, rapinas, incendia, quae humano quodammodo more exercentur ab hostibus: talia dicam, qualia nec fabulae ferunt, nec narrant historiae a crudelissimis acta tyrannis. Dicam, inquam, si non prae nimio horrore sermo defecerit, aut auditor aufugerit. Nulli aetati, nulli ordini, nulli omnino sexui pepercerunt; nobiles, tam pueri quam puellae, ducti sunt in captivitatem; pudica matrimonia incredibili libidine vexata sunt; parvuli jacatai in aera, et aculeis lancearum excepti, delectabile spectaculum Galwensibus praebuerunt; praegnans mulier per medium secabatur, tener foetus, extractus ab utero, impia manu ad saxum allidebatur. [...] Sed quid moror? Certe aut vincendum nobis est, aut moriendum. Quis enim victoriae Scottorum se velit esse superstitem, ut videat uxorem suam Scottorum subjacere libidini, paruulos suos laceis perforari?" Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, 2:187-9.

Aelred partially borrowed his information about the battle from Henry of Huntingdon' in his *Historia Anglorum*, who has the motivating speech spoken by Ralph, Bishop of the Orkneys. While Henry suggests that the Scots do not spare children of pregnant women, it is Aelred whose description dwells of violence and captivity. HH, 712-17.

85 ASC, 141-2.

mothers were dragged by their legs through the city and cast into flames. ...[A] multitude of men, women and children were divided into ten parts: nine were put to death, the tenth reserved for life...." Roger's horror at such events is evident, yet it was he who imagined them that way. The Danes, boogymen of the past, and the Scots, specters of Englishmen who lived in fear of raids from the North, commit disgusting atrocities in his narrative as a means not only of condemning barbarism and the violence of past war, but also a means of exploring taboo issues of violation.

Captive women, however, were more than the bodily toys of their captors and the source of vivid fantasies for medieval writers and audiences. Taking women captive could serve many purposes for the captor, one of which, as previously discussed, was revenge. Gerald of Wales, for example, tells of two wives captured for this purpose. In 1175, Henry, the third son of Milo FitzWalter, earl of Hereford, was murdered by the Welsh. Years later, William de Braose, in revenge for his maternal uncle Henry's death, captured his uncle's murderer, Seisyll al Dyfnwal, and captured the murderer's wife. Not to be outdone, the Welsh bid their time and later captured Earl William and his wife in revenge for Seisyll's murder. <sup>87</sup>

Women could also often prove particularly useful captives when they were related to or married to the men their captor wished to manipulate. Orderic mentions that when Hugh of Gournay rebelled in Normandy against Henry I of England, he and his compatriots ravaged the countryside and captured many knights and peasants with their wives and children with the intent of extorting huge ransoms from of them. Thus taking women, just like taking men, could be profitable, even if selling them into slavery was no longer an option. The capture of women could also be used to punish

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<sup>86</sup> CM, 1:482-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. with Intro Lewis Thorpe (New York, 1978), 109-10.

Hiemalibus quippe noctibus longe discurrebant, et milites atque pagenses cum uxoribus et infantibus etiam in cunabulis rapiebant et ab eis ingentem in carceribus redemptionem immaniter exigebant." OV, 6:192-3.

recalcitrant neighbors, and force the women's menfolk to behave in certain ways. Æthelflaed's 917 siege of the Welsh castle of Breconmere, which resulted in the capture of the Welsh king's wife with thirty-four Welsh soldiers, was likely a combination of these two tactics. On the one hand, he appears to have been seeking revenge for the murder of Abbot Ecgberht, in whose death the Welsh king looked to be complicit. On the other, this punishment may have been an attempt to keep the Welsh king in fear for the safety of his wife, so that he would either make reparations for Ecberht's death or at least refrain from murdering other Englishmen in the future.

Behavior modification may have also been the purpose of King Alfred of England's capture of the Viking Haesten's wife and sons in 894. Haesten had come to raid England two years previous, and had given up his two sons to Alfred as hostages for peace. Haesten's sons were later returned to him, but he later broke the peace and resumed his raiding, building forts throughout Essex. The men of Essex, however, fought back, destroying these forts and taking captive the women and children found within, including Haesten's wife and two sons. The two sons, who were Alfred's godsons, were left unharmed, as was Haesten's wife, and when peace was made, Alfred returned all three to Haesten. Although it is unclear exactly what role these two sons and Haesten's wife played in the peace negotiations, John of Worcester depicts Haesten as pleading for their return, indicating that they may have played a significant part in Haesten's willingness to stop raiding England and make peace.

Like their male counterparts, female captives could also be used as bargaining chips. The concessions sought could be the release of other hostages, lands and riches. Gilbert of Mons describes in his *Chronicle of Hainaut* the capture of Richilde of Hainaut and Robert the Frisian. When Count Baldwin VI of Flanders and Hainaut died, he left his young sons Arnoul and Baldwin as his heirs to Flanders and Hainaut

<sup>89</sup> JW, 2:342-3.

respectively. But Arnoul was challenged by his uncle, Robert the Frisian, who usurped control of Flanders from the boy, whom the Flemish council had put in Robert's care. Arnoul sought help from his mother and brother in Hainaut. In the battle that followed both Richilde and Robert were captured, and then exchanged for each other. 90 According to a Limousin chronicler, Hugh IX of Lusignan used his capture of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1199 as a means of extracting the city of Le Marche from her.91

Women who could potentially play a part in the political machinations of others could also be taken captive as a means of controlling their fate. Men used women for political means—to gain land, power, authority, money, and titles. A woman's importance was often determined by either her status as an heiress or by her blood, be it royal or merely prestigious. Because a woman provided men access to her family, and through her they could gain influence, controlling or isolating a woman's physical body through incarceration was a powerful political tool. King Lothaire of West Francia held the duchess of Upper Lotharingia and her son captive while attempting to extend his authority into their duchy. Hugh Capet captured Charles of Lorraine, along with his wife and his son, in his effort to solidify his hold on the French crown. Charles died in prison and the fate of his wife and child is unknown; presumably they were kept in prison as potential threats to Hugh's power. 92 King John of England held his niece Eleanor of Brittany captive for the majority of her life, from her capture at Mirebeau in 1203 until her death in 1242. As the daughter of John's deceased elder brother Geoffrey Plantagenet, she represented a threat to his security on the throne: anyone who married her could potentially claim the English throne in her

Gilbert of Mons, Chronicle of Hainaut, trans. with intro. and notes Laura Napran (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005), 5-6.

<sup>91</sup> Ralph V. Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine in the Government of her Sons Richard and John," in Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York, 2002), 88. 92 Dunbabin, 28-9.

name, arguing that as the descendent of an elder son, Eleanor's claim to the throne was stronger than John's, who was a younger son. As a result, like Robert Curthose before her, she became a political detainee. Like him, she was also well-treated. She had a generous allowance from the Exchequer, and John himself sent her generous gifts of fine cloth and clothes. As W.L. Warren notes, "since [John] also sent her ornamented saddles and reins, her imprisonment cannot have been very close." She is also known to have spent time with the queen and with the daughters of the Scottish king. John also appears to have tried to use her for his own political ambitions rather than merely keeping others from doing so. He took her with him on his disastrous invasion of France in 1214, and Warren suggests that this may have been because John intended to set up a puppet regime in Brittany if he succeeded in taking it. 93

The capture of royal women in particular might have been exceptionally useful to the captor. As Jean Dunbabin suggests, the shame of a royal family member in captivity might induce the royal family to pay ransom quickly or surrender the demanded goods or property.94 This only worked, however, if the captor could successfully maintain control over his captive. Certainly control was at stake in the capture of Constance, the wife of Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI. Constance was sole legitimate heir to King William II of Sicily, 95 and when he died in November 1189 Henry claimed the Sicilian throne through his wife. In 1191, both Henry and Constance travelled to southern Italy to claim the throne, but when Henry was forced to return to Germany to put down a rebellion there, Constance, who remained in Salerno, was betrayed and handed over to Tancred, her father's cousin and her rival to the throne. Tancred immediately sent her to Palermo on the island of Sicily, likely in an attempt to use her as a bargaining chip with her husband Henry when he returned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> W.L. Warren, King John (Berkeley, 1978), 83, 218-22.

Dunbabin, *Captivity*, 84.

She was his aunt.

from Germany. The citizens of Palermo, however, appear to have accepted her as her father's heir, and, unable to keep control over her, Tancred was eventually forced to return her to her husband. 96 Nor was this the first wife Tancred had attempted to coerce and use as a tool for manipulating others. When William II of Sicily died, Tancred as a part of his usurpation of the throne confined William's wife, Joan, and refused to give up her dower. But Joan was the sister of King Richard I England, who soon arrived in Sicily on his way to the Holy Land. While Tancred agreed to free Joan when Richard sent envoys demanding her release, he refused to abide by his cousin William's will, which had not only granted Joan a substantial dower, but also bequeathed money and goods to Joan's father, the now deceased Henry II. In response, Richard waged war on Tancred, taking Messina, and Tancred was eventually forced to give up what had been promised.<sup>97</sup>

Men incarcerated women outside the context of war in order to control their bodies and their inheritances. Robert of Bellême imprisoned his wife, Agnes of Ponthieu, sole heir to the county of Ponthieu, for a number of years before she escaped to the court of Adela of Blois. 98 When Agnes, the countess of Oxford, tried to appeal to the pope about her husband Aubrey de Vere's attempt to divorce her, he had her locked up in one of her own castles. 99 King John kept his first wife, Isabel of Gloucester and Mortain, imprisoned after he divorced her, and kept her inheritance for himself. He only released her in 1214 when Geoffrey de Mandeville III agreed to pay 20,000 marks to marry her. 100 King Philip Augustus of France kept his wife, Ingeborg of Denmark, imprisoned in numerous castles over the course of twenty years in an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> John Julius Norwich, The Normans in Sicily: The Normans in the South 1016-1130 and the Kingdom in the Sun 1130-1194 (London, 2004), 560ff.
Proger of Howden, Gesta, 2:126-38.

<sup>98</sup> OV, 4:300-1

<sup>99</sup> RáGena DeAragon, "Wife, Widow, Mother: Some Comparisons between Eleanor of Aquitaine and Noblewomen of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin World," in Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York, 2002), 103-4.

Ibid.; also Annales Monastici, ed. Henry Richards Luard. (London, 1864-69), 3:45.

attempt to get her to accede to their divorce, but she stubbornly held out, and he was eventually forced in 1213 under threat of excommunication to nominally reinstate her as his wife and queen.<sup>101</sup>

Just as the brutal mistreatment of female hostages could provoke rebellion among men, likewise captivity could provoke war from the male relatives of female captives. When his mother, Constance of Brittany, was captured by her own husband, Earl Ranulf of Chester, with whom she had bad relations, her son Arthur joined the French king against King Richard of England, whom Arthur saw as responsible for his inability to secure his mother's release. <sup>102</sup> In 1255, Henry III marched an army up to Scotland in response the his daughter's complaints that she was imprisoned in the castle of Damsels, without access to fresh air, attendants, or her husband, the future King Alexander III of Scotland. 103 King Ua Ruairc of Meath was also stirred to revenge for the capture of his wife and the shame it brought him. In 1152, his wife Derbfogaill was abducted by Diarmait Mac Murchada while the king was on an expedition, an act in which Gerald of Wales and the Song of Dermot believed the wife was complicit. "Stirred to extreme anger" more over the disgrace than the loss of his wife, he gathered an army against Diarmait and took his wife back in a raid in 1153. 104 Even though it seems, at least in Gerald's mind, that the loss of his wife was not his main concern, revenge for her capture was still necessary. 105 By stealing his wife, Diarmait had suggested that Ua Ruairc was weak and unable to protect his women or keep them loyal. Such an insult demanded a response.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> J.W. Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus (Berkeley, 1986), 80-6.

Roger of Howden, Chronica, 4:7. The events surrounding Constance's imprisonment are unclear.
 For the best reconstruction of the events, see Everard, 159-60; 165-6. For more on the career of Ranulf of Chester, see James W. Alexander, Ranulf of Chester: A Relic of the Conquest (Athens, GA, 1983).
 CM, 5:504-6.

Gerald of Wales, Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland, ed. and trans. A.B. Scott and F.X Martin (Dublin, 1978), 24-7.
 Gerald says, "King Ua Ruaric was stirred to anger on two counts, of which however the disgrace,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Gerald says, "King Ua Ruaric was stirred to anger on two counts, of which however the disgrace, rather than the loss of his wife, grieved him more deeply, and he vented all the venom of his fury with a view to revenge."

The potential captivity of women could also spark extraordinary acts of bravery from men. Chivalric tradition and the stories of the romances may have been the source of this inspiration: women in towers were meant to be rescued. Real life may have mimicked romance in these cases. 106 For example, in 1136, during the Welsh incursion at the beginning of Stephen's reign, Richard Fitz Gilbert's widow, Adeliza, took refuge in Cardigan Castle. Here, the Gesta reports, "she was vexed and tormented by all manner of anxieties because through the loss of a husband's consolation she was prey to womanly despair, [and] was very closely invested, without supplies, by the enemy in great force." Although her neighbors were unable to relieve the castle, Miles of Gloucester, on orders from the king, "hazarded himself and his men to rescue her...on account of the compassionate pity he felt for a noble woman...and advanced boldly to the castle through the midst of the enemy, through the fastness of dark woods, over the high peaks of mountains, and bringing her safely back with her company returned triumphant and with glory." The author's depiction of Miles's advance has elements of a romance tale's rescue of a damsel in distress. Adeliza's widowhood and hopelessness create the perfect female in need of rescue. Miles advanced directly through the enemy with little concern for his own safety after a long journey through several trials: a dark forest and high mountains. Whether or not these parallels in portrayal are deliberate or not is unknown, but the relationship to the trials of Arthurian knights like Lancelot is likely to be at least an unconscious, if not conscious, authorial tactic to make Miles appear all the more heroic for rescuing Adeliza.

The potential capture of his mother Eleanor of Aquitaine at the castle of Mirebeau in 1203 seems to have inspired King John of England to rush to save her.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Richard Kaeuper also argues that the chivalric ideal that women inspire acts of bravery is not entirely theoretical. See *Chivalry and Violence*, 212.

Surrounded by the troops of her nephew, Arthur, Eleanor sent messages to her son at Les Mans, about a hundred miles away. When he got the news, he gathered his troops and immediately left for Mirebeau, reaching there by dawn. His surprise arrival allowed him to take the castle and capture Arthur. 107 While the capture of Arthur, his greatest rival to the throne, was certainly part of the enticement for hastening to Mirebeau, the draw of rescuing his mother should not be underestimated. Eleanor was a powerful and rich woman in her own right, and control over her could have swayed the loyalty of those living in her lands away from John to Arthur and the King of France, with whom Arthur was allied. Furthermore, it is unlikely that John could have left his own mother and political ally—for she had helped him achieve the throne—unransomed. She would have been a powerful bargaining chip in the hands of his enemies.

The sources also indicate, however, that the desire to rescue ladies was not always the prudent choice, as the complicated situation surrounding the Battle of Hattin in 1187 demonstrates. On July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1187, Saladin, leader of the Muslim forces, attacked the city of Tiberias. Tiberias, under the lordship of Raymond, count of Tripoli, was at the time under the leadership of Raymond's wife, Eschiva of Galilee. When Saladin took the city, she retreated with the garrison to the citadel and sent notice to King Guy of Lusignan of the city's capture. As a result, the king and his council met to discuss a course of action. Various different accounts of the ensuing events survive, 108 and the French continuation of William of Tyre's history (usually called L'Estoire de Eracles) usefully illuminates the problems of rescuing potential female captives. According to the Eracles, "when [King Guy and Raymond] had

Guillaume le Breton, in Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, Historiens de Philippe-

Auguste, ed. H. François Delaborde (Paris, 1882).

108 See Christopher Tyerman, God's War: A New History of the Crusades (Cambridge, 2006), 366-74, for the events leading up to and following the Battle of Hattin.

## Introduction:

### Why Hostage- and Captiveship?

My interest in the relationship between hostage- and captive-taking practices and gender originally arose out of the idea for a much grander project about women and warfare. As I repeatedly perused the sources of the eleventh-, twelfth-, and thirteenth-centuries over the course of my graduate studies, I noticed to my surprise that women were much more prevalent in war-time situations than I had been led to expect. Furthermore, they were doing many more and much more interesting things than I had thought possible. Wondering what scholars thought of these portrayals, I searched for scholarship that dealt with these women as anything other than victims, and to my chagrin, found that much of it dismissed such women as marginal, irrelevant, or aberrant.

In general, women have not traditionally been given much consideration in military history historiography. "War is the one human activity," wrote military historian John Keegan in his 1993 monograph A History of Warfare, "from which women, with the most insignificant exceptions, have always and everywhere stood apart. Women look to men to protect them from danger...women, however, do not fight. They rarely fight among themselves and they never, in any military sense, fight men. If warfare is as old as history and as universal as mankind, we must now enter the supremely important limitation that it is an entirely masculine activity."2 While this view is slowly being called into question by historians of all time periods, this idea often reflects the nature of the sources available to historians. This is especially true of the Middle Ages. As scholar Megan McLaughlin remarked in her groundbreaking 1990 article on the medieval female warrior, medieval warfare was

See Chapter Three for further elucidation on this topic and relevant bibliography.
 John Keegan, A History of Warfare (New York, 1993), 76.

arrived in Acre, a messenger came hurriedly from Tiberias, from the countess, and informed the king that Saladin had entered the kingdom and had besieged Tiberias with a great force of men. She was very frightened and distressed. The king immediately ordered the knights and barons to be summoned to take counsel concerning the news he had received." At the meeting, Raymond is depicted as the voice of reason. Against Renald of Chatillon and the Grand Master of the Templars, Gerard of Ridefort, he argued that the king should wait until Balian of Ibelin arrived with more troops, given Saladin's imposing number of troops. But Raymond is accused of duplicity, and the council decides to go the countess's rescue. When the army is mustered, the count again argues for caution. According to the *Eracles*, when the king asked Raymond's advice,

The count answered wisely and said, 'Sire, you should know that Tiberias is mine, and any damage done there falls on me and no one else. For the lady of Tiberias, my wife, and her children are in the castle, and the last thing I want is for any harm to come to them. I have sent provisions and advised them that, if they find that Saladin's forces are so great that they cannot resist them, they should take to the sea until we can rescue them. In view of this, Sire, if you intent to fight Saladin, let us go and camp before Acre and let us be near our fortresses. I know Saladin to be so proud and so presumptuous that he will not leave the kingdom until he has attacked you in battle. If he comes to fight you near Acre and it turns out badly for us—may God protect us from this—we can withdraw to Acre and the other cities that are nearby. But if God gives us the victory so that we defeat him and force him back to his own land, we shall have so reduced and shattered him that he will never be able to recover.'

But again Raymond is accused of disloyalty to the king and treachery, and the count gives in to his enemies, asking the king to go and relieve Tiberias. Eschiva again sends to the king asking for help, which seems to inspire the Frankish host. When the army hears its mission, "a cry went up among the knights in the host: 'Let us go and rescue the ladies and maidens of Tiberias.",109

As historian Christopher Tyerman points out, regardless of the various

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation, trans. Peter W. Edbury (Burlington, VT, 1996), 36-8.

depictions of who said what to King Guy and the general disunity within the king's council, Guy could hardly have avoided marching to meet Saladin in battle since he had been harshly criticized for not doing so in 1183. Eschiva's fate, then, may have had little to do with Guy's decision. But that the *Eracles* indicates that her potential captivity and that of the other women in Tiberias did influence the council's decision is revealing. It is her letter and her distress that inspires the first council meeting. Raymond's assurance that his wife's defense and safety have been provided for resulted in accusations of treason and disloyalty. Her letter and potential captivity inspire the army to rescue the "ladies and maidens" of Tiberias. For the *Eracles'* author, then, Eschiva and the other ladies trapped at Tiberias were an essential part of the catalyst that led to the Crusader army's disastrous defeat at Hattin days later. Rather than listen to good reason, both Guy and the army are depicted as overeager to fight on behalf of women, compelled by chivalric ideas to act rashly rather than judge calmly what is the better option.

The fear alone that wives and female relatives could be manipulated if captured or used to pressure men to act in certain ways seems to have caused some men to send their women away in times of conflict. They also feared what the enemy might do to their women if they were captured, indicating that women were not likely spared any mistreatment, regardless of their status. John of Worcester, writing a century after the events, states that King Æthelred, seeing the destruction that the Vikings created after their arrival in 1013, sent his wife, Emma, to her father in Normandy for her protection, suggesting that he thought this would have been the appropriate behavior. He also notes that in 1068 many Northumbrians, along with the atheling Edgar, his mother Margaret, and his sister Christina fled to the court of King Malcolm of Scotland because they were "fearful of being imprisoned like so

<sup>110</sup> JW, 2:474-5.

many others." By 1183, Henry the Young King had apparently learned his lesson about protecting his wife during his rebellions against his father. Whereas in 1173, Marguerite had been captured by Henry II, this time the younger Henry made sure his wife was safely in Paris. 112 Fear that the ladies associated with the royal family would be captured by the baronial party in 1263 led John Mangel to lead them to the safety of King Louis the Pious's court in France. 113 Medieval literature, too, reflects the concern that men had over the capture of their women. Wace suggests in the Roman de Brut that Count Gorlois locked his wife Ygerne in Tintagel because he feared she would be seized or abducted. 114

Castles that held women who could be considered potential hostages or captives were often especially well protected against such events. Gilbert of Mons reports that in c.1184 when the Count of Hainaut was at war against the Count of Flanders, the Count of Hainaut "fortified the castle of Mons with 140 knights and crossbowmen necessary for defense...in which lady countess Marguerite, the count of Flanders' sister [and the Count of Hainaut's wife], lay weakened by childbirth." In her condition, Marguerite could not easily flee, and thus required extra fortifications against capture. Moreover, as sister to the count of Flanders and wife to the Count of Hainaut, Marguerite was a valuable commodity to the men fighting the war. If she was captured by the Count of Flanders, she could have easily become a tool by which the Count of Hainaut could have been manipulated. But she was also a potential tool for the Count of Hainaut against the Count of Flanders, who could have been persuaded by harm done to his sister.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 3:6-7

<sup>112</sup> Parks, 264. Henry II used this tactic of capturing women multiple times. In 1176-7, the heiress of Ralph de Deaols, lord of Chateauroux, the most powerful lord in the county of Berry, was hidden from Henry II who wanted to capture her in order to control her vast inheritance of land and money. She was eventually captured and her lands given over to Henry. Warren, Henry II, 144.

113 Flores Historiarum 2:481; Gervase of Canterbury, 2:222.

<sup>114</sup> Wace, 216-7.

<sup>115</sup> Gilbert of Mons, 95.

#### Conclusions

While female captives and hostages have not received much attention in modern historiography, as demonstrated here, they are vital to understanding the processes of hostage- and captiveship in the Middle Ages not just because they served as hostages and captives alongside the men, but also for what they reveal of the customs of hostage- and captiveship. First, and foremost, in contradiction to the medieval social conventions and assumptions in modern secondary sources that women were supposed to be treated with special care when captives or hostages, they most definitely were not. In fact, in many cases women may have purposely been treated worse. Much of a man's status and manliness was tied up in his ability to protect his womenfolk, and likewise much about a nation's well-being was symbolically represented in the relative safety of its women. Consequently, mistreating a woman was a particularly powerful symbolic act of defilement and violation that went beyond the woman herself and often had nothing to do with her at all. Likewise, these cases (and many more like them) demonstrate how women can be the cause of war, how the harming of a female relative could be seen as so humiliating or so politically provocative that the man felt he had to respond with equal or greater violence. Third, understanding what could have happened to women when they were hostages or taken captive could explain more thoroughly why women might have chosen, on occasion, to fight. Although none of the women in these anecdotes picked up a sword to defend themselves, it may explain why others did: potentially being sold into slavery or suffering rape and harsh punishments. Historians may choose to ignore or discount the presence of women warriors, but the evidence is there to show that even if men are the ones who fight wars, they are far from the only ones affected by it.

## **Chapter Three:**

"So Hard was it to Release Princes whom Fortuna had put in her Chains:"

Women as Hostage- and Captive-Takers, Givers, and Holders.

While the study of women as captives and hostages has received some serious attention in recent years, as I noted in chapters one and two, only two historians— Friedman and Parks—discuss female hostages and captives at any length. And not even their studies closely examine women in the more active roles of hostage and captive takers, givers, and holders. Instead, they focus on women as passive victims of war; that is, as hostages and captives to be taken, sold or traded. But some women from the highest echelons of medieval society figure in the story as a good deal more than passive victims. Being able to take matters into their own hands, they played the game of politics, ruled their own or their husbands' lands, and participated in the active taking and holding of hostage and captives. Examining these women is essential not only to our understanding of the more general processes of hostage- and captive-taking, but also to understand how and why women were able (or unable) to navigate these processes. Women could be significantly involved in taking, giving, or holding hostages and captives, and this could in some cases be understood by contemporaries as a normal occurrence. A study such as this one, however, has even broader implications. The sources' acceptance of women engaged in these roles and their representations of women's managing of men and the exercise of power must be assessed against contemporary anxieties that such women presented problems, broke social norms and mores, and needed to be contained. As a result, this chapter provides the means to examine women's participation in warfare, politics, and society in general. Its purpose is therefore two-fold: first, to illuminate examples of women as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> HN, 119.

hostage- and captive-takers and holders in order to suggest that women performed such tasks with some regularity; second, to place such instances in their historical and literary contexts so as to better understand women's place in medieval society and in the medieval imagination.

The study of women in these active roles, however, is not without difficulties. Let us recall that, while previous cultures like the Romans had regular featured hostage and captive-taking customs in their literature and art, medieval hostage and captive exchanges and negotiations are rarely treated with any detail in the sources, oftentimes mentioned only briefly. The rituals through which hostage taking and negotiations took place must be extrapolated from infrequent and often conflicting references. Further, as noted in chapter one, while there may have been certain "rules" that were supposed to be followed, those rules were often fluid. As a result, deciphering where women might or might not have fitted into the social "ritual" of hostage exchange is not always easy.

Second, women's roles in medieval warfare—and more generally in medieval society—are often masked in contemporary chronicle and historical sources written (mostly) by male ecclesiastical authors focused on the deeds of men, kings, and God. As Linda Grant De Pauw notes, "Women have always and everywhere been inextricably involved in war.... During war women are ubiquitous and highly visible; when wars are over and the war songs are sung, women disappear." That leaves only a few examples in these sources of women in these roles. How to interpret that lack of evidence—as either a sign that this role was indeed a rare one for women or that the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Allen, 9ff. As Allen remarks, "It would be fair to say that Roman writers—historians and otherwise—

were obsessed with hostages."

As Yvonne Friedman, writing about captivity in the Latin East, has noted, "The chroniclers, while they sometimes mention the fact that people were taken captive, seldom bother to tell us about their subsequent fate, as if captivity were the end of the story, as it probably was in many cases." Friedman, Encounters Between Enemies, 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> De Pauw, xiii.

sources depict only the tip of the iceberg-is not an easy decision. Prior to 1985, scholars—and in particular feminist scholars—took the former approach, tending to see medieval women's lives as limited. Because they relied on limited source material and dealt with sources that presented only impressions of women, rather than investigating what women actually did, and further tended not to use feminist theory to read old sources in new ways, scholars prior to 1985 assumed that women's power drastically declined in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the "Golden Age" of the early Middle Ages, they suggested, when power was decentralized, women had the potential to be much more powerful because clout was "largely derived from rather irregular powers held by the great families of the age." By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, the rise of monarchy, "the state," and the return of public and more centralized authority "severely reduced" women's ability to act as their access to informal channels of power dried up.5 This lachrymose assumption about medieval women's lives was advocated by many notable historians, most famously Georges Duby. He repeatedly argued in various contexts that women were precluded from power, primarily because they were denied any role in the lord-vassal relationship. It was this relationship that gave medieval lords control over warriors, land, castles, and therefore power, and without it, scholars argued, women were helpless pawns.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500-1100," Feminist Studies 1 (1973): 126-41. Reprinted in revised form in Women and Power in the Middle Ages, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA, 1988), 83-101. Quotes here are from pp. 95-6 in the revised edition. For the early history of this idea of an early "golden age" for women with particular emphasis on Anglo-Saxon women, see Pauline Stafford, "Women and the Norman Conquest," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., vol. 4 (1994), 221-225.

For example: Shulamith Shahar, The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages, trans. Chaya Galai (London, 1983); Joan Ferrante, Woman as Image in Medieval Literature (New York, 1975; James Brundage, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago, 1987).

See below, and also: Georges Duby, Women of the Twelfth Century. Volume Two: Remembering the Dead, trans. Jean Birrell (Chicago, 1997); Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages, trans. Jane Dunnett (Chicago, 1994); The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France, trans. Barbara Bray (New York, 1983; Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France, trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore, 1978).

Further, as power became more centralized around "the state," power became more concentrated and formal. This left women—whose power tended to be informal and family-based—with less access to channels of influence. As a result of these two trends—the rise of the "state" and exclusion from the lord-vassal relationship—women became victims of their families and a patriarchal society that feared and loathed them. They were dominated and abused by violent male warriors, married off young, given no rights, and too often destined to die painfully in childbirth.

But as feminist scholar Joan Wallach Scott has written, "real men and women do not always literally fulfill the terms either of their society's prescriptions or of our analytical categories." Since 1985, the concept of a "Golden Age" has been eclipsed because it is not nearly complicated enough to reflect the reality of medieval women's lives. More recent scholars of medieval women have suggested arguing for a reevaluation of the sources already examined and a search for new sources. Recent close, in-depth scholarly assessments of the sources demonstrate, that while some women do perhaps fit into the bleaker picture of previous historians, others readily engaged in lordship well beyond the eleventh century and were active participants in medieval society. As Eleanor Searle has wisely (and wittily) noted, "In concentrating on the gentlemen in order to understand the ethos of the military ruling class, we are in danger of understanding it incompletely. Men wanted wives, not simply sexual partners and alliances. If they had any sense, they wanted trusted comrades as their wives, and there is evidence that those with any sense got trusted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category for Historical Analysis," in Feminism and History. Ed. Joan Scott (Oxford, 1996), 169.
<sup>9</sup> "Warmen" of the Company of the Com

<sup>9 &</sup>quot;Women's history is now too sophisticated for 'Golden Ages' or for simple stories of advance or retreat. It is time to restore the lives of tenth-, eleventh- and twelfth-century women to them." Pauline Stafford, "Women and the Norman Conquest," 249.
10 One can doubtlessly find an abundance of victimized women in the early middle ages, as well, or

One can doubtlessly find an abundance of victimized women in the early middle ages, as well, or could if the evidence were more abundant, which cautions us to think carefully before generalizing too much.

comrades." While Searle may have overstated her case, her point is relevant. Not all men in the Middle Ages wanted mere sexual partners or dogsbodies to keep house, nor was it necessarily wives that would have fulfilled these roles. Moreover, the sources do not present a clean dichotomy—life was either wonderful or abysmal—but present images of medieval women's lives that are "diverse, complex, ambiguous, multivocal, [and] contradictory." Women, like men, experienced life through many lenses—wife, daughter, sister, mother, and heiress. They also functioned within the parameters of social status and various ethnic, national, and religious groupings, all of which shaped and could change their experience. Rather than fitting the evidence to a theory, it is imperative to let the evidence speak for itself, and account for the vicissitudes of women's lives. In Margaret Howell's words, it is necessary to work within "the tensions between an empirical and an ideological approach." Medieval women's hostage and captive taking practices offer an as yet unopened window through which it can be better seen how they experienced, and functioned, within the world around them.

Further, groundbreaking research has recently revealed that, contrary to prior assumptions, women were actively involved in almost all aspects of medieval warfare, even, on rare occasions, combat.<sup>13</sup> They were the cause of war and actively instigated

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Eleanor Searle, "Emma the Conqueror," in Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, and Janet L. Nelson (Rochester, NY, 1989), 282

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Margaret Howell, "Royal Women of England and France," 165.

<sup>13</sup> There is an increasingly large bibliography for medieval women's relationship to warfare. See: Megan McLaughlin, "The woman warrior: gender, warfare, and society in medieval Europe," Women's Studies 17 (1990); Keren Caspi-Reisfeld, "Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254," in Gendering the Crusades, ed. Sarah B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (New York, 2002) as well as all the articles in the Gendering the Crusades book, which treat women's participation from multiple angles; David Hay, "Canon Laws regarding Female Military Commanders up to the Time of Gratian: Some Texts and Their Historical Contexts," in Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk, eds., "A Great Effusion of Blood? Interpreting Medieval Violence (Toronto, 2004); Helen Solterer, "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France." Signs vol. 16, no. 3 (Spring, 1991): 522-549; Jean A. Traux, "Anglo-Norman Women at War: Valiant Soldiers, Prudent Strategists or Charismatic Leaders?" In The Circle of War in the Middle Ages. Essays on Medieval and Naval History, ed. Donald J. Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (Rochester, NY, 1999); James M. Blythe, "Women in the Military: Scholastic

it, <sup>14</sup> raised money for troops, <sup>15</sup> provided soldiers and supplies, <sup>16</sup> led soldiers to battle, <sup>17</sup> went on campaign with their husbands, <sup>18</sup> gave advice about battles and military tactics, <sup>19</sup> inherited, owned, controlled and built castles for military purposes, <sup>20</sup> organized defenses during war, <sup>21</sup> brought water for troops and provided encouragement during battle, <sup>22</sup> negotiated the end of hostilities and urged peace, <sup>23</sup> and

Arguments and Medieval Images of Female Warriors," History of Political Thought vol. 22, no. 2 (Summer, 2001): 242-269; Helen Nicholson, "Women on the Third Crusade," Journal of Medieval History, vol. 23:4 (1997); J.F. Verbrüggen "Women in Medieval Armies," trans. Kelly DeVries, in Journal of Medieval Military History, ed. Clifford J. Rogers Kelly DeVries, and John France (Woodbridge, 2006): 119-36.

(Woodbridge, 2006): 119-36.

14 The following examples and notes are not meant to be comprehensive, but to provide one example of a woman performing that activity. In each case, multiple examples exist. When Henry, the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Sicily, abused the people of Sicily, it was his wife, Constance, formed a conspiracy and raised a rebellion against her husband in 1197, forcing him to flee back to Germany. Roger of Howden, Chronica, 4:27.

15 Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III of England, was essential in providing money and supplies for her husband's invasion of Gascony in the 1250s, even negotiating a loan with Florentine merchants. Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence* (Oxford, 2001), 118-20. During Crusades especially, women were essential as financiers for their husband's expeditions. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercian*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992): 101-8; ibid, *The First Crusaders*, 1095-1131 (Cambridge, 1997), passim

passim.

16 Adela of Blois sent 100 knights from her husband's lands to Louis of France in his campaign against a rebellious lord. OV, 6: 156-8. Even abbesses, who controlled large swaths of land for their houses, were expected to send troops when asked. See Katherine Fisher Drew, "The Carolingian Military Frontier in Italy," Traditio 20 (1964), 437-447.

<sup>17</sup> Countess Richilde of Hainaut led two armies on behalf of her young son's claim to the County of Flanders in the early 1070s. Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005), 5-10.

<sup>18</sup> It was not uncommon for women to go on crusade with their husbands. Eleanor of Aquitaine, for example, went with her husband to the Holy Land in 1146, bringing with her many female attendants. Many of Louis's nobles followed suit, bringing their own wives. The wives of Baldwin of Lorraine and Raymond of Toulouse, two of the main secular commanders for the First Crusade, also went to the Holy Land. Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, 1: Chapter 31.

<sup>19</sup> In 1173-4, the Countess of Leicester was her husband's primary advisor and motivator during his rebellion and battle against the troops of the king. *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, 70-79.

<sup>20</sup> Aubrée, wife of Ralph count of Bayeux, was famous for having built the castle of Ivry, thought to have been impregnable. OV, 4:290-1.

<sup>21</sup> When in 1193 it was feared the John would rebel against his brother King Richard of England and that an invasion would be launched from France to support John's rebellion, it was Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine that ordered that the coast of England facing Flanders be fortified. Gervase of Canterbury, 1:515.

<sup>22</sup> Peter of Tudebode, chronicler of the First Crusade, reports that at the Battle of Dorylaeum on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1097, "the women who accompanied us assisted our forces greatly on this day by bringing drinking water to the warriors and at all times bravely shouting encouragement to those who fought and defended them." Peter Tudebode, *Historia Hierosolymitano*, trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1974), 34-5.
<sup>23</sup> In 1149, when the bishop of Beauvais and his brother, the King of France, warred against each other,

<sup>23</sup> In 1149, when the bishop of Beauvais and his brother, the King of France, warred against each other Queen Adelaide was actively involved in urging peace. Matilda of Boulogne was also a noted peace maker, especially between her uncle the king of Scotland and her husband, the king of England. John

"generally viewed [by contemporaries] as the quintessential masculine activity... descriptions of warfare in medieval texts were peppered with references to gender, references which equated fighting ability with virility." This gendering of warfare is often carried over into modern medieval historiography, in which references to women concerning matters of warfare are limited at best, made in passing, and very rarely explore the implications of female participation.4

Feminist historians, too, until quite recently, ignored discussing women in the context of war. For feminists, "women as nurturers and peacemakers, even as victims," Linda Grant De Pauw suggests, were simply "more appealing that women who go to war."5 As David Hay notes, "The assumption that war is essentially something male—be it the apotheosis of masculinity or the incarnation of patriarchy has banished the study of the female combatant to academic purgatory."6 Although there were some shining contrary examples of scholars who tried to capture the importance of these women in the Middle Ages, including Hay himself, I decided at that moment that I had found a gap in the scholarship that needed to be filled, that I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Megan McLaughlin, "The woman warrior: gender, warfare, and society in medieval Europe," Women's Studies 17 (1990), 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In many ways, this can be tied to the fact that the study of women and warfare in the Middle Ages is a young field and the product of recent scholarship; McLaughlin's article was essentially the first to really address the issue. But even more recent works gloss over the participation of women, acknowledging their presence, but tagging it as limited. Part of this may be this subject's association with modern feminism. On the one hand, as Jean Truax suggests, some modern feminists have used examples of women fighting from the medieval past as precedents to justify allowing women to fight in combat today, giving the subject modern political overtones. In "Anglo-Norman Women At War: Valiant Soldiers, Prudent Strategists or Charismatic Leaders?" in The Circle of War in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval and Naval History ed. Donald J. Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge, UK, 1999), 111. On the other, Helen Nicholson points out that "As popular feminism has tended to regard warfare as a manifestation of patriarchy which women reject, serious scholarly study of women's participation in warfare in medieval Europe has not received wide publicity. Study has also been hampered by the prohibition in the modern western world on women's participation in actual warfare; it seems to have been assumed that as women do not fight now, they did not fight in the past. To the casual observer of medieval history, the theoretical limitations placed upon women's participation in public activity by the law and clerical writers seem to preclude women from participation in warfare." "Women on the Third Crusade" Journal of Medieval History vol. 23, no. 4 (1997): 342.
5 Linda Grant De Pauw, Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present

<sup>(</sup>University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), xiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> David J. Hay, The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa 1046-1115 (New York, 2008), 3.

served as peace bonds by marrying their family's enemies.<sup>24</sup> As Jean Truax has pointed out, "women who acted as feudal overlords, whether in their own right or as the representatives of male relatives, controlled the resources of money and manpower necessary for waging war." Women also served as household managers, handling the everyday logistics of running large estates in times of both peace and war, making them particularly suited for pulling together the resources and men needed to wage war. Moreover, women were literally surrounded by the accoutrements of war and grew up with it. Because there were no centrally or rigidly organized and trained armies in the Middle Ages and warriors were associated with the households of their lords, the castles and fortified houses in which women lived were the training grounds for medieval warriors. As a result, "wives and women...had the opportunity to learn the basics of strategy and military planning by cooperating with their husbands, their parents and the streams of soldiers flowing through their increasingly fortified estates. ...[And] when the men died, some of these women simply applied what they had learned, in much the same way that contemporary burgher widows continued to ply their deceased husbands' trade."26 Women's active assistance to their male counterparts in hostage and captive taking, holding, and ransoming must be placed, therefore, within this context, as well.

How far down the social scale such activities may have travelled is also an issue. As Pauline Stafford has noted, it is incorrect to place all women together in one

of Salisbury, The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1986), 69-70; Simeon of Durham, 2:299-300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> In 1197 Berenguela of Castile, granddaughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, married Alfonso IX of León because, as the *Chronica Latina* reported, no peace was possible between Castile and León unless they were married. Eleanor of Aquitaine herself had been heavily involved in the marriage between another of her granddaughters, Eleanor of Castile, whose marriage in 1200 sealed the peace between France and England. Miriam Shandis and Constance Berman, "A Taste of the Feast: Reconsidering Eleanor of Aquitaine's Female Descendants" in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York, 2002), 186; See also Elizabeth Brown's article, "Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered: The Woman and her Seasons" in the same volume, 17.

Truax, 111. She also notes that, in this sense, women were very much like male clerics. Ibid, 124-5.
 Hay, Matilda of Canossa, 7-8.

large group as "woman" as if the potential freedoms and restrictions of the elite were mirrored in the lives of the townswomen and peasant women. Most of the information the sources provide pertains to noble and royal women, and historians can only make the most tentative of arguments about whether or not women further down the social ladder might have also participated in such activities. Recent scholarly studies, however, have aptly demonstrated that women of the knightly class in both northern France and Occitania were certainly capable of active lordly and military roles. It is not too great an extension of logic to suggest that these same women, whom their husbands trusted as *chatelaines*, regents, and guardians of their children in their absence or after their deaths, might have also been expected to take, retain, and ransom hostages and captives. Given, however, the nature of the sources, this study inevitably focuses almost entirely on the lives of royal and aristocratic women.

# To Have and to Hold, from this Day Forth: Women as Hostage and Captive Takers, Givers and Holders

The Battle of Lincoln in 1141—in which King Stephen of England was captured by his cousin the Empress Matilda—and its aftermath during England's "Anarchy," provides several useful pieces of evidence that suggest women were more than capable of taking and holding hostages and captives. After her success at the battle, Empress Matilda received the submission of various lords, and she seems to have done so just as any other war-time victor might. First and foremost, she had to decide King Stephen's future. She and her brother, Robert of Gloucester, settled on life-long imprisonment in Robert's stronghold of Bristol, a center of support for the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Pauline Stafford, "Women and the Norman Conquest," 228-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See, for example, the articles in Aristocratic Women in Medieval France, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999). As Amy Livingstone notes there in her article on noblewomen in the Chartrain in this volume, the same acts and powers associated with powerful and royal women like Adela of Blois were also exercised by the wives of knights and lesser nobility: they, too, were called domina. (p. 66). See also Frederic Cheyette, Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours, (Ithaca, NY, 2001).

Empress.<sup>29</sup> The king was not the only prominent lord to be captured, and despite her brother's position as military commander and the fact that she had not physically been on the battlefield, it was Matilda who dealt with those who had been captured. According to The Chronicle of John, Prior of Hexham she "deprived William Peverel of the castle of Nottingham... [and] [o]ther men of eminence, who were taken with the king, she released, an agreement for their ransom having been made."30 John of Worcester reports that many of Stephen's followers were also captured and thrown into prison. 31 In the weeks that followed, England's barons, lay and ecclesiastical, seem to have come over to her side, some voluntarily, others not. The Gesta Stephani speaks of "some of the king's men...being either captured or forcibly expelled from their possessions." Although it is not entirely clear if these are the same men that John of Hexham refers to, the language suggests that they were not, but men who were captured after the battle of Lincoln, not during it. The implication is that these expulsions were carried out at Matilda's behest, as it was she who received the submission "of the greater part of the kingdom." She also seems to have either requested or voluntarily been given hostages, since it was through "receiving hostages and men's homage" that the Gesta says she "brought the great part of the kingdom

<sup>29 &</sup>quot;Comes itaque Glaornensis regem secum adducens, sorori suae comitissae Andegauisae in Glaornia obtulit, communique inde consilio in turri Brisoensi usque ad extremum uitae halitum reservandum custodiis adhibitis reposuit." William of Malmesbury remarked that the king "as is customary for those who bear the name of captive, was brought before the empress at Gloucester by her brother," and then moved to Bristol. "Rex juxta morem illius generis hominum quos captiuos nominant, imperatrici a fratre presentatus Gloecestriae." GS, 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Although John does not state who the other men she released were, he wrote earlier that "Capti sunt autem Bernardus de Baillel, Rogerus de Mulbrai, Richardus de Curceio, Willielmus Fossart, Willelmus Peverel, Willelmus Clerfeith, et multi alii." It may be that these men are implied since they are here associated with William Peverel. Simeon of Durham, Opera Omnia, ed. Thomas Arnold (London, 1885) 2:308-9.

<sup>31</sup> JW, 3:292-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> "Sed tamen maior regni pars comitissae suisque se fautoribus continuo inclinauit, et alii quidem ex regalibus, subitis circumuenti infortuniis, aut capiebantur, aut ex propriis cum uiolentia detrudebantur: alii mentita citissime, quam regi debuerant, fide, se illi et sua ultronee contradebant." GS, 76-77.

under her sway.",33

The Gesta reports other situations in which the Empress Matilda dealt with hostages and captives, depicting her as using the tactic of threatening violence against a captive, and, when this failed, ratcheting up the harshness of the imprisonment. In 1145, when fortune had again turned against Matilda, her forces captured Walter de Pinkeney, castellan of Malmesbury castle, and she held him hostage in exchange for the castle. According to the Gesta Stephani, however, Matilda was unable to convince Walter to turn over the castle, and King Stephen, hearing of Walter's capture, reinforced the castle as soon as he was able. 34 Frustrated, she put him in fetters and threw him in prison.<sup>35</sup> Orderic Vitalis also reports her using this approach in Lent of 1138 in Normandy. Her retainers captured Ralph of Esson, a local baron who was fighting against her, and then handed him over to her to be put in chains until he surrendered his castle to her.36

The Chronicle of John of Worcester reports yet more examples of Matilda's involvement in the taking and treatment of hostages and captives, indicating that she was an active participant in such activities. Miles of Gloucester, constable of Bristol castle and a supporter of the Empress, attacked the area around Bristol in an effort to gain its support for the Empress. Although Matilda was in Bristol at the time, John implies that these actions were done in her name, if not indeed by her personal order, and they could certainly not have been done without her knowledge. Matilda left Bristol in October and arrived in Gloucester on October 15 looking to "assert her lordship and receive submission" of the local population. According to John, those who did not submit suffered a similar fate as those in Bristol.37 He also describes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> "Cum igitur illa maiorem sibi regni partem, datis obsidibus sumpto et ab hominibus hominio, tandem inclinasset...." Ibid, 80

Ibid, 118.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 119. 36 OV, 6:512-15.

<sup>37</sup> JW, 3:270-3.

captives taken in his own city, Worcester, by the citizens of Gloucester who supported the Empress. Many in Worcester were taken prisoner, and were "led away, coupled like dogs, into wretched captivity. Whether they had the means or not, they were forced to promise on oath to pay whatever ransom the mouthpiece of their captors cruelly fixed."38 John does not specify who the "mouthpiece" was; he may have just meant it more generally, or as a specific reference to Matilda. However, it is unlikely that a large scale effort to subdue the areas around Bristol, Worcester, and Gloucester—areas connected with her family and her main power base—would have been made without her knowledge and consent, so it is possible she might have ordered such an action.

Both the Gesta's and John's accounts are hostile to Matilda. 39 however, and must be read with care. Although the implications of her choice to treat Walter and these other unnamed men and women of England as she did will be discussed in Chapter Five, it is important to note that Matilda actively took up the responsibilities of managing hostages herself, seeing them as a means to gain political concessions, speaking with them directly, and choosing their punishments. Nor were her actions during the civil war her only experience with deciding the fate of hostages and captives. At least one other case is known in which she performed this task. According the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it was she who suggested that Henry I's brother Robert Curthose (her own uncle), who had been Henry's captive since the Battle of Tinchebray, be moved to the more secure castle at Cardiff and placed under the care of Robert of Gloucester. 40 While her treatment of hostages is sometimes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> "Plurimi per uicos et plateas capiuntur, et uelut in copula canum constringuntur, et miserabiliter abducuntur. Licet habeant, licet non habeant, quantum crudele os illorum censuerit in redemptionem sui iureiurando promittere et reddere compelluntur." Ibid., 3:274-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Part of the reason for the *Chronicle's* hostility towards these events is that he was located in the area. Worcester is less than sixty miles from Bristol, and less than twenty from Gloucester. This makes him an excellent witness for these events, given his proximity. But it also makes him likely to exaggerate the horribleness of events, because they were so close to home.

40 The Empress Matilda, 53. ASC, 256.

construed as cruel, there is no indication in the texts that the authors found Matilda's taking and dealing with hostages and captives unusual activities for women.

In part this may be because Matilda was not the only woman during the Anarchy to exercise the power of dealing with hostages and captives. Queen Matilda of Boulogne, wife to her opponent, King Stephen, made similar choices. When Robert of Gloucester was captured following the rout at Winchester, it was William de Warenne with a force of Flemings who captured him. But they did not keep him and ransom him themselves. He was too politically important a figure to merely ransom and let go, and as a result, they presented him to Queen Matilda. It was Queen Matilda who, after Stephen's capture, had rallied an army in her husband's defense and led them to London and then Winchester. Clearly in charge of the "royalist" party, she determined that Robert should be turned over to William of Ypres, one of her and her husband's major mercenary captains, for incarceration at Rochester. 41 Nor can this be dismissed as merely the fact that, with her husband absent, Matilda served as a figurehead, without real power. Queen Matilda had always been heavily involved in the military campaigns of her husband during the civil war, and their relationship both politically and personally appears to have been a partnership. 42 It seems reasonable that she would have been perfectly capable of dealing with hostages and captives at any given time, even though there are no other documented instances of her dealing with captives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Florentii Wigornensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1848-9) 2:135. Although as the title suggests, this work was formerly attributed to "Florence of Worcester," it is now known that the author of the Chronicon ex Chronicis was John of Worcester. See the "Introduction" to JW, 2:xvii-xviii, and also M. Brett, "John of Worcester and His Contemporaries," in The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern, ed. R.H.C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), 101-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> See Heather Tanner, "Queenship: Office, Custom or Ad Hoc? The Case of Matilda III of England (1135-1152)," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York, 2002).

Other women were also hostage and captive-takers in military situations. One of the earliest examples comes from the account in the Abingdon manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the deeds of Æthelflæd of Mercia, daughter of Alfred the Great, Lady of the Mercians, and wife of Æthelred of Mercia. This records that in 916 "...before midsummer, on 16 June, Abbot Ecgberht, guiltless, was killed with his companions. [...] And three days later Æthelflæd sent an army into Wales and broke down Brecon Mere, and there took the wife of the king as one of thirty-four [captives]."43 In around 1110 the count of Melgueil and his sister both swore not to capture their lord, William V of Montpellier, and promised to have nothing to do with anyone who did take him captive, indicating that in William's mind it was possible for him to be captured at the request or command of a woman. 44 The Earl of Salisbury offered to Nicholaa de la Haye, castellan and sheriff of Lincoln, his own son and nephew as hostages in 1220 in a vain attempt to get her to allow him inside Lincoln castle. Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III of England, was instrumental in the pursuit and capture of Henry of Almain, an intimate of Simon de Montfort and nephew of her husband Henry III, in 1263, after he had attacked a group of royalist ladies attempting to escape to France. The Saint Albans Chronicle reports that his

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> ASC, 100. John of Worcester also records this event. JW, 2:372-5.

<sup>44</sup> Dunbabin, 69.

<sup>45</sup> Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III, ed. W.W. Shirley (London, 1862), 1:73, letter #lxi. The reference comes from a letter written by Sir Fawkes de Breautè, a knight in the employ of Henry III, to Hubert de Brugh, Justiciar of England. He writes: "Ceterum sciatis quod comes Sarisberiensis intentus est et sollicitus.....purendum ingressum castri Lincolniae.....ipsam dominam, offerendo illi multum de suo et obsides, scilicet filium suum et nepotem suum."

Nicholaa de la Haye had an interesting life and career. Married twice, she nevertheless held power independently from her husbands. She served both King John and Henry III's minority government loyally, defending Lincoln Castle on multiple occasions. See Wilkinson, Women in Thirteenth-Century England, 13-26, and Charles Petit-Dutaillis, "Une Femme de guerre au xiii<sup>4</sup> siècle: Nicole de la Haie, gardienne du château de Lincoln," in Mélanges Julien Havet: recueil de traveaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet, 1853-93 (Paris, 1895), 369-80.

arrest was her doing, and that when the barons asked for his release, they had to consult with her, as well as the king. 46

Property and lordship disputes could also produce situations in which women took hostages and captives. Matthew of Paris, for example, reports that in 1253 Count William II of Holland and Zeeland was taken captive by Countess Margaret of Flanders when he refused to do homage to her for his counties, and was held in prison for two years until his release by her eldest son, John d'Avesnes. According to a claim brought in 1341 by two granddaughters of Robert de Camville, Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife of King Edward I of England, allegedly had had him imprisoned in the late 1270s for not giving her the manor of Westerham, which she coveted. The claim stated that the queen, angered at Robert's refusal, conspired with the marshal of the army to make it appear as if he had defaulted on his military obligations during Edward I's war in Wales. Although the claim was false and a reflection of Eleanor's rapacious actions in acquiring property during her lifetime, It also suggests that it was not unthinkable that a queen would use such a tactic to extort property.

Some women seem to have resorted to hostage and captive taking for gaining and protecting property more frequently than others, suggesting that such a method may have been a more frequent choice rather than an extreme one. After the death of her husband King John of England and her return to her native land, Isabel of Angoulème became involved in several violent disputes over the lordship of land. During these disputes, she took several hostages, including the two sons of Bartholomew de le Puy, in order to protect herself, should he attempt to harm her. 49

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> She was not particularly pleased with the idea of his release, either. Flores Historiarum, ed. R.H. Luard (London, 1890) 2:481-2.

<sup>&</sup>quot; CM, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> John Carmi Parsons, Eleanor of Castile (New York, 1995), 218-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Nicholas Vincent, "Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel," In King John: New Interpretations, ed. S.D. Church (Woodbridge, UK, 1999), 206-7. A letter from her to Pandulf, the bishop-elect of Norwich, about this matter survives. The relevant passage reads as follows:

She also held her own daughter and several others hostage in exchange for part of her dowry. King John's marriage to Isabel had been a disaster for him. He had essentially stolen her as a bride from Hugh de Lusignan, inciting a rebellion and causing him to side with King Philip Augustus of France, eventually resulting in the loss of most of England's continental possessions. John had tried in 1214 to appear the Lusignans and make peace with them by giving his young daughter Joan to Hugh de Lusignan in marriage. She was sent there to be raised until she was of marriageable age. But after her husband's death, Isabel returned to Angoulême in 1217, and ended up marrying Hugh herself in 1220. Isabel wrote to her son, King Henry III, saying she had married Hugh for Henry's own good because Hugh's advisors would not let him consummate the marriage with Joan, and were trying to get him to marry a French noblewoman. She begged him to turn over her dowry, which included Niort, the castles of Exeter and Rockingham and money left to her by John. Henry congratulated his mother and asked for Joan to be returned, but there were problems. Isabel's dowry was withheld because she had married without Henry's permission, so Isabel and Hugh refused to return Joan. Eventually Pope Honorius III intervened, threatening interdict if Joan was not returned. He also admonished Isabel for holding Henry's steward and others as hostages and asking ransoms for them. Joan was eventually returned in October 1220 when Isabel's dowry was released.50

Women could also receive or extort hostages as a part of peace agreements. In 1208, after her husband was recalled to England, William Marshal's wife, another

<sup>&</sup>quot;You will know that we have offered to restore to Bartholomew de Podio, at the entreaty of our son, the king of England, and of his Council, in entirety of his land, his possessions and the rents he received before we came hither, with the exceptions of our castles, and also all his hostages, save for his two sons, whom we desire to hold in fair and fitting custody until we are without fear that he will seek to do us wrong, as he once did to the son of the count of Augi and the other barons of our land to our detriment. If he refused this offer of ours, we offered him the sure judgment of our court, but he totally rejected all this." The Letters of the Queens of England, 1100-1547, ed. Anne Crawford (Dover, NH, 1994), 52-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Harold Snellgrove, The Lusignans in England, 1247-1258 (Albuquerque, 1950), 10-15.

Isabel, received the submission of Meilyr fitz Henry, King John of England's justiciar in Ireland and William Marshal's tenant, after his rebellion in Leinster, and obtained his son as hostage for his good behavior. She also received the children and younger brothers of several other rebellious men in Leinster. In 1218, Duke Theobald I of Lorraine submitted to the judgment of Blanche of Navarre, the countess of Champagne and regent for her minor son, Theobald IV of Champagne. Duke Theobald had joined in the rebellion of Erard I of Brienne, lord of Ramerupt, who was married to Philippa, daughter of a previous count of Champagne, through whom Erard was claiming the county. Blanche joined the war against Erard and Duke Theobald with her ally Emperor Frederick II, leading her army against the city of Nancy. When Duke Theobald was captured in the town of Amance, he was turned over to her as a captive, and forced to submit to her. She compelled him to sign a charter in which he agreed to become a vassal of the counts of Champagne. The agreement stipulated that if he broke the treaty he was to surrender himself into the hands of the countess as a hostage within forty days.

Women left in political control also gave hostages. According to Thietmar of Merseburg, sometime in 1016 Queen Emma of England gave a Viking force besieging

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> David Crouch, William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147-1219 (London 1990) 104.

<sup>(</sup>London, 1990), 104.

52 Count Henry II was count of Champagne from 1181 to 1197. When he left Champagne on crusade in 1190, he was unmarried and had his barons swear to recognize his younger brother Theobald (the future Count Theobald III, and father to Theobald IV) as count if he did not return from the Holy Land. But Henry II later married the widowed Queen Isabella of Jerusalem and with her had two daughters, Philippa and Alice. Henry died in 1197, and his brother succeeded to the county as Theobald III, but when he died in 1201 he left behind a posthumously born son and a widow with little governing experience and who was relatively unknown in Champagne. This left room for Henry II's daughters and their husbands to make trouble. For a summary of Blanche's regency, see Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne," in Aristocratic Women in Medieval France, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), 81-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Dmitri Starostine, "Hostage by Agreement and the Language of Dependence in the Eleventh Century: Mutation or Corruption?" in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough, and Ross G. Arthur (Belgium, 2002), 2:389-91. Starostine misdates the rebellion which did not start until 1216, and Theobald was not captured until 1218.

could pull together these pieces of scholarship with the vast array of primary source material that existed and write a narrative that placed these women in their proper historical context as integral to the conduct of medieval warfare.

I soon realized how utterly overwhelming and ultimately unfeasible this project was if I ever wanted to complete my dissertation in a timely fashion. Women were everywhere in the narratives of medieval warfare, their stories hiding just below the surface. I simply had too much evidence. As a result, this dissertation tells only one tiny part of the larger story. But as I discovered while researching this project, it is a part that needs to be told, for it is a subject that is largely undiscussed in current scholarship. Hostage- and captiveship have only recently received any scholarly attention of note, and much of what is discussed in the following chapters has never been visited at all. The evidence presented here suggests not only that hostage- and captiveship need more study, but that the relationship between these practices and gender is essential for our understanding of them. Women were fundamental to the process and to ignore their place in the custom is to miss a key piece of the puzzle. Even if women themselves did not make up a majority of hostages and captives<sup>7</sup> or of hostage and captive-takers, medieval men's understanding of the process and of themselves as men was intensely shaped by the fear and reality of what happened to hostage and captive women.

What became immediately clear to me as I began to study the subject more closely is that hostage- and captive-taking practices are more than just military matters. Hostage and captive-taking customs were bound up with some of the most fundamental beliefs and practices of medieval society. They intersect with social hierarchies, family relationships, religious conflicts and agreements, understandings of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Although in the latter category, they may have constituted one; see Yvonne Friedman's argument as discussed in Chapter 1 and 2.

London led by King Cnut of Denmark (the future King Cnut of England)<sup>54</sup> three hundred hostages in order to gain peace.<sup>55</sup> With the death of her husband King Athelred II, and her step-son Edmund Ironside<sup>56</sup> not yet able to effectively wage war, Emma, who resided in London and appears to have been in charge of its defenses, was left to face the renewed onslaught of Cnut of Denmark's invasion of England, which had begun in 1015.<sup>57</sup> As effective military leader of the city, she negotiated the peace and surrendered the hostages.

Interestingly enough, the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ostensibly Emma's own account of her life, <sup>58</sup> does not mention this heroic defense of London, a surprising lacuna if Emma's goal were merely to highlight her own skills as a ruler or military leader against a foreign and formidable foe, which might suggest that such events did not actually take place. However, Emma's hostage exchange should not be automatically discounted for three reasons. First, the *Encomium* was written well after

<sup>54</sup> Thietmar places Cnut's invasion in July of 1016 and states that he besieged London for six months, which would place Emma's concession of hostages in December. But Cnut actually invaded in April, and Cnut was victorious in November of that year after the death of Edmund Ironside in November and was crowned on Christmas Day. It seems to me more likely that Thietmar got his dates wrong, and that Emma gave the hostages sometime in September, before the Battle of Ashingdon between Cnut and Edmund in October, which Cnut won decisively.

<sup>55 &</sup>quot;Finally the queen was exhausted by the constant fighting and sent messengers to seek peace and carefully inquire what they [the Vikings] wanted from her. The insatiable enemy immediately responded that, if the queen were willing to have her two sons killed, redeem herself for fifteen thousand silver pounds, redeem the bishops for twelve thousand, and all of her armed men for the unbelievable sum of twenty-four thousand pounds and if she would give three hundred hostages as surety for this agreement only then would she obtain peace and life for herself and her companions. Otherwise, so they shouted three times aloud, they would all be put to the sword. The venerable queen and her advisors were greatly disturbed by this message. After long and tumultuous deliberations, however, she agreed to the demands...." Ryan Lavelle, 281-2. Ottonian Germany: the Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg, trans. David Warner (New York, 2001), 335.

As Lavelle notes, the distant German Thietmar was not the most reliable of historians for Anglo-Saxon events, but he argues that in his description of Emma's hostage agreement, "the depiction of hostages demanded as surety for a peace agreement imposed by the besieging Vikings, and the similarly high price, tallies with Anglo-Saxon accounts of submission in this period."

similarly high price, tallies with Anglo-Saxon accounts of submission in this period."

56 Emma's own eldest son, Edward, was only 12 at the time, and therefore really unable to make a claim for the throne against his elder step-brother Edmund, who was a grown man and had been elected by the thegas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Pauline Stafford, Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England (Oxford, 2001), 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* was written by an unknown monk at Emma's behest. See the introduction in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. Alistair Campbell (Cambridge, 1998).

the events in question, and after Emma's marriage to Cnut (indeed, after his death), and this hindsight may account for the missing episode. It seems that with her marriage to Cnut Emma experienced a revival and enjoyed power and authority that she had not had under her previous husband. She downplays her first husband Aethelred, barely mentioning him at all, and paints Cnut's reign as introducing peace into the English realm. She also describes her marriage to him as one of love and mutual respect. The author writes that "it is hard to credit how vast a magnitude of delight in one another arose in them both."59 She seems to have completely shed her former identity as an "English" queen (she never, for example, refers to herself by the name her subjects did: Ælfgifu), and the Encomium makes it clear that she associated herself almost completely with her Danish family. Given this context, it is probable that Emma wanted to overlook her past resistance to her husband and would therefore neglect to mention such events. Furthermore, Emma spent much of her later life supporting Harthacnut, her son by Cnut, in his bid for the throne, and ignored the claims to the throne of her elder sons by Aethelred. 60 Such a choice was likely difficult not only for personal reasons but for political ones as well, and would have needed justification, in particular, of Harthacnut's reign. Depicting herself as having resisted Cnut's conquest of England would have delegitimized his rule and painted him as an usurper, and thus calling Harthacnut's right to rule into question.

Second, on at least two other occasions the sources provide examples of women involved in the process of deciding if hostages should be given. Both occasions occur in King John of England's reign. The first took place in 1210 while

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 35

It is perhaps this choice to back the claims of the younger sons over the elder that led Edward the Confessor to turn against his mother after his ascension to the throne, and force her into retirement. Certainly this was the opinion of William of Malmesbury, who stated that her property was "entirely taken from her" on his instructions because "'long had she mocked her offspring's years of need.' She never contributed anything out of her resources, passing down her hatred of the father to the child." GR, 1: 350-1.

John was on campaign in Ireland. When John made peace with the king of Connacht, he demanded hostages, and the Irish king agreed to hand over his son. But his wife and his followers talked him into changing his mind, much to John's dismay. John was therefore forced to take the king's siblings and royal officers as hostages instead of the royal heir. 61 The second example is Matilda of Braose, whom we have already seen, rudely telling the King John's messengers that she would not hand over her son as a hostage to the man who had murdered his own nephew. 62 As was noted earlier, Matthew Paris, writing well after the event indeed, may have exaggerated or completely invented many of the details. The story, however, is worth exploring because it tells us about expectations concerning womanly behavior. Matthew tells us that Matilda stole her husband's ability to speak on the matter ["verbum rapines ex oro viri"], and that he rebukes her in response, saying, "You have spoken like a foolish woman against our lord the king. For if I have offended him in some way, I am and will be ready to give satisfaction to my lord certainly without hostages, in accordance with the judgment of his court and of my fellow barons, if he will fix on a time and a place for my so doing." While Matthew's language implies that she spoke foolishly and that it was not her place to speak at all, it appears that perhaps the issue was not so much with her refusal to hand over her son, but the manner in which she did it. She steals the words from her husband's mouth, which insinuates that the refusal to give the son over as a hostage was already there. Furthermore, Matthew has Matilda's husband refuse to hand over hostages, saying that he will do the king's will without hostages ["sine obsidibus"], suggesting perhaps that Matilda was entitled to voice her

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Séan Duffy, "John and Ireland: The Origins of England's Irish Problem," in King John: New Interpretations, ed. S.D. Church (Woodbridge, UK, 1999), 241.
<sup>62</sup> CM, 2:523-4.

<sup>63 &</sup>quot;Quod uerbum cum uir ejus audisset, increpauit eam et dixit, 'Quasi una ex stultis mulieribus contra domnum nostrum regem locuta es. Nam si ipsum in aliquo offendi, paratus sum et ero domno meo etiam sine obsidibus satisfacere, secundum judicium curiae suae et baronum parium meorum, certo mihi assignato die et loco.'"

opinion about the fate of their son, just not in public and in a way that insults the king in front of his representatives, something that will only cause trouble for the Braose family. Although these events come from a much later time period than Emma's, they do suggest that women were more involved in the process of handing over hostages than scholars have indicated. Given that, as suggested previously, the process of hostageship is so hidden within the sources, it is possible women may have had a greater role in deciding who within their families became hostages than the sources reveal.

Third, such a revision of events is perhaps evidence of the wide-scale change in the representation of the role of the queen in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. As misogyny and increased attention to gender differences became gradually more important to medieval authors, their perceptions of what prominent women could and more importantly *should* be doing became more stringent. Powerful women were never completely or simply demarcated as "bad" or "evil." In fact, many received ample praise, especially if their public acts were seen as lessening the severity of the king or benefiting the poor or religious. But those women who acted in the public eye came under increasing scrutiny. The *Encomium* is very careful to present Emma as the ideal wife and queen, certainly active, but within acceptable limits and roles like that of mother, wife, and patron of religious institutions. That she was an active military strategist and leader of England's defenses had less importance within this narrative.

Other women were more captive or hostage holders than takers. It was not

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Men, too, came under increasing scrutiny for their uses and abuses of power. The point here is not to argue that only powerful women suffered from the potential to be labeled as abusers of power or overstepping their bounds, but that women were often more susceptible to such complaints. See Pauline Stafford, Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England (Oxford, 2001); Ibid., "Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century," in Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Rochester, NY, 1997); Idem, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in Medieval Queenship, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993).

uncommon for a hostage taker to confer a hostage on a third party in order to maintain what Ryan Lavelle calls "reciprocal relationships beyond those of the giver and the recipient."65 Placing a hostage in the hands of an outside party made them guarantors and continual witnesses of the submission that had been made. It provided them with an extra incentive for maintaining the peace settlement. The submission became a community event; the more people involved, perhaps the greater chance of success. Women could play this role of the third party. The early example in Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People of Ecgfrith, son of King Oswiu of Northumbria being held hostage at the court of Queen Cynewise of Mercia in 655 provides evidence that this may have been a long-standing tradition for women.<sup>66</sup> Queen Matilda of Boulogne, in taking over the care of Robert of Gloucester, may also have been fulfilling this role, as might Nicholaa de la Haye in early 1217, when she supervised the transfer of hostages between one loyalist castle and another. Oueen Eleanor of Provence was given custody of Adam Gurdon, an important supporter of the baronial cause during Simon de Montfort's rebellion against Henry III, by her son

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Ryan Lavelle, 284

<sup>66</sup> The circumstances of how Ecgfrith became a hostage at Queen Cynewise's court are unclear. According to Bede, Penda invaded Northumbria at the head of a large army, despite Oswiu's attempt to buy Penda off with "an incalculable and incredible store of royal treasures and gifts." Ecgfrith's status as a hostage is mentioned only as an afterthought, Bede writes that, while Oswiu and his son Alhfrith were at war with Penda, Oswiu's "other son Ecgfrith was at the time a hostage in the Mercian kingdom with Queen Cynewise." It reads like an explanation to the curious reader as to why the other son was not fighting with is father "His temporibus rex Osuiu, cum aceruas atque intolerabiles pateretur inruptiones saepe dicti regis Merciorum, qui fratrem eius occiderat, ad ultimum necessitate cogente promisit se ei innumera et maiora quam credi potest ornamenta regia uel donaria in pretium pacis largiturum, dummodo ille domum rediret et prouincias regni eius usque ad internicionem uastare desineret. Cum que rex perfidus nullatenus precibus illius assensum praeberet, qui totam eius gentem a paruo usque ad magnum delere atque exterminare decreuerat, respexit ille ad diuinae auxilium pietas, quo ab impietate barbarica posset eripi........[Bede describes Penda's army], quibus Osuiu rex cum Alchfrido filio preparuum, ut dixi, habens exercitum, sed Christo duce confisus occurit. Nam alius filius eius Ecfrid eo tempore in prouincia Merciorum apud regnsm Cynuise obsess tenebatur...." Bede,

Nennius' Historia Brittonum also mentions Penda's invasion of Northumbria at this time, but states that Penda in fact accepted Oswiu's large gift. D.P Kirby argues that Oswiu submitted to Penda at a siege near Stirling, and that his son was handed over as a peace hostage. D.P. Kirby, The Earliest English Kings (London, 1991), 90, 94-5.

Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216-25 (London 1906-), 23-4.

## Edward.68

Women may have been chosen for this role for two reasons. On the one hand, because—as in the Cynewise case—the queen was closely associated with hostagetaker, the submission achieved through the giving of a hostage remained powerful. The hostage still represented the subordination of the weaker part to the stronger. On the other hand, women could have been perceived as less likely to treat hostages violently, especially in cases where the treatment of a hostage could spark conflict. Hostage taking brought about a perilous balance of interest. A hostage-giver who despaired of the safety of his loved ones might be motivated to do desperate things. There was therefore an incentive to set his mind at rest as to the security of the hostages, which might be achieved by placing them in the care of women. In the case of Queen Cynewise of Mercia, according to Bede, her husband King Penda was already at war with the hostage's father, King Oswiu, so Cynewise's holding of the hostage may have minimized his chances of meeting a violent end at the hands of Penda if the war went badly for him. More practically, Eggfrith's location at the queen's court may have also guaranteed that he would not die an accidental death at the battle or in Penda's army, causing further strife between the two parties. This may also be another reason that Robert of Gloucester was held in Queen Matilda's care. As noted above, when Robert was captured, he was handed over to the Queen, who placed him under house-arrest at Rochester. But as William of Malmesbury remarks, the Queen was careful to treat Robert with the utmost respect. "The queen," William writes.

though she remembered her husband had been fettered by his [Robert's] orders, never allowed any chains to put on him or ventured anything that would have dishonored his royal rank. Finally, at Rochester, for he was taken there, he was free to go to the churches beneath the castle when he liked, and to talk with whom he liked, at least as long as the queen was there.

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<sup>68</sup> Michael Prestwich, Edward I (New Haven, 1997), 56.

When the queen finally did leave, he was kept "under open arrest," but was free enough to receive money from his men in order buy "some expensive horses." These three cases suggest that the most valuable hostages, particularly those whose death could destabilize an already volatile peace, not only received better treatment, but were kept in the care of women in particular precisely because women were perceived as gentler, even more lax, in their treatment of hostages and captives.

This image of women as hostage and captive holder appears in literary texts as well, which not only implies that this was thought of as a common role for women, but also supports the idea that women were hostage holders because they tended to be less harsh than men. In the thirteenth century chanson de geste *The Knights of Narbonne*, Count Aymeri and his men capture a very talented healer named Forrez on a raid against the Saracens. The count tells his men Girart and Gaudin to take the captive straight to his wife, Hermenjart, who is to guard him carefully. Women of the romances also hold captives, especially Queen Guinevere. When Eric defeats Yder, the son of Nut, in Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*, he sends him to surrender to her. Likewise, when a young man named Alexander joins the court of King Arthur, he becomes one of Guinevere's favorites and gives his first captured knights to her to hold as a sign of courtesy, a common theme in the romances. He also does so for practical reasons, for "[h]e does not wish anyone else to have possession of them for the king would soon have had them hanged." This situation is not without problems, however. Guinevere "had them taken and imprisoned, befitting those charged with

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<sup>69 &</sup>quot;Itaque regina, quae licet meminisset uirum suum eius iussu fuisse compeditum, nichil ei unquam uinculorum inferri permisit, nec quicquam inhonestum de sua maiestate presumpsit. Denique apud Rofacestram, illuc quippe ductus fuit, libere ad aecclesias infra castellum quo libebat ibat, et quibus libebat loquebatur, ipsa dumtaxat regina presente. Nam post profectionem eius in turrim sub libera custodia ductus est, adeo presenti et securo animo ut ab hominibus suis de Cantia accepta pecunia equos non parui pretii compararet, qui ei post aliquanto tempore et usui et commodo fuere." HN, 114-17.

70 Baron, fait il, "je vos coment forré / Droit a Nerbone gardez que soit mené / A Heranjart o grant pales listé / Le me randez sor vostre lealté / Gart le si chier com el a m'amisté."

Chanson de geste, ed. Hermann Suchier (Paris, 1898) 1:153-4, lines 4006-10.

treason," which displeased Arthur, who wishes to have them killed. She is forced to give them up, and Arthur has them drawn. This story hints that some men did not always appreciate women's leniency or gentleness towards captives and hostages because they felt it kept hostages and captives who deserved harsh penalties from receiving the proper punishment.

It is worth noting that all of these hostage and captive takers, literary and historical, were elite women, and most—if not all—were queens or rulers of lands in their own right. This suggests that the care of hostages and captives may be yet another, little discussed role for queens and female rulers, comparable to that of intercessor, wife, mother, sister, daughter, patron of the church, moral guide to one's family, and manager of the royal or lordly household, all of which have already been illuminated in the scholarship. Overlooking evidence such as that presented here, however, leaves incomplete historians' growing understanding of how queenship functioned.

Scholars of queenship and kingship themselves have likely ignored this evidence because the tendency has been to associate military endeavors with the public power of kings and male lords, whereas queens and female lords, following the public/private dichotomy, have been associated with the more private aspects of royalty and ruling. First, the care and detention of hostages in the royal or lordly household, often under the care of women, makes their categorization as either a "public" or "private" issue ambiguous at best. In many ways, the living conditions of hostages and captives, especially high-profile ones, resembled those of household guests restricted in their access to the outside world. This seems to have been the case for, example, with the son of William de Braose, who was attached to the household

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> But not before others in the court suggest other punishments: burning, flaying, and hanging. Ibid., 103-4

of Eleanor de Montfort during his hostageship in the spring and summer of 1265.<sup>73</sup> Second, the confinement, treatment, and exchange of hostages and captives often had profound public implications for other, less militaristic aspects of the state like the negotiations of a treaty between two kingdoms. Because queens are often perceived as uninvolved in these public aspects of rulership, they have been largely overlooked as participants in such activities.

Third, the importance of elite and royal women as diplomats and mediators between their natal and marital families meant that they often used their "private" status as wife, mother, sister and daughter to negotiate in the "public" realm. The case of Matilda of Canossa, whose military career has been recently outlined by David Hay, is illustrative here and may provide clues for examining the lives of other women like her. As Hay suggests, Matilda, as sole ruler of domains that spread throughout much of northern and central Italy and the "most powerful woman of her time," exercised power not only politically and militarily, but also in traditionally "female" ways such as intercession. It was she who protected Pope Gregory VII at her fortress of Canossa, and when the Emperor Henry IV came to beg for forgiveness for three days in the snow, it was she who interceded personally with Gregory so that Henry could be forgiven. She was "not limited to a stereotypically masculine or feminine mode: she played the roles of general and intercessor simultaneously, and with equal success."

As a result, my data supports Theresa Earenfight's recent suggestion that the separation of the study of monarchy and rulership into two categories—kingship/kings/public and queenship/queens/private—is artificial. As she notes, "queens and kings did not live in isolation." The public/private dichotomy has

J.R. Maddicott, Simon de Montfort (Cambridge, 1994), 326.
 Hay, Matilda of Canossa, 70.

inaccurately privileged those who act in the public realm, and "regards those who operate in the private domestic sphere as less legitimate political actors... fail[ing] to account for the multifocal nature of power in its many guises." Kings as well as queens exercised power in the so-called private realm as patrons, fathers, sons, husbands, intercessors, and all of the other roles normally trumpeted as the domain of women and the source of women's power. Likewise, women acted in the "public realm" as judges, diplomats, and military commanders. This is not to suggest that women participated in these roles as frequently as men, for they did not. But the fact that they could suggests that the boundaries between "male" and "female" powers or roles are much blurrier than has been argued in the past. Just as such "domestic" roles need to be interwoven into the history of kings and kingship, so the "public" roles of queens need to be reinserted into the narrative of queenship.

More generally, queens need to be reintroduced into the study of monarchy more broadly, for "while we may accept the fact that male rule was always everywhere privileged and that women governed only at the discretion, permission, and ultimately, at the pleasure of a man (or group of men), this does not mean that the subject of monarchy is exclusively a male noun."

Monarchy and kingship are not synonymous, and as Earenfight suggests, by using the term "rulership," and eliminating the public/private dichotomy, historians can move towards n understanding of power at the top that includes those other than the king. As Earenfight notes, the queen is not the only "alternate," multifocal source of power to be considered here. Recent studies on the "king's favorite" have done much to elucidate the tangled web of power associated with monarchy, royalty, and rulership, because favorites often operated in both public and private spheres. If we cannot study

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Theresa Earenfight, "Without the Person of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender and History* 19:1 (April 2007): 7-8.

emotions, power, authority, love, and hate, as well as theories and practices of rulership, among others. Hostage- and captive-taking, then, becomes a lens through which we can examine the tensions at the edges of these conventions, the blurry boundaries between what was expected (theory) and what actually happened (practice). Despite the overwhelming misogyny of much of the source material from the Middle Ages that suggest women were far from empowered, once gleaned, the evidence here helps us paint a more complex picture. Women clearly participated in military and political activities with regularity despite whatever social conventions admonished them otherwise. In order to do so, there must have been other social forces at work more broadly within the family and society that argued women were capable, if not equal, partners to the men who dominated society. Furthermore, not only did they use some of the same tactics as men for engaging in the so-called "public" sphere, they also found avenues for exercising power unique to women like the state of motherhood and women's special role as protectress of family morality.

At the same time, however, medieval women could not escape completely the patriarchal attitudes of their time. The sources examined here also suggest that as captives and hostages, women's suffering was negligibly important at best, that men understood the violence done to women only as a stain upon their male honor, often reducing the female victim to mere cipher. Moreover, medieval writers expressed deep fears that because of women's over-emotional nature women were unable to handle the burdens of dealing with hostages and captives. Women who expressed fear or anxiety when their family was held hostage or taken captive were often depicted as irrational and unable to handle the negotiations well, and women who came into contact with hostages or captives held in their castles were described as unable to control their lust around them. Women who expressed anger or treated hostages and captives with the same violence that men did, like the Empress Matilda, whose case is

a king without considering his favorites and their influence on the king, we should consider the influence of the queen on the king and her share of his power, given her potential for a relationship just as intimate, if not more so, than that of the favorite. 76 By doing so, rulership becomes, according to Foucault, "a multiplicity of power relationships which are not separate entities, but elements contained within a network that extends beyond the persons of the king and queen, whose power is not localized individually. It circulates among various people who are simultaneously the subject and object of power." Kings and queens shared power, both public and private, and while they shared that power unequally, to ignore the fact that women had a share of, and a stake in, that power is to depict women who did exercise such powers as exceptional, abnormal, or marginalized. But women could and patently did exercise such powers and did so in a way that was considered a part of their everyday capacity as rulers and elites regardless of gender.

In other words, these examples of women taking, giving, and holding hostages weaken the long standing view held Georges Duby and others that women, being incapable of wielding a sword, could not possess potestas—what Duby called "the power to command and punish," a category in which dealing with hostages and captives belonged. Duby held that any woman able to exercise any power was reduced to operating behind the scenes, and then only by batting their eyelashes and begging nicely. 78 But this analysis has many faults. Duby's suggestion that the power to command and punish required the ability to use a sword, for example, neglects to

Total and trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, Journal of Lower and Land Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, Journal of Land Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, Land Colin Gordon, Land Colin Gordon, Land Colin Gordon, Land Colin Gordon, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, ed. and trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (New York, 1980); ibid, "The Subject and Power" in The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984, ed. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York, 2003); ibid, Power, ed. by James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1999); Nancy Hartsock, "Foucault on Power: A Theory for Women," in Feminism/Postmodernism, ed. Linda J. Nicholson (New York, 1990).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> He says, "They participated in power, then, but by way of charm."

take into consideration the medieval distinction between milites and bellatores on the one hand, and duces and imperatores on the other. As David Hay has noted, numerous passages exist in medieval texts that suggest a class difference between those who actually fought and those who led warriors: "the uppermost classes were expected to lead, the lower classes to follow and to fight." William of Malmesbury, for example, describes Henry I of England, a king who fought his share of wars and led his share of armies, as "veriffying] the saying of Scipio Africanus, 'My mother bore me to be a general [imperatorem], not a soldier [bellatorem]" because "as a fighter he was of less repute than others." William goes on to praise Henry for being "in political wisdom second to none among the kings of our day, and ... easily first among all his predecessors," and for preferring "to do battle in the council-chamber rather than with the sword," and "winning his victories without bloodshed if he could, and with very little if he could not.",80 William of Poitiers also makes the distinction between a general [officia imperatoris] and a soldier [officia militis] in his description of William the Conqueror. 81 William argues that unlike Julius Caesar, who only commanded from a distance, William the Conqueror both commanded and fought in the front ranks. While these comments were clearly designed to praise William the Conqueror, Julius Caesar could hardly be called a negative model for the medieval warrior, whether he fought on the front lines or not.

A medieval secular male lord of the uppermost social stratum would certainly have been able to wield a sword, and the sword was undoubtedly an emblem for justice and a symbol of political authority and helpful to possess. But a lord or king's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Minus pugnacis famae, Scipionis Affricani dictum representabat: 'Imperatorem me mea mater, non bellatorem peperit.'" David Hay, "Canon Laws," 292-3. See also Hay, *Matilda of Canossa*, 9-11. The quote from GR 744-5

quote from GR, 744-5.

Outpropter sapientia nulli um quam modernorum regum secundus, et pene dicam omnium antecessorum in Anglia facile primus, libentius bellabat consilio quam gladio; uincebat, si poterat, sanguine nullo, si aliter non poterat, pauco." Ibid.

William of Poitiers, Gesta Guillelmi/The Deeds of William, ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), 172-3.

ability to exercise justice was based on his ability to command others to do so, something women clearly could and did do. So Nor was his ability to wage war necessarily his most important capability in the exercise of potestas. The ability to "command and punish" did not derive from the sword alone, and lords were to avoid battle if possible and settle dispute in other ways if possible, often in the court, where many women were also active. As such, a woman was likely not completely excluded from the exercise of potestas simply because she did not pick up a sword. Her exercise of power came through her association with and inclusion in the lordship or monarchy, in which kings and queen and lords and their ladies "formed an integral part of the interlocking political, social, economic and legal institutional structure of each kingdom" and lordship. They were not "paired opposites" in which the king or lord completely dominated the other and wholly suppressed the lady's ability to act, but "complementary elements." Social social social suppressed the lady's ability to act,

Studies of charter evidence have also indicated that women regularly acted in conjunction with, on behalf of, and independent of their husbands in the Middle Ages, owning, controlling, serving as regent, and selling castles and fiefs. As Theodore Evergates, writing about women in Champagne, has suggested:

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<sup>82</sup> Ermengarde of Narbonne, Matilda of Tuscany, Adela of Blois, Matilda of Boulgogne, the Empress Matilda, Juliana of Breteuil, Richilde of Hainault, Elisabeth of Jaligny, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Nicholaa de la Haye, Theresa of Portugal (Countess of Flanders), Gwenllian of Wales, Countess Marguerite of Hainault, among many others, are all described in the sources as leading troops into battle. There were also famous female commanders in medieval literature: Guendolien, Cordeille, Camille, and Penthesilea are just a few.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Earenfight, 14.

Batchinght, 14.

84 In addition to the wonderful articles in Evergates' edited volume on France, see Susan Johns, "The Wives and Widows of the Earls of Chester, 1100-1252: the Charter Evidence," Haskins Society Journal vol. 7 (1995): 117-132; ibid., Noblewomen, Aristocracy, and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Mark S. Hagger, The Fortunes of a Norman Family: The de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316 (Dublin, 2001), esp. 72-83; Cheyette, Ermengarde of Narbonne; Charlotte A. Newman, The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation (Philadelphia, 1989); Louise J. Wilkinson, Women in Thirteenth-Century England (Rochester, NY, 2007); Rowena A. Archer, "'How ladies...who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates:' Women as Landholders and Administrators in the later Middle Ages," in Women is a Worth Wight: Women in English Society, c 1200-1500, ed. P.J.P Goldberg (Stroud, UK, 1992), 149-81.

The practical records [i.e., charter evidence]...reveal a far different picture of medieval women—at least of noble born women—than the one refracted through misogynist literature, speculative learned treatises, and cautionary tales addressed to monastic male audiences. Moreover, and contrary to what some historians have recently claimed, aristocratic women were neither marginalized by a family obsession with the patriline nor excluded from inheritance by male primogeniture. ...Both secular and ecclesiastical documents record women inheriting, acquiring, disposing, and bequeathing property. Women did homage and received homage for fiefs. They responded to inquests, they sealed letters on a variety of financial and feudal matters, and they contracted marriages for their children. 85

Nor did these women have to be considered abnormal in order to exercise these powers, as Duby and others have argued they did, performing a sort of gender transubstantiation, shedding their femininity for a new (and supposedly better) masculinity. As Kimberley LoPrete has argued, this interpretation "depends on the uncritical importation to the central middle ages of distinctly modern conceptions of sexuality, love, power, and their interrelations... [and] deflects attention from the dynamic interplay between the life-cycles of aristocratic families and the domestic base of their power that routinely produced a significant number of women who exercised lordly authority within their traditional societal roles." When women who have power are reduced to abnormalities or masculinized, they are "excluded from the general history of women and the gendering of socio-political domains over the longue durée."

However, as LoPrete argues, there was neither a modern conception of the separate public and private spheres nor of "male" and "female" domains in the Middle Ages; power was domestically rooted. Women exercised power "within the bonds of their traditional women's roles." Powerful women were understood as women, not as "men"; their sexuality and feminine nature was understood and stressed in the sources. These women were essentially *viragos*, women who—while generally weaker than

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<sup>85</sup> Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne," in Aristocratic Women in Medieval France, ed Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), 109. See Amy Livingstone's article in the same volume for similar conclusions about women in the Chartrain.

men-could act with "masculine" strength when necessary. This was made possible by a different medieval conception of human nature, which "posited a single set of gendered physiological properties and psychological traits that would be distributed in varying proportions to individual persons.... In other words, that some women, in anatomical terms, would be born with attributes which enabled them to perform in some capacities as well as, or even better than, some men, was built into the system." 36 Powerful women were considered women in terms of both their sex and their gender. The Barnwell Annalist, for example, reported that Nicholaa de la Haye "a noble woman ... defended herself manfully." Similarly, Queen Matilda of Boulogne was a "woman of subtle courage and manly resolution" ["regina, astuti pectoris uirilisque constantiae femina"]. 88 As the Latin indicates, she was a woman who possessed two qualities, one of which is usually considered "manly." Furthermore, virilis does not always mean "manly." It can also mean "bold," "firm," and "vigorous," characteristics often associated with men, but not exclusively so, and carried the connotation of "decisive." Neither woman, then, was a man, or a manly woman; they acted in a manly fashion on a particular occasion. It was the action, characteristic or personality trait, not the person who exhibited the quality, that was masculine. Within this system, women were to deal with captives and hostages when needed. They cannot be dismissed as exceptions to the so-called "rules." They were not abnormal for taking on these roles and would be expected to do so.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> LoPrete, "The Gender of Lordly Women: The case of Adela of Blois," in *Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Women. Pawns or Players?* ed. Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless. (Dublin, 2003), 90-110. See also her "Gendering Viragos: Medieval Perceptions of Powerful Women," in *Victims or Viragos? Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women*, vol. 4, ed. Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless. (Dublin, 2005).

Lawless (Dublin, 2005).

87 "...mulier, Nicola nomine, viriliter se defendit." Annales Monastici, 3:49. Richard of Devizes also suggests that Nicholaa's actions can be manly. He reports that in an 1191 siege, while her husband was absent on crusade, Nicholaa "not thinking of anything feminine, guarded the castle manfully [nichil femineum cogitans, castellum viriliter custodiebat]." Richard of Devizes, The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First, ed. John T. Appleby (London, 1963), 31.

What this indicates is that hostage and captive-taking, giving, and holding were not the sole prerogative of men or warriors, and women who performed these tasks were not abnormal, exceptions, or reconfigured as men because these activities were related to warfare and therefore off-limits to the average medieval female. Such practices were the right of rulers and lords (i.e., important people) regardless of sex or whether or not they participated in battles. Although these women may have not taken physical possession of enemy warriors, they could and did hold these warriors captive or hostage, exercise the right to determine their fate, the price of their ransom and freedom, the condition of their captivity, and the political and social implications of their confinement. Because these women were lordly women-women with the power to command, who shared with their husbands the rights and duties of rulership—they were considered capable of dealing with hostages and captives. Just as Adela of Blois in her capacity as countess of Blois could send troops to King Louis <sup>89</sup> and numerous women could negotiate a peace after a war, <sup>90</sup> these women, despite the fact that they probably never lifted a sword, were capable as women of arranging for the punishments, ransoms, and hostages, without their contemporariesmale or female—taking exception to their actions.

More importantly, the evidence presented here suggests that scholars need to continue in their re-evaluation of past modes of thinking about how women functioned in medieval society. The ruling practices of medieval monarchies and lordships need

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<sup>89</sup> OV, 6:156-9

Numerous women in the Middle Ages served as active peacemakers during time of war. To list them all here would take too much space, but examples can be found in John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, 69-70 (Queen Adelaide of France); "The Chronicles of John and Richard of Hexham," 69-70 (Queen Matilda of England); *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1955), 190-3 (Joan, wife of Llywelyn of Wales). Blanche of Castile, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Eleanor of Provence, and Adela of Blois, among many others, were all well-known peacemakers, as well. See Reginé Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, trans. Henry Noel (New York, 1975), 137-8, 140-3, 61; 209-11; Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 183-4; Jane Martindale, "Eleanor of Aquitaine: The Last Years," in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S.D. Church. (Woodbridge, UK, 1999), 145-6; Kimberly LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c. 1067-1137)* (Dublin, 2007), 175-6, 327-8, 385-6.

to be further re-examined in order to account for the greater movement of men and women across the so-called pulbic/private divide. Hostage and captive-taking practices provide one more set of evidence that suggests scholars can no longer in good conscience argue that women were incapable of regularly exercising power in the medieval world.

## **Chapter Four:**

## "Pre Desiderio Delicti Uiri Sui:" Female Hostage and Captive Ransomers and Negotiators

This chapter examines yet another way that women were involved in hostage and captiveship that has yet to be explored in the scholarship: as hostage and captive ransomers and negotiators. The evidence presented here demonstrates that women could be involved in these processes in several capacities for variety of motivations. First and foremost, it was their men-often husbands, but also other kin-who were being held hostage or captive. As a result, women's involvement was often a matter of practicality; the women were simply the only ones left to ransom them. But even in other cases, where a lord's men or male kinfolk were also available to help with the process, women still played a fundamental part. Women appear to have been expected to take on this role, perhaps because, as noted in the previous chapter, with their husbands absent—away at war or unable to help—they often had to perform all the functions of "lord." Elite and royal women in particular appear to have taken up these roles as a function of their positions as diplomats and mediators between their families. Furthermore, women's association with the role of intercessor made the processes of ransoming hostages a natural choice for women. Women may also have been drawn into ransoming as a result of popular religious sentiment and a need to tap into a broader, societal movement revolving around the ransoming of captives taken in the Crusades. But, as will be demonstrated below, despite any general acceptance women may have had as ransomers, women in these positions caused a certain amount of anxiety among medieval chroniclers. Such anxieties—related to a contemporary belief in women's overemotional nature and a fear of women's potential sexual promiscuity—resulted in ambiguous representations of them as hostage and captive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> HN, 116.

ransomers and negotiators, a trend that spilled over into images of them as hostage caregivers as well.

The Battle of Lincoln and its aftermath again provides a good launching point for discussion. When it came time for Stephen and Robert to be ransomed, it was women who dominated the process. The most detailed account of the hostage negotiations for Stephen and Robert comes from William of Malmesbury's Historia Novella.2 William actually discusses the negotiations twice, adding the details "he was ignorant of' to his narrative later when he had confirmed them. Piecing together both narratives, it appears that "the earls"—William does not specify which, but they appear to have been those on Stephen's side—attempted to negotiate an equal exchange, and wrote to Mabel of Gloucester, Robert's wife, asking if this would be possible. She was eager to agree, but her husband cautioned against this. He argued that "a king and an earl were not of equal importance" but "he could consent to it if they would allow for the release of all who had been taken with him or on his account," namely William of Salisbury, Humphrey de Bohun, as well as others. To this, Stephen's earls could not agree because they would lose the ransom money. They tried to persuade Robert to abandon his sister's cause, but he refused, and when they threatened him with life-long imprisonment in Boulogne, he scoffed, "making light of their threats with a calm countenance," saying that if they sent him there, his wife and his men would send to the king of Ireland for help. Eventually, however, the Empress's adherents—and, one would assume, the Empress, although William does not mention her specifically-"urged the earl to do what he could [to free

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In fact, it is the only source to dwell on the negotiations at any length, and this is likely because of William of Malmesbury's closeness to Robert of Gloucester. Henry of Huntingdon the *Gesta Stephani* report the exchange only briefly, HH, 740, GS, 90.

report the exchange only briefly. HH, 740. GS, 90.

3 William was very conscious of the need for care and accuracy. He apologizes for not putting these details in earlier because "I have always dreaded putting into writing, for transmission to posterity, anything I did not know to be established fact" [Semper quippe horrori habui aliquid ad posteros transmittendum stilo committere, quod nesciam solida ueritate subsistere.] HN, 122-3.

himself]...since he could not do what he would." By November 1, an agreement was reached. The king was freed, leaving his wife Matilda and his son Eustace behind as guarantees of Robert's release. When Robert was set free, he left his own son behind to guarantee the release of the queen and Eustace. Everyone acted according to plan, and the hostage exchange went smoothly. This narrative is supported by the continuator of John of Worcester's account. He remarks that "The queen worked hard on the king's behalf, and the countess of Gloucester on the earl's, many messengers and reliable friends going to and fro." According to the continuator, an agreement was reached whereby Robert of Gloucester would become part of Stephen's government once Stephen was released, but Robert rejected this settlement because the empress would not consent to it. The narrative breaks off shortly after, and the chronicler never reports the outcome of the negotiations.

It is curious that Empress Matilda did not play a more significant role in securing the release of her brother, since he was her main military commander and it was on her behalf that he had been captured. She certainly had the most at stake politically in securing his release. Yet she is almost completely absent from all the accounts of the negotiations. One may deduce from William of Malmesbury that she played a minor role, saying that her followers, "after taking counsel," told Robert to allow himself to be exchanged for Stephen. He does not state with whom they took counsel, but he suggests their concern was that, if Robert did not allow the exchange, the royalist party might besiege the Empress. It may be simply that William, writing at Robert of Gloucester's behest, may have wanted to highlight Robert's importance to the events he chronicles, and therefore purposefully diminishes the Empress's role

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid., 116-123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., 106-8.

<sup>6</sup> JW, 3:302-5

It does not resume until the year 1152.

<sup>8</sup> HN, 118-19.

explored in Chapter Five, were almost universally condemned as tyrants while their male counterparts could be praised for such action. Thus, the evidence leaves us with a complex and multifaceted picture of what women's experiences were like. Neither outright condemned nor wholly praised, women who were or dealt with hostages and captives negotiated complicated and biased social conventions to make a significant place for themselves within these practices.

As a result, this study has a dual focus. One the one hand, it is an exploratory attempt to document women's participation in hostage- and captive-taking practices both passively, as victims of these processes, and also actively, as hostage and captive takers, holders, givers, and negotiators. As such, in an effort to make clear to the reader just how often women were a part of hostage and captive processes, the amount of evidence provided here may feel overwhelming or like a bombardment. On the other, it is an investigation of the medieval imagination, an examination of how medieval society viewed such women, agonized and fantasized about their actions, fates and motives. As such, this study is a product of what can be called the "war and society" branch of military history—often anachronistically called "new military history," for it is no longer new—in which medieval military historians have been in the vanguard. One cannot study war in the Middle Ages without looking at its relationship to social classes and the customs and ideologies of those classes that fought and were affected by it.

This study uses as wide a variety of sources as possible from more traditionally "historical" sources like chronicles, Latin histories, letters, and legal documents to more "literary" sources like vernacular histories, chansons de geste, and romances.

This was deliberately done. First, this is a mostly a study of lay culture, and while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Robert M. Citino, "Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction." The American Historical Review 112:4 (October, 2007): 1070-1090, esp. 1077.

here. William, for example, claims that, although Robert "was first lured by flatteries, and afterwards even assailed by threats, he could not be induced to allow negotiations for his release to proceed behind his sister's back." This implies that the Empress may have been lurking in the background during the negotiations, but that in William's eyes, all the action belonged to Robert. But William's later emphasis on Oueen Matilda and Mabel as the active agents in Robert and Stephen's release indicates that it was convention or at least more common that the wife be consulted first in hostage negotiations. Practically speaking, it was the wife who would be most aware of issues like the ability to pay the actual ransom, and would likely have the most invested in seeing to her husband's release. This could lead to the assumption that all wives wanted their husbands back. While no evidence has been found to suggest that a wife ever refused to pay her husband's ransom, 10 there is also nothing to suggest that it never happened, and some wives were undoubtedly more active than others in pressing for their husband's release. Regardless of whether she chose to ransom or not, the implication is that the wife was one of the first people consulted on the issue of what to do.

A comment by Guibert of Nogent in his memoirs supports this point. He states that his mother despaired at Duke William of Normandy's capture of his father after the Battle of Mortemer in 1054: "When the news was brought to the prisoner's wife [that is, Guibert's mother]....she felt a frightful pain and fainted. She then refused either to eat or to drink, and worry brought her to the brink of despair, which made sleeping even more difficult. Her grief was caused not by the enormity of the ransom but by the prospect of an unredeemable captivity." The news of the capture of

<sup>9 &</sup>quot;Quanuis enim primo blanditiis inuitatus, post etiam minis lacesseretur, num quam tamen inflexus est

ut de liberatione sua preter conscientiam sororis tractaretur." Ibid., 106-7.

There is, however, at least one example of a mother refusing to ransom her sons. See below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Guibert of Nogent, A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent, trans. Paul J. Archambault (University Park, PA, 1996), 40.

Guibert's father is brought before his wife, and it is she who is distraught over issues of payment and the fear of his perpetual captivity. Guibert's father was apparently eventually ransomed—he was present at Guibert's birth, and died sometime in 1055 but Guibert does not say by whom or under what circumstances. Given that Guibert states that it was his mother who was consulted about the ransom, it may have been she who paid for her husband's ransom.

Queen Matilda's negotiations for her husband's release were not her first experience with captive negotiations. In 1141, Earl Henry of Huntingdon, son of the King of Scotland, travelled with his wife to visit Stephen in England. On his return to Scotland, however, he was captured by the ever-troublesome Earl Ranulf of Chester, who claimed certain Scottish lands-Carlisle and Cumberland-as his by right of inheritance. Matilda intervened on Henry's behalf, and Stephen had him released and returned home. 12 In fact, women of the "Anarchy" era appear to have been able captive negotiatiors. The Empress Matildla, too, was an experienced with captive negotiator. When her son Henry II took one of Thomas Becket's messengers captive and tortured and imprisoned him, it was the Empress Matilda who wrote Henry and demanded the messenger's release.13

Women also had a significant history as hostage and captive ransomers and negotiators outside the context of the Anarchy. This was especially true in the Latin East. There were no public funds from which to get ransom money in the Holy Land, and it was not until the thirteenth century that the vassals of the Latin Kingdom were required to contribute to a king's ransom and vice versa. 4 As a result, the process of

reginae precibus commonitus, ab intentato periculo tutatum eum patri et patriae restituit." Simeon of Durham, Opera Omnia, 2:306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The Empress Matilda, 172.

<sup>14</sup> Vassals without heirs were required to give one percent of their fiefs to the king's ransom, and if necessary, sell land to raise the money. Friedman, Encounters Between Enemies, 78.

ransoming was a private one left up to families.<sup>15</sup> Because men were often at war, the women left behind not only had to manage estates in their male kin's absence, but also were often the only ones available to ransom captives and hostages after battle, as well. This duty often fell to the wife in particular. King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, taken captive in 1123 while patrolling the borders of Edessa, was ransomed through the efforts of his wife, Queen Morphia, with the help of Count Joscelin I of Edessa. Not only did she have to promise a very large amount of money, but she gave up her own daughter, Iveta, as a hostage to guarantee the agreement.<sup>16</sup> Orderic Vitalis also gave her credit for attempting and nearly pulling off a daring rescue of her husband, although no Eastern sources mention her involvement in the plan.<sup>17</sup>

The Battle of Hattin on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1187, in which most of the Latin Kingdom's army was either killed or captured, made many women ransomers. An Old French continuation of William of Tyre reports that although King Guy de Lusignan of Jerusalem negotiated the terms of his own release from captivity, it was Queen Sybilla, who wrote to Saladin to remind him that he needed to release her husband as he had promised after the surrender of Ascalon.<sup>18</sup> Some wives appear to have gone to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This meant that captivities could often last a long time. See below for Reynald de Chatillon's lengthy imprisonment. Ibid., 85.
<sup>16</sup> Joscelin's son and fifteen other people were also given as hostages to secure the bargain. William of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Joscelin's son and fifteen other people were also given as hostages to secure the bargain. William of Tyre reports that when Baldwin paid all the money, his daughter was returned to him. For Morphia's role in the negotiations, see Matthew of Edessa, Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, trans. and intro. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Maryland, 1993), 232-3; William of Tyre, A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey (New York, 1943) 2:21.

Krey (New York, 1943) 2:21.

17 "About this time the queen of Jerusalem, who was an Armenian by birth, sent a hundred trustworthy Armenians in Turkish clothes with Turkish weapons to help her husband. When they reached Kharput [where he was being held with others also captured] they entered the tower and were of great help to the Franks because of their knowledge of the language and the cunning ways of the Turks." OV, 6: 114-15. The rescue attempt was initially successful, but when Balik learned of the escape he chased Baldwin down and recaptured him, although Count Joscelin, who had been in captivity with Baldwin, escaped. William of Tyre, Fulcher of Chartres, and Matthew of Edessa all mention the Armenian rescue attempt, but all of them imply that this adventure was spontaneously conceived by the Armenians themselves. William of Tyre, 1:541-44; Matthew of Edessa, 229-30.

<sup>18 ....</sup> Queen Sybilla, the wife of King Guy, who was in Tripoli, wrote to Saladin to say that he should abide by the agreements that he had made with her husband when he had surrendered Ascalon to him, and that it was high time he released him. Saladin wrote back saying that he would gladly do so. He sent word to Damascus with instructions that they should send him the king and ten captive knights that

extreme lengths to find their missing husbands. Ida, wife of Count Baldwin of Hainaut, unsure of her husband's fate, travelled to the Holy Land in search of him, facing numerous difficulties along the way. According to Gilbert of Mons:

Therefore, it also ought not be passed by in silence that Countess Ida heard about the death of her lord and, as she was uncertain if he had been killed or was being held captive, esteeming God and her husband, she unhesitatingly went to those regions with great effort and heavy expenses. Because of this, she, previously unsure about her husband, returned even more uncertain. This pious wife went often to Rome for the sake of prayer. Accordingly, when she was returning through the Ardennes from a pilgrimage, where we had allods near the church of Saint-Hubert, the count of Chiny attacked her violently, wishing to capture her. She fled to the church of Saint-Hubert where she remained for some time until she could cross safely from there into Hainaut. 19

Ida's willingness to travel all the way to the Latin East to find her husband demonstrates not only the hardships women might endure to find captured husbands, but also the dedication some wives felt towards them. Aristocratic marriages did not have to remain loveless just because they started as arranged unions.

Mothers and sisters, too, bore the brunt of ransoming. Stephanie of Milly, Humphrey IV of Toron's mother—herself a ransomed captive of the siege of Jerusalem—negotiated with Saladin for her son's release from captivity. Stephanie promised Saladin the important crusader castles of Kerak and Montreal in exchange for her son, but the castle garrisons refused to surrender, and Stephanie sent her son back to Saladin. Saladin apparently took pity on her and released him once more. When Louis IX was captured in Egypt in 1250, he empowered his wife to negotiate on his behalf, and she surrendered the city of Damietta to secure his release and the peaceful evacuation of Christian forces. She also undertook the preparations for their departure. When Joscelin III de Courtenay, count of Edessa, was captured and

he would chose." The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation, trans. Peter W. Edbury (Burlington, VT, 1996), 77.

Gilbert of Mons, Chronicle of Hainaut, trans. Laura Napran (Rochester, NY, 2005), 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1987), 468-9.

Joinville and Villehardouin, Chronicles of the Crusade, trans. M.R.B. Shaw (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1963), 249-50.

imprisoned after Nur ad-Din took Edessa in 1164, his ransom was 50,000 dinars. His sister, Agnes, paid his ransom, although she likely had help from the royal treasury, given the large sum. 22 In one particular case, a mother not only negotiated the release of her sons, helping to raise the money for their ransoms, but also served as a hostage in their stead when they went to gather the remaining money.<sup>23</sup>

Women's ransoming efforts were by no means limited to family members, however. Many had political reasons for redeeming others. Maria of Antioch daughter of Constance of Antioch, ruler of Antioch from 1130 onward, and wife to Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus—helped Baldwin IV pay his ransom to Saladin. Her husband Manuel had recently died, and she was serving as regent for her son, Alexius II, so it may be that as a Westerner in a foreign and often hostile court, she was looking for support from the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> Maria also appears to have previously helped in the ransom of Reynald de Chatillon. The ever troublesome Reynald was captured during a raid in 1160 by Muslim forces and was confined at Aleppo. He was finally ransomed by Manuel in 1176 for 120,000 gold dinars—an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> He was released from captivity in 1176. He was unmarried at the time of his capture, so this likely explains his sister's role in ransoming him. William of Tyre, Bk. 21, Ch. 11, pg. 414. Agnes de Courtenay had an interesting life, and her connections to the royal family likely made accessing the royal treasury for her brother possible. Nor was she the only one in her family to have dealt with the imprisonment of a close family member. In 1150, her father, Count Joscelin II of Edessa was captured, blinded, and imprisoned in Aleppo. On hearing of his capture, Agnes's mother, the Countess of Edessa, sold their domains to the Byzantine Empire because she was unable to defend them, and then moved to Antioch. See Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100-1190)" in Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), 143-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Walter of Beirut and two of his brothers (Guy and Bernard) were captured in the 1160s. Walter's mother, however, was not immediately released, and her captivity was used as leverage against Walter. Yvonne Friedman reports as follows: "[Walter's] mother, Maria, administered the lordship in his absences and organized the negotiations for her sons' ransoms. She paid part of the money and freed her sons but had to render herself hostage for the balance. After his return Walter tried to raise the money to liberate his mother. To his chagrin he found not only did the king [Amalric] not contribute to the sum, he actually put pressure in Walter to sell his fief, Beirut, to him, and saw to it that nobody dared to lend the ransomed captive money to pay for his ransom." The brothers eventually sold the lordship to King Amalric, and he paid the remainder of the ransom. She died a month later. Friedman, Encounters Between Enemies, 82-3. Bernard Hamilton, The Leper King and His Heirs (Cambridge 2002), 91. For more on the lords of Beirut, and on this episode, see also Hans Meyer, "The Wheel of Fortune: Seignorial Vicissitudes under Kings Fulk and Baldwin III of Jerusalem," Speculum 65.4 (1990): 860-877.

24 Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs*, pg. 160.

extraordinary sum—due to Reynald's relationship to Maria of Antioch (he was her step-father).25

Women in the West also sent money East to help ransom captives in the Holy Land, sometimes as a charitable act, other times for more specific causes such as the ransom of a friend or family member. This often happened through donations to organizations like the Hospitallers, a charitable and military order in the Holy Land known for its ransoming activities. 26 When Christiana, daughter of Robert of Haifa, became a consoror of the Hospitallers in 1201, she gave them a charter in which she donated money that was to be used in part to ransom captives. The amounts pledged could vary, as could the terms under which the money was given. In 1212, Ferrand de Portugal and his wife Jeanne, count and countess of Flanders and Hainault, gave the Hospitallers 700 livres for the redemption of Gerard of Mons, as long as it was done by Christmas. Rosceline de la Ferté, on the other hand, gave less stipulation, promising rents worth ten livres per annum if they freed her son Gerard.<sup>27</sup> The Spanish Order of Merced also received many donations from women, often-but not always—in conjunction with their husbands. In fact, significant portions of the early success of the Order can be attributed to women and their families' donations. In 1232, Maria, the widow of Guillem Rubió of Barcelona, gave 30 s. in her will to the redemption of captives. Often, land was given to redemptive organizations, whichwhile not used directly for the ransom of captives—demonstrates that women supported their activities. In 1234, the widow of a butcher in Majorca donated two residences for the use of the Mercedarian community there. That same year in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid, 111-2. William of Tyre reports only that Reynald was released "when a large ransom was paid by his friends," but neglects to mention who the friends are. William of Tyre, 2: 414.

26 For a general history of the Hospitallers from the Crusades to the present, see Jonathan Riley-Smith,

Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John (London, 1999). For the role of women in the Hospitallers, see Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson. (Burlington, VT, 2006).

Friedman, Encounters Between Enemies, 200-204.

Gerona, Ferrer de Portell and his wife Escalona created a charter in which they gave all of their houses and vineyards to the Merced community after their deaths. The nobleman Peregrino de Artosilla and his wife donated plowland, a vineyard and several houses to Sarrión in 1242; two years later, Maria of Guissona gave the Order's foundation at Lérida 12 d. The Merced foundation at Santa Maria de Olivar was a family effort. Two charters from 1260 and 1266 name Gil de Artosilla (brother of the above-mentioned Peregrino), his wife, and their two sons as the donors. 28 Such donations continued after the order was firmly established. Women also joined the Mercedarian Order to receive spiritual benefits, an activity that was also often family based. Ferrar de Portell and his wife; Domingo of Teruel, his wife and his mother; and Bonifaci Escribà and his wife are just a few of the many who sought comfort from and association with redemptive orders.<sup>29</sup> While not an activity linked exclusively to women, women desired a connection with ransoming activities and orders in a multiplicity of ways, indicating that these activities held real social and spiritual value for them, a way to express religious belief and piety. As James Brodman has noted, activities like donating money and land for ransoming purposes "preface the foundation of the medieval caritative movement. The impulse to succor the needy...was a manifestation of popular religion." Removed from the church not only because of their status as a part of the laity but also as members of the weaker sex held in suspicion by an largely antagonistic clergy, women may have turned to the redemptive and military orders because they were primarily founded by laymen, despite these orders' often hostile aversion to female associates. The crusading and ransoming Orders themselves seem to have acknowledged a special connection between women and ransoming by their selection of patron saints. Although many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Brodman, 16, 17, 20, 21, 27. <sup>29</sup> Ibid 87-8.

saints of both genders were linked to the orders, the Templars chose the Virgin Mary as their patroness, as did the Teutonic Knights who also had Saint Elisabeth of Thuringia as a major patroness, and the Order of Merced's patrons were Saints Eulàlia and Mary.

Women's efforts to release hostages and captives were not, however, directed only eastward or related to the Crusades. There seems to have been a similar long-standing tradition in the West, as well, a parallel tradition that has previously been unexplored. Family relationships seem to be important to this process. Mothers, sisters, daughters, and wives are all depicted negotiating on their male kinfolk's behalf. It was again at times of crisis, when husbands, sons, or other male relatives were incapacitated, dead, or unavailable to help, that women most often had to step in to negotiate the release of a hostage or captive. After the defeat and death of Earl Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, at the Battle of Evesham on August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1265, his wife, Eleanor—sister of the victorious Henry III of England—was thrust into a negotiating role of extreme importance.<sup>30</sup> While her eldest son, like her husband, had died in battle, her youngest son Guywas alive, injured and in captivity. He was held in Windsor Castle until 1266, but Eleanor seems to have interceded and arranged for his safe passage out of the country and into exile in Bigorre.<sup>31</sup> Queen Gerberga of France

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This was not the first time Eleanor had been at the forefront of politics and war. During her husband's prominence in England, she courted important burgesses of the towns of the Cinque Ports in efforts to gain their support for the baronial cause. Her correspondence, too, was used to help her husband's efforts: in 1265, she frequently wrote, among others, to Richard Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln, a known support of the baronial cause, and Thomas Cantilupe, the baronial chancellor. She was also placed in charge of Dover Castle, one of the most important strategic military castles in England. Margaret Wade Labarge, Mistress, Maids and Men, Baronial Life in the Thirteenth Century (London, 2003), 50-1.

As LaBarge notes, "the responsibility for salvaging any fragment of the Montfort fortunes was hers alone." She also was instrumental in the negotiations that returned the members of her and her husband's household to the good graces of king. Ibid. For Simon de Montfort's life and that of his wife, as well as analysis of their relationship, see J.R. Maddicott, Simon de Montfort (Cambridge, 1995). Of Eleanor, he writes: "If Montfort's energy, ambition and lack of inherited advantages drove him to make his own way forwards, never less than his own man, Eleanor remained very much her own woman, capable, for example, of running a great household, pursuing her family interests in

balanced the fate of both her husband and her sons. In 945, her husband King Louis IV was captured by the Normans. Unable to gain his release on her own, she solicited the help of Duke Hugh the Great, who negotiated Louis's release in exchange for one of Louis's and Gerboga's sons. According to Flodoard, she refused to give up her eldest son Lothair, but sent her younger son Charles along with Guy bishop of Soissons, the son of the count of Anjou.<sup>32</sup> When her husband, the notorious Thomas of Marle, refused to release some merchants he had captured even on his deathbed, it was Milesende and her sons who were left to face the pressure of King Louis the Fat to free them and give up a large part of their wealth.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the most famous case involves Eleanor of Aquitaine's efforts to release her son King Richard of England from his captivity in Germany. On his journey home from the Holy Land, he had been taken prisoner around Christmas 1192 near Vienna, by Leopold V of Austria, who accused Richard of arranging the murder of his cousin Conrad of Montferrat. Leopold then gave Richard to Emperor, Henry VI, who eventually imprisoned him in Trifels Castle. Eleanor personally worked hard to raise the 150,000 mark ransom, going so far as to write the Pope three times to beg for his assistance in releasing her son, and she eventually travelled to Germany herself to help negotiate his release. The Empress Matilda's close relationship with

Angoulême, and bargaining with the king for her rights after her second husband's death. She was King John's daughter to the last." 39.

Flodoard, The Annals of Flodoard of Reims, 919-966, ed. and trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and Steven Fanning (Buffalo, NY, 2004); 42; Richer, Histoire de France (888-995), ed. and trans. [into French] Robert Latouche (Paris, 1930-7), 1:202-5. This event is also discussed at length in the Gesta Normannorum Ducum, which will be discussed below. GND, 1:112-15.

One Richard I, one may start, with John Gillingham's extensive writings with good bibliographies, Richard the Lionheart (New York, 1978); Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Theolith Century, (London, 1994); Richard I (New Haven, 1999)

Twelfth Century, (London, 1994); Richard I (New Haven, 1999).

35 Foedera, Conventiones, Literae ... et Acta Publica, ed. by Thomas Rymer (London, 1704-35) 1:72-8. For English translations, see The Letters of the Queens of England, 1100-1547, ed. Anne Crawford (Dover, NH, 1994), 36-43.

36 Ralph V. Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine in the Government of her Sons Richard and John," in

Ralph V. Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine in the Government of her Sons Richard and John," in Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York, 2002),

her son Henry allowed her to advocate with him for the liberation of his brother, Geoffrey, after his capture by Theobald of Blois sometime in the early 1150s. According to the Deeds of the Lords of Amboise, Theobald required the destruction of the castle of Chaumont-sur-Loire in order to release Geoffrey and the other captives. Henry was originally reluctant to concede because he and his brother had been at odds, but she convinced him otherwise.<sup>37</sup> Queen Eleanor of Provence was instrumental in convincing her husband, King Henry III of England, to release Gaston de Béarn, the leader of the Gascon rebels, whom Simon de Montfort had captured in December 1249.38 Likewise in 1256, she along with her husband provided the money necessary (14,500 marks) to release her brother Thomas of Savoy from prison in Turin. 39 These activities were not limited to queens, either. Beatrice of Roucy, mother of Rotrou II/III of Nogent, who often acted as regent for her son when he was absent, organized the negotiations for his release after his capture in the conflicts between Henry I and Louis VI in 1111-12.40 Likewise, Roger le Poer's mother, Matilda of Ramsbury,41

<sup>85.</sup> Jane Martindale, "Eleanor of Aquitaine: The Last Years," in King John: New Interpretations. ed.

S.D. Church (Woodbridge, UK, 1999), 145-7.

37 Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, 127-31; Marjorie Chibnall, "The Empress Matilda and her Sons," in Medieval Mothering, ed. by John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996)

38 He was apparently Eleanor's relative. CM, 5:103-4. Margaret Howell, Eleanor of Provence, 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> CM, 5:568; translation found in Matthew Paris, *English History*, 1235-1237, 3:165. Margaret Howell, Eleanor of Provence, 143-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Kimberly A. LoPrete, Adela of Blois, 437.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> As Marjorie Chibnall notes, the name "Matilda of Ramsbury" appears to be a later interpolation, and it is not clear that the name was provided by Orderic. She does suggest, though, that this does not mean the identification is incorrect. Also, even in the manuscripts that do not give her name, Roger le Poer's mother is mentioned, clearly indicating Orderic's belief in her presence there. The problem, however, is that none of the sources in England mention her presence; only Orderic, in Normandy, places her at the siege, which makes her actual presence there highly suspect. Even if she was there, clearly his report of her speech is fabricated; he would have had no way of knowing what she had said in surrendering the castle. But even if Orderic's placement of Matilda there is tenuous at best, the fact that he chooses to insert her into the narrative is worth noting for several reasons. First, Orderic does not find it unusual that Matilda would be at a siege defending a castle along with her male peers. Second, he also does not seem to bat an eyelash at the fact that Matilda is the one who decides to save/ransom her son through the surrender of the castle. Third, despite Orderic's lack of shock at Matilda's intervention, he does indicate that her efforts to save her son were unappreciated by her male companions, and this speaks to my argument below concerning the "weakness" of women in negotiating ransoms. OV, 6:533, nt. 2.

medieval historians have a vast array of ecclesiastically-created, and therefore Latin, sources, many of which are used in this study, secular and vernacular literature is much more rare. As Matthew Strickland has lamented, "one is forced to a disproportionate extent to approach the actions and mentality of a warrior nobility through the distorting lens of clerical writers. Whether secular clergy or religious, such authors belonged to a social group which was itself forbidden the use of arms, which had long harbored grave theological reservations about the value of the militia saecularis in the Christian world order, and which all too frequently was the victim of knightly aggression and despoliation." In other worlds, clerical writers, despite familial, political, economic and social connections with the lay world, tended to be highly critical of lay culture and its practices, especially those they deemed violent, a category which included hostage- and captive-taking. To rely solely on ecclesiastical opinion, even those writers, like Orderic Vitalis, who were rather sympathetic to the laity, would skew our understanding of these practices. In this sense using the widest variety of sources makes it possible to get the broadest spectrum of opinions across medieval society as a whole.

Second, it is a naive historian who trusts his or her sources to be objective and report only facts, especially those from the Middle Ages. Authors of all time periods have motives for writing, ideologies to support or refute. As Gabrielle Speigel notes, "Historical writing is a powerful vehicle for the expression of ideological assertion, for it is able to address the historical issues so crucially at stake and to lend to ideology the authority and prestige of the past, all the while dissimulating its status as ideology under the guise of a mere accounting of 'what was." Historical texts here, then,

<sup>9</sup> War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217 (Cambridge, 1996), 7-8.

Gabrielle Spiegel, Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France (Berkeley, 1993), 2.

negotiated the surrender of Devizes in exchange for the ransom of her son. 42

Though wives seem to have borne the bulk of the responsibility to negotiate their husband's release from imprisonment, indicating their previously unexplored importance to the process, their task was far from easy. One of the earliest examples, that of the unnamed wife 43 of Rainer duke of Lorraine 44 comes from the Gesta Normannorum Ducum, where it is told twice. 45 Although the occurrence of this event is debatable, 46 it does suggest that medieval women were responsible for ransoming and negotiating the release of captives. The first version is told by William of Jumièges, who summarizes many of the details provided by the more nearly contemporary Dudo of Saint-Quentin. Rainer, William reports, attacked some Danes and attempted to drive them out of his lands. But he ended up being captured instead and was "thrown into a ship with his feet bound together." Luckily for Rainer, his soldiers had captured twelve Danes in the fight, and they presented these to Rainer's wife, "with the intention that they should be exchanged for their lord." The outcome was successful: "Rainer's wife sent messengers to the Danes and obtained her husband in exchange for a great weight of gold; the Danes whom she held captive were set free."47 The second, expanded version, written by Robert of Torigni,

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 6:532-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Rainer had two wives during his lifetime: Hersende and Alberada.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> William actually calls him "Rainer Longneck, Duke of Hainault and Hesbaye," but this is incorrect. His grandson, Rainer III was called Longneck, and Rainer I was likely never duke of Hainault. His existence, however, is attested in the *Annales Fuldenses*.

existence, however, is attested in the Annales Fuldenses.

45 The Gesta Normannorum Ducum is often repetitive because it is a composite. It was originally written in c. 1070 by William of Jumièges, who based the work on an even earlier source, Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Libri III de moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum, written in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century. The story of Rainer is first told there. The Gesta was then added to by Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Toringi in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> As Eric Christiansen notes in his translation of Dudo's text, the story seems partially to adapt a story of Danish captivity told elsewhere and parodies events in the life of one of Rainer's descendants. This does not mean the story is untrue, however, or devalued as an indicator of acceptable female behavior is any less. Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge, UK, 1998), 190, nt.152.

<sup>47 &</sup>quot;....Rainerius Longi Colli, Hainoensis siue Hasbaniensis dux, cum multitudine graui bellum inferens et eos a terra exturbare cupiens, extinctis suorum quampluribus, ipse uictus capitur compedibusque mancipatus in naui captiuus detruditur. In illa uero pugna a Rainerii militibus .xii. Danorum bellatores capiuntur, quos uxori eius representantes decreuerunt pro eis reciproce suum dominum recipere. Qua

essentially reinserts Dudo's original details, 43 and better indicates the difficulties wives faced. The anonymous Danish attackers are really men of Rollo, the founder of the Norman dynasty. When Rainer's wife, now depicted as extremely distraught at her husband's imprisonment, sends messengers to Rollo begging for her husband's return in exchange for the captured Danes, Rollo at first refuses and threatens violence, saying "I shall not return Rainer to you, but I intend to cut off his head, unless you first return my men and also swear an oath on your Christian faith to give me all the gold and silver of his duchy and in addition the tribute due from your province." Rainer's wife, "distressed by the menacing words," immediately sent the captured men back with all the gold and silver she could find, even "hand[ing] over the precious metal dedicated to sacred altars...." In the end, Rollo, "moved by pity and the humble requests of the suppliants," frees Rainer and makes peace with him, returning to his wife half the goods she had sent. 49 Although the story still has a happy ending—Rainer is set free and Rollo shows generosity—Rainer's wife is forced to scramble to save her husband.

Nor was Rainer's wife the only one to work hard for her captive husband's

denique spe ex toto non sunt frustrati. Nam uxor eius legatos ad Danos mittens et ipsa suum uirum dato pro eo magno auri pondere recepit et Dani qui ab ipsa tenebantur dimittuntur liberi." GND, 1:32-5.

48 Dudo, 33-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Quadam igitur die, Rainerio loco insidiarum clam commorante super Dacos cupiente irruere, Daci eum hinc inde congesti uallauerunt, eum que nimium debellantem manciparunt, uinctum que ad Rollonem duxerunt. Ipsa namque die Raineride, Dacorum ut caperent aliquos, latebris commorantes inuaserunt duodecim milites precipuos Rollonis et constanti uirtute ceperunt. Tunc uxor Rainerii, flens et eiulans super eo, conuocatis principibus suis, misit ad Rollonem, ut pro .xii. comitibus captis redderet sibi suum seniorem. Ilico Rollo, suscepta legatione, remisit ad eam dicens: 'Non reddetur tibi Ranierius, sed decollabitur, nisi reddideris prius meos comites, mihi insuper dederis quicquid auri est et argenti sui ducaminis, cum iuramento Christiane religionis, quin etiam tributum istius regionis.' Mox coniunx Rainerii, lugibri legatione afflicta, comites captos Rolloni remisit, aurumque et argentum quod usquam inuenire potuit. Quin etiam illud quod erat sacris altaribus concessum, pariterque uectigal illius ducaminis, cum iureiurando, quod plus metalli non haberet nec exigere posset; supplicibus ueris et deprecatiuis misit ad Rollonem, ut redderet sibi suum uirem. Ipse autem motus pietate uocibusque pacificis affatur eum: ".....Uxor tua et principes tui quicquid auri et argenti recuperare potuerunt pro te, miserent mihi. Dimidium exaggerati muneris reddam tibi, teque tue remittam uxori. Hinc mansuescens requiesce, et nullatenus sit discordia sed sempiterna inter me et te pax et amicicia.' His dictis, Rainerii crura soluuntur compedibus. Statimque Rollo sibi federatum, muneribusque et donis premaximis ditatum, quin etiam reddita medietate legatorum munerum, ad uxorem suam remisit Rainerium." GND,

release. William of Jumièges reports that Queen Gerberga first asked for help releasing her husband from her father. 50 who refused because he was too involved with his own affairs; she was forced to seek help from Duke Hugh the Great, who freed Louis from the Normans, but kept him imprisoned for another year himself.<sup>51</sup> Orderic Vitalis writes that in 1136 when Frederick of Étampes was "languishing in prison," his pregnant wife, whom he does not name, travelled all the way to Paris to see King Louis and, suffering an injury while riding, "died in a difficult childbirth" shortly thereafter. 52 Jeanne of Flanders, co-ruler of Flanders along with her husband, Ferrand of Portugal, spent nearly thirteen years attempting to negotiate the release of her husband after his capture by King Philip Augustus of France at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214. In 1220, she took out a loan of 34,000 livres from Italian financers, and even sought the help of Pope Honorius III. But neither Philip nor his son Louis would agree to release Ferrand, and it was not until 6 January 1227 that Louis, now Louis VIII of France, at the request of his wife Blanche of Castile liberated Ferrand. 53 The wife of Gruffydd, son of Llywelyn the Great, was forced to travel to London to negotiate his release from captivity. 54 Milesende, Thomas of Marle's wife, was forced after his death to give up "the greatest part of Thomas's treasures" when she released the merchants he had held captive. The release of the hostages, the giving of the large sum of money, and her husband's death while he was the king's captive all imply that she was in position of weakness and forced to make peace with the king at her own and her son's loss. According to a rare surviving hostage exchange agreement,

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Wiliam is actually wrong here; her father, Henry the Fowler had died in 936, well before these events took place. Flodoard, however, mentions an embassy from Gerberga to her brother Otto in 946, and it could be that this is to what William refers. Flodoard, 44.

<sup>51</sup> Richer, 1:206-7. He was held by Count Theobald, the Trickster, of Tours.

<sup>52</sup> OV, 6:476-7

<sup>53</sup> Karen Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," in Aristocratic Women in Medieval France, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), 129

Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999), 129.

54 Gruffydd had been captured by his brother Dafydd in the dispute that had followed the death of their father. When King Henry III of England successfully invaded Wales in 1241, Dafydd was forced to hand over Gruffydd to Henry, who took him back to London and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Gruffydd's wife, Senena, agreed to pay King Henry III six hundred marks for the release of her husband and their eldest son, Owain, so that Henry could hear their land dispute case in court. She handed over her two youngest sons, Dafydd and Rhodri, to the king as hostages in an effort to ensure her part of the bargain, and further promised to maintain the peace between Gruffydd and his brother Dafydd, with whom he had the dispute, once the matter was settled. In the end, however, the negotiations were unsuccessful.<sup>55</sup>

Some women, like Joan, wife of Llywelyn the Great of Wales and illegitimate daughter of King John of England, were well-known for their intercessions on the behalf of hostages and captives and had more success than those mentioned above. Joan was instrumental in the relationship between her father and her husband, which was rocky at best. John was alarmed by Llywelyn's growing power and consolidation of Wales, and they were constantly at war from roughly 1210-11 onward. In 1212, John began an invasion of Wales by hanging Welsh hostages given to him the previous year. He was initially successful, but by 1214 was losing the ground he had gained. At some point during this year, Joan was sent to her father to negotiate, and was able to gain some concessions for the Welsh. In December 1214 at Monmouth, John released four Welsh hostages at her behest, and in January 1215 he surrendered another hostage to her. <sup>56</sup>

But family was not the only reason for women to help in the ransom of captives and the evidence indicates that women may have had a general attraction to involvement in such processes. Lordly obligation, personal sentiment, women's status

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<sup>55</sup> Henry appears not to have kept his part of the bargain and refused to give the two men up. Gruffydd later attempted to escape the tower, but died in the process. Matthew Paris included the entire treaty between Senena and Henry as well as a charter of surety by Roger de Montalt in CM, 4:316-9.

56 Louise J. Wilkinson, "Joan, Wife of Llywelyn the Great," in Thirteenth Century England X, ed. Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell, and Robin Frame (Woodbridge, 2005), 86, note 35. For a more general background on Llywelyn the Great, see R.R. Davies, Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415 (Oxford, 1987).

as diplomats on the national and international scene, and religious motivation all played a role in women's choices to ransom. Because male warriors served in the retinues of female lords and important ladies, when these warriors were captured, the women might make efforts to release their followers. William Marshal, who was ransomed from the harsh captivity was discussed in chapter one, was ransomed by Oueen Eleanor of Aquitaine, in whose retinue he had been travelling and whose safety he had helped guarantee. Impressed by his bravery and chivalry, she retained him in her household until 1170, and then transferred him to her son Henry's household, where he began his remarkable rise to fame. 57 Eleanor, who had herself been held prisoner by her own husband for sixteen years, 58 perhaps felt an affinity with other noble captives. Roger of Howden reports that after the death of her husband, she traveled around the kingdom, ordering the release of prisoners, for "she had learned from her own experience that captivity is troublesome to mankind, and that it is most joyous to the minds to be freed from it."59 This act, however, was for more than personal reasons; it also seems to have been for political purposes. Roger of Howden

<sup>57</sup> David Crouch, William Marshal, 35-7.

<sup>58</sup> She had joined and probably instigated the rebellion of her sons against her husband. <sup>59</sup> Interim Alienor regina ... reginalem curiam circum ducens, de civitate in civitatem et de castello in castellum, sicut ei placuit, profecta est, et missis legatis per universos comitatus Angliae, praecepit captivos omnes a carceribus et captionibus liberos reddi pro anima Henrici domini sui: ut a propria persona sua argumentum eliceret, captiones molestas esse hominibus, et jocundissimam animae refocillationem ab ipsis emergere. Praeterea praecepit, ex mandato ducis filii sui, quod omnes qui capti fuerant pro foresta liberarentur quieti, et ut omnes uthlegati pro foresta ad pacem redirent de praecedentibus forisfactis forestae quieti, et ut omnes alii qui capti fuerant, et retenti per commune volluntatem regus, vel justitae ejus, qui non errant retenti per commune rectum comitatus vel hundredi, vel per appellationem, essent quieti; et illi qui per commune rectum sunt retenti, si plegios invenire possunt standi ad rectum, si quis adversus eos loqui voluerit, liberentur, sin autem juramentum praestant standi ad rectum si quis adversus eos loqui voluerit, per tantum liberentur: et illi qui per appellationem sunt retenti pro quacunque turpi causa, si plegios standi ad rectum invenire possunt, ut plenum inde fiat, liberentur: et illi qui uthlegati sunt per commune rectum sine appellatione, per justitias redeant ad pacem, ita quod plegios inveniant standi ad rectum, si quis versus eos loqui voluerit. Si autem per appellationem retenti sunt, si fecerint pacem cum adversariis suis, redeant ad pacem: et omnes illi qui retenti sunt per appellationem illorum qui se malefactores esse cognoscunt, liberentur quieti, et illi malefactores, quibus pro suis probationibus concessa sunt membra et vita, abjurent terram domini Ricardi et abscedant: et illi malefactores qui sine concessione vitae et membrorum alios appellant propria voluntate, in prisone custodiantur, donec aliud inde habeatur consilium." Roger of Howden, Chronica, 3:4-5.

pairs Eleanor's actions with an oath of loyalty to the new king, Eleanor's son Richard. Henry died while at war with his sons, and it may have been that, in light of Richard's recent rebellion, Eleanor felt the need to help her son solidify his new reign and the loyalty of his new subjects by demonstrating his clemency and settling any domestic unrest that may have resulted from the recent war. The specific references to abuses of forest law, common law, and outlawry in Howden's text also suggest that Eleanor was correcting the perceived legal "abuses" of her husband, particularly those concerning unjust imprisonment without proper recourse to the law or courts. Her actions in progressing through the kingdom may also have been coordinated in conjunction with Richard's settling of foreign disputes; at the time of Eleanor's release of the prisoners, Richard was in France making peace with the French king. 61

Evidence from the life of Queen Eleanor of Castile also suggests that queens in particular may have been associated with ransoming for political reasons, especially in diplomatic situations, and once again suggests the blending of domestic, national and international concerns within the role of queen. In 1288, while her husband Edward I negotiated the release of the prince of Salerno, Charles II of Naples, from captivity at the hands of the King Peter III of Aragon, Eleanor prepared lodging for the prince and kept his wife, Maria of Hungary, informed of the negotiation's progress. 62 In both of the Eleanors' cases, it can be seen again how monarchy split into kingship and queenship creates a false dichotomy. Both Eleanors used the release of hostages and captives to solidify the domestic or international authority of the monarchy in which

<sup>60 &</sup>quot;Et praecepit, quod unusquisque liberorum hominum totius regni jurasset, quod fidem portabit domino Ricardo regi Angliae, filio domini regis Henrici, et dominae Alienor reginae, de vita et membris suis, et honore terreno, sicut ligio domino suo, contra omnes homines et foeminas qui vivere possunt et mori, et quod ei justitiabiles erunt, et auxilium ei praestabunt ad pacem et justitiam suam per omnia servandam." Ibid., 5.

1 Ibid., 3-4.

<sup>62</sup> John Carmi Parsons, Eleanor of Castile, 46. The Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-89, contain the relevant documents.

they shared as mother and wife. As Queen Mother and Queen, the Eleanors were one source of power and authority within the larger framework of monarchy that could be called upon to settle hostage and captive situations.

Saint Margaret of Scotland, wife of King Malcolm III of Scotland, was also known as a mass ransomer of captives and hostages like Eleanor of Aquitaine, going so far as to send out emissaries in search for them. Her motivations, however, seem to have been cast as religious and patriotic rather than political. Her *vita*, written for her daughter Queen Matilda of Scotland, wife of King Henry I of England, praises her for her efforts:

Who, moreover, would be able to calculate the numbers of those captives from the Anglo-Saxon nation for whom she paid ransom? How often and how freely would she restore to liberty those who had been reduced to slavery by the violence of the enemy! For she had sent out her secret explorers throughout the provinces of Scotland so that she could find out which captives were enduring the harshest conditions or who were treated more inhumanly than others, and these spies would secretly report back to her where the captives and by whom they were being maltreated, and she, who empathized with them from the bottom of her heart, hastened to restore liberty to the ones she had redeemed. 63

Margaret's vita may have even further significance than simply recording her pious deeds. Because it was written for her daughter, another queen, it may have had a didactic purpose. Lois Huneycutt argues that her vita "shaped Matilda's own ideas about what it meant to be England's queen" and that "much of her conception of her own office grew out of the example, both real and literary, of her mother." She further suggests that "literary representations of both Margaret and Matilda helped create an ideal of queenly behavior that contributed to the development of queenship in the later twelfth century and beyond." Given the importance of captive ransoming in the vita

<sup>63</sup> From the translation of the Life of Saint Margaret found in Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Rochester, NY, 2003), 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Lois L. Huneycutt, "The Idea of the Perfect Princess: The Life of St. Margaret in the Reign of Matilda II (1100-1118)," Anglo-Norman Studies 12 (1989): 81-97; for the quotes, see idem., Matilda of Scotland, 4.

and the number of later queens associated with ransoming, the evidence supports the theory that such activities were considered an integral part of the office of queenship.

Nor was Margaret the only saintly queen to ransom captives. The tradition seems to have gone back well into the early Middle Ages. According to the *Vita Sanctae Balthildis*, Queen Balthild of Neustria, a 7<sup>th</sup> century Anglo-Saxon saint and wife of King Clovis, ransomed captives in memory of her own experiences in captivity as a young girl. Her *vita*, written shortly after her death in 680, revised in the ninth century, states that she:

prohibited the sale of captive Christian folk to outsiders and gave orders through all the lands that no one was to sell captive Christians within the borders of the Frankish realm. What is more, she ordered that many captives should be ransomed, paying the price herself. And she installed some of the captives she released and other people in monasteries, particularly as many men and women of own people as possible and cared for them. For as many of them as she could persuade thereto, she commended to holy communities and bade they might pray for her. 66

Saints could also perform the miracle of freeing captives after their death. Both Henry of Huntingdon and Orderic Vitalis write of the seventh century English saint and queen Etheldreda<sup>67</sup> freeing Bricstan, a man imprisoned at the behest of Ralph Basset in 1115. According to Orderic's lengthier tale, Bricstan, "unjustly laden with iron fetters of excessive weight" for a crime he did not commit, prayed constantly to

Balthild was not the only sainted Frankish queen to have been a captive as a young woman. Radegund, daughter of the Thuringian king Berthaire, suffered a similar fate. She was brought up by her uncle Hermanfred, who had murdered her father. In 531, the Franks invaded, and she was captured and taken back to Francia as part of the spoils. She eventually became the wife of her captor, King Clothaire I. She, too, is associated with the freeing of captives, although not strictly war-related captivity. Instead, her miracle was the freeing of criminals from fetters. Her vita reports: "Once at her villa in Péronne, while that holiest of women was strolling in the garden after her meal, some sequestered criminals loudly cried to her from the prison for help. She asked who it might be. The servants lied that a crowd of beggars were seeking alms. Believing that, she sent to relieve their needs. Meanwhile the fettered prisoners were silenced by a judge. But as night was falling and she was saying

her prayers, the chains broke and the freed prisoners ran from the prison to the holy woman. When they witnessed this, those who had lied to the holy one realized that they were the real culprits, while the erstwhile convicts were freed from their bonds." Jo Anne McNamara, ed., Sainted Women of the Dark Ages (Durham, NC, 1992), 74-5.

<sup>67</sup> Henry of Huntingdon calls her Saint Æthelthryth. She died in 679.

St. Etheldreda and St. Benedict to free him. She appeared to him with St. Benedict and her sister St. Sexaburga and freed him of his chains, an act considered so miraculous by contemporaries that Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I and daughter of the aforementioned Queen Margaret, had the broken chains placed at St. Etheldreda's church in Elv. 68

Although none of the basic Christian law books mention ransoming as a religious duty, Christian tradition designated the ransoming of captives a "meritorious deed of charity." It was also sometimes considered one of the seven good works expected of Christians. As such, pious women like Saints Margaret and Balthild<sup>69</sup> may have wanted to perform this duty, because as with other acts of charity, a visitor to a captive was visiting Christ himself.<sup>70</sup> Further, both Margaret and Balthild were also of Anglo-Saxon heritage, and Balthild had spent a good deal of time in Francia. Given the frequency of Viking attacks on Anglo-Saxon and Frankish lands as well as the reputation of St. Margaret's husband, Malcolm, for capturing and enslaving the English during raids that would have made captivity and the slave trade a harsh reality for the English and Frankish people, the suggestion in their vitae that they ransomed captives has a ring of truth in it. The association of Etheldreda and Sexaburga with miracles of freeing captives also perhaps implies that it may have been part of a larger Anglo-Saxon hagiographic tradition for female saints.

<sup>68</sup> OV, 3: 350-359; HH, 662-3.

It should be noted here that saintly ransoming was not limited to these women, nor to women at all. Many saints were associated with ransoming. Saints Raymond Nonnatus, John of Matha, Dominic of Silos, Felix of Valois, and others were all known to have ransomed captives. These particular saints were also associated with founders of monastic orders specifically created to ransom captives. Other saints were associated with the miracle of freeing captives from prison. See Michael E. Goodich, "The Miraculous Military Escape in Canonization Documents," in Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography (Brookfield, VT, 2004).

Yvonne Friedman, Encounter Between Enemies, 2-4.

## Intercessor or Impediment, Loving Mother or Betrayer of Family? The Context and Meaning of Women's Ransoming

Women had, then, the capacity to ransom captives and hostages. And on many occasions they actually actually did so. This prompts some questions about possible connections with the roles that medieval women played and some of the ways contemporaries conceptualized the nature of medieval women. One of the first is the role of women as intercessors. Ransoming is a subset of intercession; to ransom someone, one needs to intercede on that person's behalf and then try to gain their freedom through an exchange of goods or money. The connection between these two activities is highlighted by Eleanor of Aquitaine's intercessory letters to the Pope on behalf of her captive son. Queens in particular were known as intercessors throughout the Middle Ages, depicted as capable of softening the king's heart and improving his reign, 71 which may explain the high proportion of ransomers who were queens. Their proximity to the king as queens and wives<sup>72</sup> and their positions outside the "official" avenues of political power made them valuable resources for those seeking favors. As Lois Huneycutt has remarked, "The ability to intercede with the king and to influence his actions assured the medieval queen of her status within the court and kingdom, and medieval women cultivated and embraced this ability."73

<sup>71</sup> This role of intercessor was not without its problems for queens, however, nor were intercessory queens always seen as benevolent benefactresses. As John Carmi Parsons notes, intercession potentially gave queens an extraordinary power, and "if the queen could channel patronage in a certain direction she might also obstruct it, a diversion of royal largess that was bound to cause resentment among those who thought themselves entitled to the king's bounty." The Tewkesbury annalist, for example, on one occasion, called Eleanor of Provence's intercession with her husband "serpent-like fraud." Annales Monastici, 1:177; "The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England," in Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women, ed. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth Maclean (Chicago, 1995), 152; Margaret Howell, "Royal Women of England and France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century: A Gendered Perspective," in England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272), ed. Björn K.U. Weiler and Ifor W. Rowlands (Burlington, VT, 2002), 170-2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See Sharon Farmer's "Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives," Speculum 61:3 (1986): 517-43, for the ability of women to use their status as wives and the intimacy associated with it to persuade their husbands to action.

Lois Huneycutt, Matilda of Scotland, 82-3.

serve a dual function: to glean historical data and to ponder authorial choice and beliefs.

Third, while many historians, especially military historians, tend to question the value of more literary sources in the study of military history, despite the intervening layers of motif and convention, medieval fictional texts reflect medieval societal values and norms, even if they takes the form of an extravagant panegyric, venomous critique, or imagined vision of the past that bordered on fantasy world. In the past, courtly literature and the social values it contains, in particular, have been consigned to the realm of the "ideal," while more historical or "non-fiction" documents are said to represent some sort of "reality." But as Stephen Jaeger indicates, this has led scholars to dismiss courtly literature's value as a source for thinking about and analyzing medieval society. Courtly literature is "banished to a detached aesthetic existence with no ties to the other category, 'the real." Courtly literature, however, for all its "enchantments, wizards, dragons, noble combats, and sublime affairs" was not just "a fanciful overlay of disengaged discourse beneath which reality could go on its dreary way." It had "an agenda of social change." 11 This, too, is true, of vernacular histories; as Gabrielle Spiegel has suggested for thirteenth-century French versions, they "represent the aspirations and anxieties of the French aristocracy responsible, by its patronage, for their creation." All texts, she argues, "occupy determinate social spaces, ...with which they entertain often complex and contestatory relations." Like Jaeger and Spiegel, then, this study attempts to draw from the largest possible body of documentation as possible with the

Stephen Jaeger, "Courtliness and Social Change," in Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 289-90, 308-9.
 Gabrielle Spiegel, Romancing the Past, 6. Laurie Finke and Martin Shichtman make a similar argument to Speigel's concerning English vernacular chronicles. "The Mont St. Michel Giant: Sexual Violence and Imperialism in the Chronicles of Wace and Layamon" in Violence Against Women in

Medieval Texts, ed. Anna Roberts (Gainsville, Fl, 1998), 56-74.

13 Gabrielle Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," Speculum 65 (1990), 77.

As time passed, the role of the "queen as intercessor" became increasingly defined and acquired biblical overtones, from both the Old and New Testaments. The image of the Old Testament Queen Esther, who interceded with her Persian husband and saved the Jewish people from destruction, was quite popular. The use of Esther and other biblical women like Judith can be found in early Frankish ordines, <sup>74</sup> and remained popular well into the 13<sup>th</sup> century. At the coronation of Eleanor of Provence, for example, the prayers exhorted her not only to be fertile, but also to be like Queen Esther, stressing the importance of a queen's ability to intercede with husband for the needs of the people. Motherhood and its nurturing aspects, in particular, were linked with intercession, <sup>75</sup> especially in the English tradition. John Carmi Parsons has noted that there was "a close connection between a queen's intercession and maternity that was mapped explicitly for an English king's wife at the moment she became queen. Intercession and childbearing were the two functions of her office upon which her coronation ordo dwelled most intently." Queens also made appeals for favor or pardon right after childbirth.

As a result, sources of the time also often evoked the image of the Virgin Mary interceding with her Son on the behalf of sinners. Mary was one of the primary models for both literary and real motherhood, 77 and her intercession was directly constructed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Janet Nelson, "Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship," in Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Rochester, NY, 1997). For editions of the French ordines, see Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages, ed. Richard A. Jackson (Philadelphia, 1995-2000). Volume One contains the ordines through 1200.

This may reflect the fact that medieval mothers and sons often shared a particularly close relationship. As Charlotte Newman notes, "The relationship between the noble mother and the heir differed from that between her and her husband or between him and the heir. This difference may have been a product of a difference in ages. [David] Herlihy has argued that the age gap between husband and wife may have placed her in an arbiter's position between father and heir. In age, she was, after all, approximately half way between generations." Newman, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> See Clarissa W. Atkinson, The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages (Ithaca, NY, 1991), Chapter 4, for the importance of Mary as a "mother."

around the nursing breast or on baring her breast as she interceded, 78 which may explain the appearance of breasts in descriptions of intercession.<sup>79</sup> More directly, Mary was also associated with the rescue of children in danger, particularly hostages, in many collections of her miracles. According to Jacobus de Voragine's version in the Golden Legend, a popular 13th century collection of saints' lives, a distressed mother's only son was captured and put in chains. She prayed to Mary to save her child. When Mary appears not to help, the mother steals the image of the Christ Child, refusing to return Him until Mary helps her, which Mary then does. 80 The miracle story neatly details many aspects of women's involvement in hostage and captiveship: not only are both women mothers, but the mother is a hostage taker, and Mary serves as an intercessor and hostage rescuer.

The fact that the same relationships found within the images of female intercessors (mother/son, wife/husband) are mimicked in the relationships found in hostage and captive negotiations involving women further indicates the connection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> John Carmi Parsons, "The Pregnant Queen as Counselor and the Medieval Constructions of Motherhood," in Medieval Mothering, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1996), 55.

79 See below for examples.
125 The stor

<sup>80</sup> Atkinson, 135. The story in the Golden Legend, goes as follows: "A woman who had lost her husband had her only son, whom she loved tenderly, for consolation. It happened, however, that the son was captured by enemies and imprisoned in chains. When she heard this, she wept inconsolably, and prayed incessantly to the Blessed Virgin, to whom she was much devoted, to obtain her son's liberation. Then, seeing that her prayers were not answered, she went alone into a church where there was a sculptured image of the Blessed Mary, and, standing in front of the image, she addressed it in these terms: 'O Virgin blessed. I have often asked you for the liberation of my son, and so far you have not come to the aid of this pitiable mother. I have sought your patronage for my son and see no return for my prayers. Therefore, as my son has been taken away from me, I will take your Son away from you and hold him in custody as a hostage for mine.' She then went up and took the image of the Child from the Virgin's lap, went home with it, wrapped it in spotless cloths, and hid it in a cupboard, which she locked carefully. Thus she could rejoice at having a good hostage for her son and guarded it closely. The following night the Blessed Virgin appeared to the young man and opened the door of the prison. She told him to get up and leave and said: 'Son, you will tell your mother to give my Son back. to me as I have given hers back to her.' The youth walked out, went to his mother, and told her how the Virgin had set him free. Overjoyed, she took the image of the Child, went to the church, and returned her Son to Mary, saying, 'I thank you, my lady, for restoring my only son to me, and now I return your Son to you, because I acknowledge that I have received my own." Jacobus de Voragine, 2:155. The Latin can be found in Legenda Aurea, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 527.

between the two roles. The language used in the texts about female ransomers highlights the importance of these relationships. Roger le Poer's mother chooses to surrender the citadel of Devizes to free her son, saying that she "gave birth to him, and it can never be right for me to cause his destruction; instead I should offer my life in exchange for his if necessary."81 Eleanor of Aquitaine's letters to the Pope concerning her son Richard's captivity in Germany likewise evoke her role as a mother grieving for the loss of her son. Although her pleas come from a concern for the fate of England, the image that is repeated over and over is that it is her son, not just the King of England, who is imprisoned. She calls herself a "pitiable mother" in both letters, and in the second "a mother so wretched," an "ill-fated mother," and says that what she most wants to see is "the face of her son." One may argue that these is mere rhetoric, but this within itself is significant for it implies that it was a proper motif for women to employ or a role that could assume. In fact, the choice not to ransom was seen as a sign of bad motherhood. Matthew of Paris reports that Margaret of Flanders refused to ransom her own children from their half-brother (also her son), John

d'Avesnes. Calling her "cruel" and a "second Medea," Matthew writes:

It happened afterwards that John of Avesnes, son of the aforementioned countess, took her two sons, also his uterine half-brothers, prisoner by lying in ambush. Pleased, he took them into close custody, hoping through them to make peace with his mother. He sent her a letter through messengers he thought would be agreeable, saying: 'Dear mother, if you do not wish to have pity on me, at least pity your sons, my uterine brothers, whom I hold in chains, and consent to a peace advantageous to you.' To this, she said: 'My sons, your brothers, are in your hands; I will not be deflected because of them. They are exposed to your will and pleasure. Slaughter them, ferocious butcher, and devour them, one boiled in pepper, and the other roasted with garlic.' Because

<sup>81 &</sup>quot;Turgido nepote cum sius asseclis in rebellione pertinaciter persistente, et irato rege ut prefatus Rogerius patibulo mox suspenderetur iubente, meticulosa mater luctuosam prolis conditionem audiens prosiluit, et pro filio sollicita dixit, 'Ego peperi [illum] nec ullatenus debeo eius promereri interitum, sed si sic necesse est ipsum debeo per meum saluare obitum.' Protinus regi nuncium destinauit, et pro redemptione inimicorum ualidam munitionem quam tenebat obtulit." OV, 6:532-4.

82 Foedera, vol. 1, 72-8. The Letters of the Queens of England, 36-43.

these offensive words passed to many, much shame was brought upon all women, especially mothers.83

While Margaret's offer to let John eat his half-brothers was surely at worst a polemical squib and very likely an invented slur, Matthew uses this imagery to highlight Margaret's failure to act as a mother should and ransom her children.

Many female intercessions came during wartime, a fact which strengthens the connection between intercession and ransoming, which was often a war related activity. Matilda of Scotland, Henry I of England's first wife, was known as a great intercessor, and the charters of the reign demonstrate the influential way she shaped her husband's policies. 84 Jeanne of Valois, countess of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault and sister of King Philip VI of France, made at least two attempts at peacemaking during the Hundred Years War: once on the eve of its eruption, and once at the end of the first phase of the war. She was more successful on the second attempt: she is credited with bringing about the 1345 Truce of Esplechin. 85 During the Anarchy, Queen Matilda played the role of intercessor on multiple occasions, reconciling her husband with Kind David of Scotland, Count Thierry of Flanders, and Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, among others. 86 Eleanor of Provence took the role of intercessor very seriously, intervening on the behalf of others with both her husband and her son, Edward I. 87 Even long dead queens might intercede for peace's sake.

Roger de Howden reports that William the Lion of Scotland prayed at the tomb of his

<sup>83&</sup>quot; Contigit postea, quod J[ohannes] de Avennis, filius comitissae memoratae, positis insidiis cepit duos filios ejusdem comitissae, fratres scilicet suos, sed tantum uterinos, et in custodia tuta fecit reservari laetabundus, sperans per eos matrem ad pacis unitatem revocare, dicens ei per scriptum et nuntios quos plus credidit gratiosos, 'Cara mater, si mei non vis, saltem filiorun tuorum fratrum meorum uterinorum, quos in vinculis teneo, miserere, et paci consenti tibi fructuosae.' Cui, illa 'Filii mei fratres tui in manu tua sunt; non flectar propter eos; voluntati et arbitrio tuo exponuntur. Macta eos, carnifex truculente. Et unum eorum coctum elixum devora piperatum, et alium assatum et alleatum.' Quod verbi offendiculum in multorum faucibus ad omnium mulierum, praecipue matrum, obprobrium volvebatur."

Huneycutt, Matilda of Scotland, passim.

<sup>85</sup> Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, "Jeanne of Valois: The Power of a Consort," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York, 2003).

Tanner, "Queenship, Office, Custom, or Ad Hoc?" passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Margaret Howell, Eleanor of Provence, passim.

ancestress, Margaret of Scotland, before a planned invasion of England in 1199. She came to him in a dream and warned him of the futility of his plans, and following her advice, he abandoned them.88

Nor were queens the only ones who could intercede with kings for peacemaking purposes. Eleanor of Provence, for example, was not the only lady attested to have appealed to Henry III's mercy: his sister Eleanor de Montfort, his sister-in-law Sanchia, his daughters, and two ladies not directly connected with the royal family— Alice de Warenne and Alice de Lacy-are all known to have interceded with him. 89 Countess Adela of Blois was also recognized as an arbiter of peace in the turbulent counties of Blois and Champagne, not only managing to mediate between her own lords, but also internationally between her brother Henry I of England and her husband. Furthermore, she attempted with some success to reconcile Ivo of Chartres with Louis of France. 90 Her correspondence with Ivo reveals a women not only acting for peace for her family, but also for the general peace of the broader Anglo-Norman world. Intercession, and by extension, ransoming, too, were ways in which women could shape war and politics.

Women in hostage and captive ransoming narratives are also consistently depicted as emotionally overwrought under the pressure of the negotiations, tapping into the larger medieval motif of women as over-emotional. Rainer's wife was "weeping and wailing" when she heard of her husband's capture, and "distressed" by Rollo's threat against her husband's life. Roger le Poer's mother, also described as "distressed" by the "wretched plight of her son," immediately chooses to surrender the castle of Devizes and, as noted above, claims her life should be given in exchange for

Huneycutt, Matilda of Scotland, 12.
 Howell, Margaret of Provence, passim.
 Kimberly A. LoPrete, Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c. 1067-1137) (Dublin, 2007).

his. 91 Guibert of Nogent's mother, upon hearing of her husband's capture, was "struck down half dead with wretched sorrow," refused to eat or drink, and had a hard time sleeping due to her "despairing anxiety." William of Malmesbury does not characterize Mabel of Gloucester as a weepy woman, but he does remark that her affection for her husband plays a part in how she proceeds with the negotiations for his release. She agrees to exchange King Stephen for Robert "on account of her longing for her husband" ["pre desiderio uiri sui"] 33 and "from a wife's affection [was] the more eager for his release" ["in eius liberationem coniugali caritate propensior"]. 44 The Gesta Normannorum Ducum's version of the tale of Queen Gerberga's ransom of her husband Louis IV, more detailed than the earlier versions of Flodoard and Richer, also portrays her as under stress and an emotional woman. "Full of anxiety" ["consternata animo"] she "swiftly" ["celerrime"] sought out her father and "begged" ["orans"] him for help; when he refused, she "hurried" back to France ["concite reuertitur"] and "implored" ["postulat"] Duke Hugh the Great "to help rescue her husband."

Women in literary texts are also portrayed as using emotion to free captives.

But depicted here is a different image: that of a woman using the power of emotions for her own purposes. In *The Romance of Reynard the Fox*, a popular satirical story of a fox who constantly gets in trouble, yet manages to escape serious punishment,

Reynard's wife Hermeline and her sons come to his rescue:

He [Reynard] was on the point of being hanged, when the king looked down

across the plain and saw a great cavalcade full of distressed women; and there was Reynard's wife galloping through the clearing. She was coming at top speed, distraught with grief. His three sons, themselves sorely lamenting, were not hanging back. They were rending and tearing at their hair, ripping their clothes to shreds, and making such a loud hullabaloo that they could be heard a

<sup>92</sup> Self and Society in Medieval France, 69.

<sup>91</sup> OV, 6:532-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> One version of the text adds "beloved" ["dilecti"] before husband.

<sup>94</sup> HN, 116-17.

<sup>95</sup> GND, 1:112-35.

league away. Theirs was not a leisurely advance: on the contrary, they were riding at a great pace and bringing with them a packhorse laden down with valuables as a ransom for Reynard. .... [T]hey burst through the throng and came pell-mell to fall at the king's feet. The lady thrust herself to the fore to be first to fling herself down: 'Have mercy on my husband, sire, in the name of the Creator, God the Father! I will give you all this wealth, if you will deign to have pity on him.' King Noble eyed the treasure before him that consisted of silver and gold. Being very greedy for wealth, he said: 'By the faith I owe you, lady, Reynard's not in my good books, for his crimes against my vassals have been of an indescribable enormity. I must therefore take vengeance on him; and seeing that he makes no amends for his wrongdoing, he has deserved to be hanged. All my lords tell me to hang the brigand from the gallows; indeed, if I keep my word to them he will soon suffer the penalty.' -'Sire, by God in whom you believe, pardon him this once!' The king replies: 'By the love of God, for your sake I give him pardon on this occasion; and he will be restored to you on the condition that the first time he misbehaves again, he will be hanged.' –'I agree sire,' says she, 'and I'll never plead for him again.'

Although Hermeline is depicted as being as frantic and desperate as the women depicted above, her actions reflect a much more cunning approach to ransoming a captive. She uses the public nature of her husband's hanging to perform a submission and present the king with ransom money. She makes an offer that it is hard for King Noble, despite his justified anger at Reynard, to refuse. By doing so, she places him under significant pressure to free her husband. But she also provides him with the opportunity to seem magnanimous by freeing an obvious felon in an act of ostentatious public generosity towards a distraught wife. The performance is politically beneficial to both parties.

Guiborc, the formerly pagan, now Christian, wife of William of Orange, is also a useful example. In the *Chanson de Guillame*, William returns home from the battle that led to the death of his beloved nephew Vivien and meets his wife.

Exhausted and mourning, he recounts his losses to Guiborc at the gate of the castle as means of identifying himself to her as her husband. But as they are standing there, Guiborc notices a pagan army:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> The Romance of Reynard the Fox, trans. D.D.R. Owen (Oxford, 1994), 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> When her husband had left her for battle, he had left her alone, and she is cautious about letting a man girded in pagan weapons who may or may not be her husband into the castle.

Guiborc looked along a metalled road and saw seven thousand armed pagans coming. They were returning from a raid on sweet France where they had laid waste to St. Martin of Touraine: they had smashed down the highest pinnacle. They were leading a hundred prisoners in chains; they often beat them with heavy sticks and clubs, with scourges and flails. Guiborc saw them; she began to cry: 'If you were William Hooknose holy Christendom would be rescued, as well as the booty those swine are carrying off.' 'Ha!' said the count, 'I never heard the like! She really wants to try me. Whether I live or die I must go that way! '98

William, whom the pagans believe to be their king, catches them by surprise, kills several of them, and forces them to flee, leaving their prisoners and booty behind. He then presents the booty to the prisoners. 99 Guiborc also expresses repeated grief when William recounts the capture of several of his men at the battle from which he has just returned. When William is ready to give up and flee rather than rescue them, it is she who encourages William to go to the Emperor Louis and ask for aid to defend Orange and fight the pagans. 100 Guiborc's actions on both these occasions are not solely concerned with the freeing of captives; they are also clearly linked with the wifely role of motivator of her husband to do what is right and noble, and as a guardian of her husband's knightly and warrior virtue. Although her actions are not as direct as those of Mabel, Rainer's wife, or Roger le Poer's mother, she, too, seeks ways to help captives in need of rescuing even when her husband appears unwilling to do so. She uses emotion to manipulate her husband into helping those he does not really wish to help.

The link between emotion, women, family, honor, the power to manipulate, and the freeing of captives and hostages is more than a mere literary motif, however.

<sup>98 &</sup>quot;Guiburc regarde tut un chemin ferré, / si veit venir set mille paiens armez. / De dulce France reirent de preier, / de saint Martur de Turoine gaster: / le maistre cumble en unt acraventé. / Si ameinent cent chaitifs enchainé; / sovent les batent od fustz et od tinels, a lur excurges et a lur flagulers. / Veit Guiburc; comence a plurer: / "se vus fuissez Willame al curb niés, / ja fust escuse sainte crestientez, / et cele preie qu'i eminent cels lecchers." / "A!" dist le cunte, "unc mas n'oi tel! / Tut veirement me volt experimenter. / U moer u vive, la m'estoet aler!" / Dunc point et broche a le destrer abrivé; / cil curt plus tost que oisel ne pot voler." La Chanson de Guilliame, ed. and trans. Philip E. Bennet (London, 2000), ln. 2259-75.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., In. 2276-2298.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., In. 2337-2377; 2381-2453.

Women are not only depicted using emotion or as being emotional in such situations, but actively present themselves as emotional and purposefully use emotion as a means to convince others to help them in their ransoming efforts. Eleanor of Aquitaine's letters to the pope concerning her son Richard's captivity in Germany repeatedly highlight her grief and frantic emotional state. They demonstrate her frustration and emotion over Richard's capture and the ravages England suffered as a result. In the first letter, she asks the pope to "listen to the cry of the afflicted, for our troubles have multiplied beyond number," describes herself as possessing "a fullness of heart and a passionate grief," and calls the pope the "comforter of those who mourn and those who grieve." In the second, she writes graphically of her pain, extensively documenting her suffering and emotional state:

I am all anxiety, both within and without and as a result my words are full of suffering. There are fears which can be seen, but hidden are the disputes, and I cannot take one breath free from the persecution of my troubles and the grief caused by my afflictions, which beyond measure have found me out. I have completely wasted away with torment and with my flesh devoured, my bones have clung to my skin. My years have passed away full of groans and I wish they could pass away altogether. I wish that the blood of my body, already dead, the brain in my head and the marrow of my bones would dissolve into tears, so much so that I completely melt away with sorrow. [...] Mother of mercy, look upon a mother so wretched, or else if your Son, an unexhausted source of mercy, requires from the son the sins of the mother, then let him exact complete vengeance on me....

She goes on to accuse the pope of inaction. "My son is tortured in chains," she writes, "but you do not go down to him, you do not send anyone, you are not even moved by the sorrow that moved Joseph. ...Legates have been promised to us three times, yet have not been sent." Emotion here becomes a rhetorical tool, and a position which initially appears weak becomes powerful through its suggestion that somehow the pope is failing in his duty. Such pleas seem to have worked precisely because they evoked pity in the men at whom they were directed. Eleanor was eventually

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Foedera, 1:72.

<sup>102</sup> Foedera, 1:74-5.

successful in securing the release of her son, although it took over a year. Likewise, according to Dudo and Robert of Torigni, Rollo had reportedly been moved by the pleas of Rainer's wife (as well as by the gold and silver) to release Rainer.

Women used emotional pleas based on their role within the family outside of hostage and captive taking situations as well. References to it in these contexts thus may be part of a larger trend in medieval literature and historical writing about women and warfare. In particular, such pleas are linked with women's instigation of war or peace-making efforts, and often highlight the relationships between mothers and sons and wives and husbands just as the roles of intercessor and ransomer do. Hostage and captive situations, then, can help illuminate such situations more thoroughly. Once again, women use a perceived emotional weakness within themselves in order to shift the burden of action upon the person with whom they interact. The Gesta Stephani recounts how Baldwin de Redvers' wife begged King Stephen to lift his siege of Exeter Castle in 1136. According to the Gesta's author, Baldwin's wife "came to the king to offer entreaty on their behalf, barefooted, with her hair loose on her shoulders, and shedding floods of tears." Although Stephen apparently felt sympathy for Baldwin's wife "on account of the pity he felt for one of her sex in such wretched affliction," she was ultimately unsuccessful. 103 Others had better luck. In the early 1030s, King Henry of France, feeling threatened by his mother Constance of Arles' independent policies in her dower lands, besieged her at the castle of Le Puiset. It was not until she threw herself at his feet and begged that the unfortunate be spared, herself included, that peace was made between the two. 104 Orderic Vitalis also records women using emotive tactics to end violent conflict and reform violent behavior. When the knight, Ralph, son of Albert of Cravent, attacked a monk and stole his

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<sup>104</sup> Penelope Ann Adair, "Constance of Arles," 20-21.

understanding that "conflicts of social ideology are borne by any available medium....

[...] Ideas in conflict do not select a particular medium as their bearer, though they may favor one over another."

Medieval authors who expressed concern over hostage- and captive-taking practices or women as hostages and captives did not convey their angst in one medium alone. By looking at a wide variety of sources, scholars can see the issues in a more nuanced way.

This study is not without its limitations, however. The first is geographical. In order to make the material more manageable and to stay within source material I am more familiar with, the boundaries of this study enclose what I call the Anglo-French world: England and its neighbors, France (both the langue d'oïl and the langue d'oc regions), and the Crusader lands in the Holy Land with some references to parts of Spain. These regions were not only increasingly connected as the Middle Ages progressed, but they shared a cultural interest in the same literary traditions such as the chansons de geste. This is not to suggest that Germany and Italy were not also connected in such traditions or that their addition would not bear intellectual fruit, only that such an activity will be a part of the second phase of this project.

The second limitation is chronological. On the one hand, this study has purposefully crossed the boundary between the Early Middle Ages and the High Middle Ages. Scholars, as will be explained in Chapter One, have argued in the past that hostage and captiveship fundamentally changed as the Middle Ages progressed, often using the decades bookending 1066 as the watershed moment. This study, therefore, looks at hostage and captive taking practices across this boundary in an attempt to plot not only change in practice, but also continuity: women remained a constant feature of both customs even as the processes themselves changed.

The third limitation is a matter of voice. It is a reality of medieval historical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Stephen Jaeger, 302-3.

horses, the monk appealed to Ralph's father Albert for help. When Albert refused, his wife Aubrée was appalled and "began to lament and wring her hands and tear her hair and weep as though he [that is, her son] were already dead." She begged her husband to help her son and restore the monk's goods, for fear that their son would "become possessed of a demon here and now for such a crime." Duly chastised, and terrified of his wife, Albert and his household did as Aubrée asked. 105

These broader types of manipulative wartime emotional interactions between mothers and sons and husbands and wives can also be found in literary texts. In *Raoul de Cambrai*, for example, Raoul's mother Alice strives vainly through extended emotional pleas to convince Raoul not to fight Count Herbert's sons, arguing not only that the war is wrong, but also that she will die of grief if he dies. She also invokes her role as his mother, saying "I fed you with milk from my own breast. Why do you strike such pain in my heart?" In Wace's *Roman de Brut*, 107 the war between the brothers Brenne and Belin is ended by their mother's dramatic battlefield intervention, mirroring in many ways the ancient Roman tale of the Sabine women. Like Alice, she relies on her status as a mother. When speaking to Brenne, Torwenne "tore all her garments down to her belt and showed him her bare breasts which were withered and

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<sup>105</sup> OV, 3:242-45

Raoul de Cambrai. Her pleas extend from laisse XLVIII through LVII. One has to wonder whether the specific reference to breast feeding here is deliberate. Given that most aristocratic mothers in the middle ages would have likely had wet nurses for their children, there is the implication that the bond between Alice and Raoul is especially close, and thus her pleas take on a more special meaning. Bernier's mother, Marsent, also pleads with Raoul to stop his violence in laisses LXIII through LXVI. She begs him not to torch the town and her convent, stating that the nuns are helpless and cannot fight to defend themselves. She suggests he go to the convent's fields nearby and that she will supply him with food and supplies. Raoul agrees to this, but later breaks the agreement, resulting in the death of Marsent and 100 nuns. As Penny Schine Gold points out, part of the tragedy of the chanson is that Raoul refuses to listen to women's advice, even when it is clear from the text that the advice is sound, a sign of Raoul's overall demesure, or immoderacy. Gold, The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France (Chicago, 1985), 12-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> This story is also mentioned in Geoffrey of Monmouth' Historia Regum Britannie, but not nearly in as much detail. Although Wace uses the same motif of the emotional plea as Geoffrey, he greatly expands on the length of Torwenne's speech, heightening the drama of the moment. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1:27-8.

hairy with age. Weeping she spoke to her son, her words broken by frequent sobs and sighs." She reminds him of the pain she suffered in giving birth to him, chastises him for wanting to hurt his own family, herself included, and points out that he is at fault in rebelling against his brother, the king. "You have only one brother,' she sobs, 'you should love him. [...] ...My fine son Brenne, what do you think? Put down your lance and shield, trust your mother's advice and be reconciled with your brother..."

Brenne, pitying and trusting his mother, makes peace with his brother on the battlefield. The Chanson de Guillaume also depicts Guiborc using tears and supplication as influence outside of the context of captive rescue. She pushes the obstinate William to aid his nephew Vivien by weeping violently, bowing down and kissing his shoe, and begging him to help. 109

Although not all of these women were successful, women attempted to use tears and self-humiliation to influence various aspects warfare in two related ways. First, nearly all of the occasions of hostage and captive negotiations and the wartime emotive tactics mentioned above had some public element to them. There was almost always an audience in these depictions, be it on the battlefield or in the lord's hall. Even Eleanor of Aquitaine's letters, as official letters from an English queen to the pope, would have likely been read aloud and then discussed publicly. Emotional pleas were, therefore, staged events, performative acts designed to get specific responses. <sup>110</sup> In other words, as noted above, they were an attempt to obligate the person with whom women were pleading to respond in a positive way and to release the captive or hostage in question. These tactics are very similar to those used by vassals when they sought help from their lords. It demonstrates that women had

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Wace, 68-73.

La Chanson de Guilliame, lines 1003-1030.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> As Paul Hyams notes, "Men and women used emotion concepts dynamically, to lead to action by themselves and to block or change the actions of others." *Rancor*, 37.

knowledge of, and recourse to, some of the same social rituals of obligation as men. Just as a vassal in a lord's court might, these women, through their own humiliation, sought to evoke pity and shame men into action, because, if they did not, it reflected poorly on them. Their individual wrong essentially became a wrong to the lord, as well. 111 Women, however, often used different, expressly female tactics. Many of these women exposed body parts and highlighted actions exclusive to women breasts, 112 wearing long hair loose and flowing the way young women did prior to marriage or pulling and ripping at their hair, 113 breastfeeding, and giving birth. Further, the women also regularly evoked specifically female kinship or marriage bonds and are often depicted in these situations as guardians of their husbands' or male kin's honor and warrior reputation, as Guiborc was in her interactions with her husband William. They consistently reminded those they were entreating of a specific, family-oriented obligation grounded in the importance of women in their lives. Thus, rather than being the shame of failed lordship, the shame the men would suffer was usually family-related: a failure to help out, spare, or take up the cause of a family member. As the failure of Baldwin's wife to secure her husband's release

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>Paul Hyams, "Feud in England" Haskins Society Journal 3 (1991): 1-23, esp. 12; see also more

generally Paul Hyams, Rancor, Ch. 4.

112 Bearing of breasts may also have an ancient antecedent here. In the Illiad Hecuba bears her old and withered breast when she begs Hector not to fight Achilles. "And his mother wailed now, standing beside Priam, / weeping freely, loosing her robes with one hand / and holding out her bare breast with the other, / her words pouring forth in a flight of grief and tears: / "Hector, my child! Look-have some respect for this! / Pity your mother too, if I ever gave you the breast / to soothe your troubles, remember it now, dear boy--/ beat back that savage man from safe inside the walls! / Don't go forth, a champion pitted against him--/merciless, brutal man. If he kills you now, / how can I ever mourn you on your deathbed? -- / dear branch in bloom, dear child I brought to birth!" Homer, The Illiad, trans. Robert

Fagles (New York, 1990), 544.

113 The tearing or pulling out of hair is a long standing visual symbol of grief for both men and women, but tends to be associated more with women, "and was one of the most common and expressive ways women lamented." Robert Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages" Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6th ser., vol. 4 (1994): 53-55. See more generally Mosche Barasch, Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art (New York, 1976).

Long hair was associated with women in general, so much so that when a "fashion craze" for long hair erupted among the men of northern France and England in the late eleventh through twelfth centuries, several chroniclers and moralists lamented the trend as a sign of effeminacy and moral degeneracy. Bartlett, 49-52

suggests, the lack of a familial connection between the woman supplicant and the man with whom she was pleading may have been a deciding factor in the outcome.

Second, such moments of emotive action in hostage and captive ransoming became part of the balance of power within families and marriages, and indeed, between women and men generally. On the one hand, by using emotional tactics, the women depicted here appear to acknowledge their own submissive position within their marriage, family, and in relationship to men. Medieval wives and women in general were expected to be obedient to the husbands or male kin. Women were not allowed to intercede as equals, but had to debase themselves and beg for pity; as Bernice Kliman put it, "theirs is a diplomacy which is born of impotence." Just as a queen's intercession allowed for a king to maintain his image as a powerful male while still providing him with the opportunity to appear magnanimous, emotional intercession in general, "sustain[ed] a profile of masculine rigour," allowing men to remain the powerful, severe, and wrathful partner, and making women "responsible for tempering masculine aggression."

Once again the parallel to the paradigm of medieval lordship is clear: women play a similar role in their marriages as vassals do in the relationships to their lords. But just as a lord owes his vassal certain duties of defense, aid and the promise of listening to counsel, the women in these depictions are reminding their husbands or sons of the obligations they owed within the marriage or the family, in this case, to listen to wifely or motherly advice, and when it is good, to follow to it. The women assert, through their public pleas, their interpretation of the events that have taken place, forcing those with whom they are speaking and those who are watching to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Bernice W. Kliman, "Women in Early English Literature, Beowulf to the Ancrene Wisse" Nottingham Medieval Studies 21(1977): 34

Nottingham Medieval Studies 21(1977): 34.

115 Alcuin Blamires, The Case for Women in Medieval Culture (Oxford, 1997), 88. See also Paul Hyams, Rancor, Chapter 4.

Hyams, Rancor, Chapter 4.

116 Penny Schine Gold has demonstrated this link between advice and the nurturing/mother/wife in the chansons de geste, and the examples here suggest the link is present in historical texts, as well. 15-16.

acknowledge their persuasive readings of the situation. While such acknowledgment did not always result in the desired outcomes, it did to some extent require that these understandings be considered and validated. Further, the women above who used such tactics were reminding men that their actions were somehow failing another family member. They present themselves as guardians not only of their families as a whole, 117 but also of the well-being of each individual within that family. By staking their claim as guardians of the family, women could in essence subvert the social dominant/submissive, male/female dichotomies and assert a female-based authority. Highlighting their authority in the private space of the family—where women were allowed to exercise a certain authority—provided them with a stepping stone to actively intercede in and influence primarily public and male-dominated activities such as warfare, and specifically hostage and captive ransoming, even as it required them to function within the established dichotomies. These intercessions create images of marriage and family, based at least partially on the idea of partnership, albeit an unequal one.

Such an argument helps enhance our understanding of medieval emotions. While much has been written on this subject in recent years, 119 scholars have not adequately explored this topic in discussions of gender. Yet women are consistently depicted using emotions to achieve their wartime goals and, as demonstrated here, specifically in the context of hostage and captive ransoming. Several interpretations of medieval emotions are useful. The first, posited by Lisa Perfetti and others,

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<sup>117</sup> i.e., keeping it a whole entity and making sure members protect each other

<sup>118</sup> i.e., making sure that each member remains a moral person and maintains his or her honor by acting correctly

correctly.

119 Barbara Rosenwein has written most extensively on the subject. See her *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006), the bibliography of which is an excellent place to start for references; her edited collection of essays by various scholars *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: 1998); see also the debate on emotions in *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (10:2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> In fact, there is very little in general on women and emotion. The edited editions by Perfetti and Vaught and Bruckner are two of the few volumes that consider gender.

suggests that emotions in the Middle Ages were not "inner feelings that serve to constitute a highly individualized self with a unique personality." She hypothesizes that, instead, they were "oriented outward and define[d] an individual's relationship to a community ... [and] one's position relative to other individuals, families, and groups."121 Examples within literary and historical texts in which women use emotion, then, reflect ways women could navigate their position within society in real life. In much the way Stephen White and others have suggested for a king's or lord's uses of anger. 122 emotive acts were avenues of power that medieval women could direct the outcome of war, including ransoming hostages and captives, playing a role in politics, and, in many cases, gaining a measure of control and influence over their own lives and that of their families. Emotions were tools, ritual acts, performances, and most importantly, socially constructed. They were, in White's words, "all the product of experience, and experience itself is shaped by the practices and norms of a person's household, neighborhood, and larger society." Though to modern sensibilities, weeping publicly, ripping hair, and tearing at one's breast may seem extreme, within the world in which the women described here functioned these actions could be logical and served a purpose. This is not to argue that these women did not feel sincere emotion at the loss of their family and kin, for it is certainly possible, if not likely, that they did. "Real" and "functional" emotions need not be mutually exclusive; they could be both at the same time.

But as Barbara Rosenwein has cautioned, the model of social construction can lead scholars to believe that there is only one set of emotions relevant to a certain time period or available to an individual. In fact, women interact with and function within

<sup>121</sup> Lisa Perfetti, "Introduction," in The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture, ed. Lisa Perfetti (Gainesville, Fl., 2005)8-9; see also Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger," in Anger's Past, esp. 131.
White, passim.

multiple "emotional communities," which Rosenwein defines as "groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions." As queens, mothers, elites, wives and "woman," the women discussed here accessed different views on the emotions appropriate for hostage and captive situations and the way those emotions should be deployed. This does not preclude the fact, likelihood of shared ideas; certainly all these women functioned within an "overarching emotional community, tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules, and accepted modes of expression." At the same time, the smaller emotional mini- or sub-communities of which they were members provided them opportunities to either accept or expose the inadequacies of the larger community. 124 As noted earlier, emotional behavior gave voice to women's alternative interpretations of political or military events in the creation of which they may have had no say.

Second, the use of emotions by medieval women was intimately linked to the popular belief that women were highly persuasive, a literary and ecclesiastical motif with ambiguous meaning in Middle Ages. On the one hand, the secular and ecclesiastical image of women worsened in eleventh and twelfth centuries, brought on by the system of primogeniture, the rise of the Augustinian view of men as rational and women as irrational, and the rise of the image of Eve as the enticing temptress, the active agent in man's fall from grace. Yet, as Sharon Farmer has noted, "male clerical writers persistently emphasized the ability of women to use spoken language—sweet words and eloquence-to soften men's hearts." Beginning in the twelfth century, clerical writers began to praise pious women who used their persuasive capabilities for good, portraying women as more spiritual and thus more responsible for the overall

Rosenwein, Emotional Communities, 2.Ibid., 24.

moral behavior of themselves and others.<sup>125</sup> By interceding with others to ransom and free captives and hostages, women pushed men to act in more noble and pious ways.

Both the real Eleanor of Aquitaine and the fictional Guiborc used this tactic with success.

Women were certainly not the only ones to access emotions as an avenue of power —men also appealed to the emotions when they needed something, though in their own manly fashion. 126 But alpha women too could deploy emotional appeals as a political act to powerful effect, when the situation called for it, a reality to which scholars ought to pay more attention. We now need further research into the specific patterns in which women employed these techniques to clarify how women could exercise power in such contexts as hostage and captive ransoming. Women did not wait around hopelessly for someone to come and rescue them or their menfolk. When necessary, they took the initiative and used the tools that society offered them to shape their own fates. Further, the examples above are more than just stereotypical images of women as overly emotional or persuasive. 127 Despite the intervening layers of motif and convention, medieval fictional texts in some measure reflect medieval societal values and norms. The frequency and similarity of these depictions of women using emotion to manipulate hostage and captive situations in both historical and fictional texts implies that these were tactics that women could and actually did use or were at least plausible to the audience as such. Thus reading these examples together can expand understanding of what medieval society considered reasonable behavior for women in real life.

<sup>125</sup> Sharon Farmer, "Persuasive Voices," 518-19, 534, 539. In fact, Thomas of Chobham, the subject of

Farmer's paper, even encourages women to persuade their men to act piously.

126 For example, in *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, Suger reports that when Hugh of Le Puiset was ravaging lands in and around Blois and Chartres, many of the clerics, bishops, and archbishops of the area came to Louis and asked for help. According to Suger, they "cried out and threw themselves down at the feet of the king...[and] begged him to keep the greedy robber Hugh in check." Suger, 86.

127 See Farmer and Perfetti in her introduction to *The Representation of Women's Emotions*, especially 4-7, on the stereotypes of the emotional and persuasive woman.

It is also likely that the authors who wrote these texts were trying to express what they believed to be the appropriate emotions for a woman whose husband, son or kin had just been captured. In a successful and loving marriage and family, it appears that authors expected a wife to be distressed and emotional if someone in her family was captured. She was supposed to care if he or she was hurt or in potential danger. Moreover, she should want to do anything she could to save the people closest to her. This is not to deny that women actually felt distress or worry over the fate of their family; it is likely that many did. But the authors were distanced in time and place from their characters and unable to interrogate them about their emotional states. As a result, what historians have is what medieval writers thought *should* have happened. So, as much as emotions were a potential political tool for the women expressing them, they were also a literary device for authors crafting visions of the "ideal" family and the relationships between its members.

At the same time, however reasonable or ideal such behavior might have been, the sources do express anxiety over female hostage negotiators and suggest several difficulties that women may have faced in the role of hostage ransomer. First, while many of the women were ultimately successful in their negotiations, several had to work many years before accomplishing their goal. It took Jeanne of Flanders nearly fourteen years to secure the release of her husband Ferrand of Portugal, and it was eight years before Agnes successfully paid Joscelin III de Courtenay, count of Edessa's, ransom. Reynald de Chatillon remained in prison for an extraordinary seventeen years before his connection to the Byzantine Empress Maria secured his release. Certainly it was possible for men not ransomed by women to remain in captivity for lengthy periods of time. Raymond III of Tripoli who was ransomed in 1174 by the Hospitallers, was held in Aleppo for nine years, and the size of his ransom—80,000 gold dinars—likely contributed to this fact, as it likely did for the

lengthy captivities of Reynald, Joscelin, and Richard I of England. The strategic importance of keeping good fighting men in captivity, rendering them harmless, rather than releasing them only to find them in an opposing army may have also played a part. However, the fact that women were often associated with lengthy captivities may be an indication that they were less successful negotiators than men, or perhaps that they persisted in ransom attempts even in unlikely cases.

Second, while the texts imply that emotive tactics can be a source of power and strength for women, they also seem to indicate that women's emotional state at the captivity of their family members was a distinct weakness, something that hostage and captive takers could use to advantage. Dudo's and Robert of Torigni's descriptions of Rainer's wife's actions following Rollo's threat imply an almost frantic effort on her part to free her husband before he is killed. Mabel of Gloucester is also painted as emotional to the point of irrationality, willing to trade her husband for King Stephen outright immediately ["statim"] after the offer is made. It is only her husband's calmer, more rational understanding of the political realities that keeps her from making this mistake. 129 This may help explain the reason why the Empress Matilda does not appear to have been heavily involved in her brother's ransoming. Perhaps the nobles felt that she would be less easy to cow or coerce than his wife. In Matilda of Ramsey's case, too, it appears that—at least in Orderic's opinion—Stephen may have deliberately threatened to hang her son because he correctly wagered it would appeal to a mother's emotional attachment to her son. Devizes Castle was certainly capable of holding out against Stephen for a considerable period of time. But Matilda was

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<sup>128</sup> Even a king might wait a long time to be ransomed: Baldwin II of Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands for sixteen months. Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies*, 77.
129 At first the earls, and those whose concern it was to speak of such things, tried if the earl would allow the king and himself to be released on equal terms. Though the Countess Mabel, on account of her longing for her husband, at once accepted this proposal when she received the messengers, being from a wife's affection the more eager for his release, he with deeper judgement refused [ille

profundiori consilio contradixit], saying a king and an earl were not of equal importance." HN, 116-17.



studies that the majority of the sources are written by ecclesiastical males, many if not most of them, from the elite. Even those sources that tend to be considered "popular" literature like the *chansons* and the romances reflect the limited viewpoint of the upper class, and we cannot even be sure if this viewpoint reflects both male and female understandings of the events they describe. Although ideally, I would like to have multiple viewpoints from which to understand the hostage and captive situations in question, this is often not possible. Given the nature of the sources, then, which tend to focus on the lives and deeds of aristocratic and royal society, this study will likewise focus on aristocratic and royal ladies. There is another reason that this essay focuses on queens in particular. Queens often shared in the power-structures and royal duties of their husbands, which helps to demonstrate on of the key themse of this dissertation: that the boundaries between masculine and feminine archetypical activities are much more fluid than one would expect, and that this mutability made it possible for women to perform activities like hostage and captive taking. As Louise Olga Fradenburg points out in her essay on "Rethinking Queenship:"

... Sovereignty depends on the use of both the "masculine" and the "feminine;" in fact...sovereignty is established not only through the elaboration of these constructs—whereby, for example, the king and queen can be taken as 'masculinity' and 'femininity' in the register of the absolute or the ideal—but also through the dislocation and fluidity of these constructs. Sovereignty is a site of gender-transgression and crossover, although it does not necessarily follow that sovereignty has revolutionary designs on gender constructs; most often the ultimate effect of plasticity of gender in the field of sovereignty is the celebratory confirmation of difference. ...[M]ost sovereigns... whatever their biological sex, are neither exclusively 'masculine' or 'feminine.' ....Plasticity of gender in the field of sovereignty... seems to be related to sovereignty's urge towards totality, inclusiveness, and exemplary (in order to gain purchase on both sexes and on all cultural functions with which they are severally associated). Such plasticity seems also to be related to the sovereignty's urge toward exclusivity—its need to mark its difference from the subject, which so often takes the form of an extraordinary body of sexuality such as permissible incest, special blood, the body politic, and, at least in some of its counterparts, that body politic's promiscuous relations with fictive as well as real entities.

As a result, queens and other royal women have a primacy of place in this study

willing to surrender an almost impregnable castle to save her son's life, putting his safety over the strategic concerns of the bishop of Ely and his men. The bishop appears not to have been as worried about Roger's fate, since Orderic depicts him and his men as frustrated by her actions. Even the unshakeable Eleanor of Aquitaine is described as having fallen prey to her emotions. According to an anonymous Salzburg annalist, Eleanor was so "desirous of freeing the son whom she especially loved" that it was on her advice that Richard resigned England to Emperor Henry IV and received it back from him as an imperial fief for which he owed £5000 annually, a fact which German sources trumpeted and English sources virtually ignored. 130

The role of Joan, wife of Llywelyn the Great, in negotiations for and care of hostages demonstrates yet another crucial problem of women and hostage taking/holding and reveals one of the many reasons medieval society was anxious about women having power/control over, or contact with, hostages and captives at court. In 1230, Joan was caught by her husband committing adultery with her husband's former captive, William de Braose. William was the young scion of the de Braose family, who were major landholders in the Welsh Marches. Llywelyn had captured him in 1228 during a failed English campaign against him. He was eventually released after agreeing to pay a huge fine, turn over a strategic castle, and marry his daughter to Llywelyn and Joan's son, Dafydd. 131 We hear nothing of Joan's contact with the young man, but given his status as a powerful lord and the known fact that he does not seem to have been kept in a prison, it is likely she would have met him. In any case, she seems to have caught young William's eye, and perhaps vice versa, for a year later when William was visiting Llywelyn's court for Easter, they were discovered together. William was hanged as a result and Joan was imprisoned.

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<sup>130</sup> Gillingham, Richard I, 247-8. Annales Monastici, 3:117

William's death had serious repercussions. Not only was he the member of a powerful family, but his wife Eva was the daughter of William Marshal the Younger, and thus also a member of another powerful Marcher family. Although Llywelyn tried to smooth things over with Eva by writing her to excuse the execution of her husband, relations between the two families were justifiably strained and there was a distinct threat of war. Joan's fate, however, was less serious. Although she was initially imprisoned, she seems to have been forgiven quickly and released, indicating that either she was an unwilling recipient of William's advances or that she was politically too important to Llywelyn's relationship with her brother Henry, who was now king of England. 132 Regardless of Joan's feelings about William and her role in the adultery, her case demonstrates the danger of having male captives or hostages around one's womenfolk. There was risk involved. There was concern that women were either too lustful to contain themselves and might commit adultery, or that they could evoke lust in men, who would then violate them. Either case would upset delicate power relationships between men, because the violation of women was a justifiable excuse to go to war.

Medieval romances in particular play upon the fear that women will betray their families for the love of a captive or hostage. The semi-historical "Romance of Fouke Fitz-Waryn," which survives in a mid-fourteenth century translation, is illustrative of this concern. In the story, Sir Joce of Dynan takes Sir Walter de Lacy and one of his men, Sir Ernalt de Lyls, captive in battle. They are conveyed to the tower of Pendover, where their wounds are treated by the women of the house, whose job this appears to be. But exposing the women to the men was clearly dangerous, for,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Wilkinson, 89-92

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Fouke (III) le Fitz Warin was a historical figure whose family had settled in the Welsh Marches as a part of the Norman Conquest of Wales. Fouke actually did revolt in 1200-01 after one of his castles had been given to a Welsh castellan named Morys fitz Roger. He and forty others were pardoned for outlawry in 1203.

as the romance remarks, Sir Ernalt was a "handsome young man," and he fell in love with Marion, the chief handmaiden of the lady of the castle. With promises of love and marriage, he managed to convince her to help him and Sir Walter escape:

Sir Ernalt and the maiden spoke to each other frequently, for each day she was accustomed to come to the tower with her lady in order to bring comfort to Sir Walter de Lacy and Sir Ernalt. It so happened that when Sir Ernalt saw the opportunity he spoke to the maiden and told her that she was the one he loved most and that he was so deeply in love with her that he could get no rest day or night unless she would yield to him, for she could provide him with relief for all his misery. If she were willing to do this, he would give her reassurance of his own free will that he would take her to be his wife. The maiden heard this fine promise and agreed to do his bidding in all things. The maiden promised that secretly and in every possible way she would help them to be released from prison. Taking towels and sheets, she brought them to the tower and sewed them together. Using them, she let Sir Walter and Sir Ernalt down from the tower. She asked them to keep their faith and the promise which they had made to her. They told her that they would behave loyally towards her and not break any agreements, and they entrusted her to God. 134

Sir Walter and Sir Ernalt escape successfully and head back to Walter's castle.

Walter, determined to get revenge, made war upon Sir Joce. Although peace is temporarily made, Ernalt comes up with a plan for Sir Walter to take Sir Joce by surprise. Marion, his lady love, had written him, asking him to honor his bargain with her and come to her at the castle of Dynan. Ernalt tells her to leave her window open and he will come to her, which the lady, "having no suspicion of treason" [nul suspecioun de tresoun naveit], did. Having convinced Sir Walter that Sir Joce is

<sup>134</sup> 

<sup>134</sup> The translation comes from Two Medieval Outlaws, Eustace the Monk and Fouke Fitz Waryn, ed. Glyn S. Burgess. (Rochester, NY, 1997), 140-1. The Old French text reads: "Sire Ernald fust jeune bachiler e bel, e grantement fust suppris de lamur Marioun de la Bruere une mout gentile damoisele, e si fust la mestre chaunbrere la dame de chastiel de Dynan. Sire Ernald e la damoisele entreparlerent sovent; quar ele soleit chescun jour venir en la tour, ou sa dame, de conforter sire Water de Lacy e sire Ernald. Avynt qe sire Ernald, quant veyt temps, aresona la damoysele; e dit qe ele fust la chose quil plus ama; e qe tante est suppris de samour, qe repos ne puet avoir, jour ne nuyt, si ele ne se asente a ly; quar ele ly puet socours fere de tous ces anuys; e, si ele le voleyt fere, yl la freit seurete a sa volente demeyne qe james nulle autre namera, sy ly noun. E, al plus tost quil serreit delyvres, yl la prendreit a femme. La dammoisele oy la bele promise, e ly graunta fere sa volente en totes choses: e prist seurete de ly quil la tendreit covenaunt de sa promesse. La domoisele les promit qe ele les eydereit en tous poyntz privement quil fussent delyvres de prisone. E prist towayles e lynceles; si porta en la tour, e les fist coutre ensemble, e par els avala sire Water e sire Ernalt de la tour, e lur pria qil tenysent lur lealte e la promesse qe eux ly aveynt promys. E yl la dysent qe lealment se contendreynt a ly sauntz fauser nul convenaunt, e la comanderent a Dieu." "The Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin," in Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronicum Anglicanum, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1875), 300-1.

gathering an army against him, Ernalt gathers a small force and goes to the castle, and using Marion's open window, enters the castle along with his men. While Ernalt and Marion share a night in bed together, Ernalt's men, unbeknownst to Marion, kill the soldiers in the castle. Marion, awaking in the morning, hears the fight going on, and, realizing what Sir Ernalt has done, kills him with his own sword, and, knowing that "if she were taken she would be delivered to an evil death," throws herself out of the window to her death. Despite Ernalt's death, the castle is taken, the townspeople are slaughtered mercilessly, and war erupts again.

Even though Marion's character in some ways redeems herself by killing

Ernalt, 136 she was, by contemporary standards, clearly to blame for the capture of the city and the resulting deaths. The author partially absolved Marion of the guilt by noting several times that she was unaware of Ernalt's plan and the fact that he took advantage of her. But regardless of her lack of knowledge, she herself even recognizes her guilt, saying, "Alas, why was I ever born? For because of my misdeeds my master, Sir Joce, who brought me up lovingly, has lost his castle and his fine men. Had it not been for me, nothing would have been lost! Alas, that I ever trusted this knight, for by his flattery he has deceived me, and my lord as well, which means even more to me!" She acknowledges that her duty was to her lord, but her trust of Ernalt and her love for him misled her. The point of the narrative seems to be that while women are expected to be a part of the care of hostages, they are also a huge risk factor, because their exposure to men outside the family can only lead to trouble.

Overwhelmed by looks and love, they may end up betraying their family and lords,

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<sup>135</sup> Two Medieval Outlaws, 142-5; "The Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin," 302-12.

<sup>136</sup> She tells Ernalt right before she runs him through: "Since you have deceived me, you cannot reasonably blame me if I offer you a service in accordance with your desserts. You will never boast to any future beloved that through deceiving me you conquered the castle of Dynan and the region."

willingly or not. 137

This fear of women's betrayal of their families and lords with captives arises in other contexts such as the epic narrative. One of the most popular medieval literary images of the ransoming woman is that of the Saracen princess who frees a captive crusading prince. 138 From the period of 1150-1300, seventeen such princesses appear in the chansons de geste. 139 Such images found their way into histories, as well: Orderic Vitalis, for example, extensively narrates the story of Melaz and her rescue of the famous crusader Bohemond in his account of the First Crusade, which may be the earliest version of this type of story. 140 These princesses betray their Saracen families, commit adultery, treason, murder, and in the end, convert to Christianity and usually marry the heroes whom they have saved. The basic story is almost identical in all of the narratives, with some minor variation. Some Frankish heroes are captured, either while invading or scouting Saracen lands. The Saracen Emir imprisons the captured Franks in his prison. The Emir's daughter falls in love with one of the Frankish captives, and commands the guards to release them, and then hides the captives in her rooms. She arms them and helps them escape. In the end, the Frankish army, led by the princess's beloved, defeats her family and the Saracens, they are married, and she converts to Christianity. 141 I have in fact several times already discussed the most famous, Orable, who frees William of Orange, and at her baptism is renamed Guiborc.

<sup>137</sup> The idea that women will betray their lords or husbands for the love of another, captive or not, is a common theme in medieval literature. See, for example, Peggy McCracken, The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature (Philadelphia, 1998).

The following comes from an excellent and detailed study of Saracen women in Medieval epic

literature: Jacqueline de Weever, Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic (New York, 1998), esp. the Introduction, Chapters 1, 3, and 4.

Out of a total of twenty-one princesses. Ibid, 5.

140 OV 5:358-79. See also F.W. Warren, "The Enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vital and the French Epic," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 29:3 (1914): 341-358, for his claim that it is one of the first of the type, 345. As Warren notes, the account is a strange mixture of fact and fiction. Bohemond did spent time in Muslim captivity, and he did make a vow to travel to St. Leonard's shrine if he was released. Ibid., 343-4.

141 De Weever, 112-13.

But although the story may seem to have "happily-ever-after" connotations, the character of the Saracen princess is much more ambivalent and problematic. In the epic, effictio, or physical description, is supposed to be directly related to notatio, or character. As such, this Saracen princess, whose description—always beautiful, blond with sparkling eyes and rosy lips, and, most importantly, white-codes her as a Frankish heroine thus erasing her pagan roots, correlates in ways commonly associated with epic values. In the world of the epic narrative, "loyalty to king and lord coupled with filial piety are the prime values,"142 but although she is demarcated in the text as a heroine to be admired, the Saracen princess's actions—betrayal of her family and lord—are the exact opposite, clearly those of a traitor. The function of the noble lady "is totally inverted and emphasizes [a] turning away of the very values of this genre." Traitors in the epics are usually punished harshly, often with death, 144 and even though the treachery of these Saracen women comes from love of the hero, "examples of treachery, taken from ... romance and epic, speak trenchantly of aversion to disloyal women whose actions are moved by excess of love." Yet, as the case of Guiborc illustrates, these Saracen women can sometimes, in the right circumstances, go on to become noblewomen of the highest rank, praised and lauded for their virtues. Those Saracen women who do remain loyal to their families are given the opposite treatment; 146 described as black, a color associated with the devil,

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., xxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Ibid, 10. "The Saracen women reflect the ideals of Frankish aesthetic totally, becoming mirrors in which that society sees itself. Paradoxically, however, by insisting on these two essentials—that the Saracen reflect Frankish standards of beauty but not Frankish values of loyalty to lord and devotion to community—the rhetoric undermines the very values held to be important and thus misrepresents itself in a self-contradictory discourse." 115.
<sup>144</sup> The arch traitor of the epic, Ganelon from the Chanson de Roland, for example, is pulled apart by

<sup>144</sup> The arch traitor of the epic, Ganelon from the Chanson de Roland, for example, is pulled apart by horses for his betrayal of the Frankish army's rearguard which resulted in the death of his nephew Roland.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 122

<sup>146</sup> See also Kristi Gournay, "A Pugnacious Pagan Princess: Aggressive Female Anger and Violence in Fierabras," in The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture, ed. Lisa Perfetti (Gainesville, Fl, 2005) for a similar argument to de Weever's.

they are depicted as ugly and monstrous.

Although the stories of the Saracen princesses are used to "showcase certain cultural imperatives [like] the ideologies of beauty, political ambition, and Frankish superiority against Saracens',147 through the conquest, submission, and integration of not only the princesses but their land, and although the texts make every effort to erase the Saracen princess's betrayals by making her as "Frankish" and "Christian" as possible, they never really succeed. The Saracen princesses' natal families often voice complaints about their behavior, although these voices are often silenced in the text through death. 148 Further, concerns about the Saracen princesses' association with magic, herbs, and knowledge of astrology appear within the text, which undermines the attempt at a complete concealment of the princesses' true nature. Even the names of many of these Saracen princesses reflect their ambiguous status. 149 As a result, the texts are self-contradictory, built around a constant internal concern about treachery, treason, and disloyalty by women who come into contact with hostages and captives.

#### Conclusion

Women, at least elite and royal ones, participated in hostage and captive ransoming with some regularity in the central Middle Ages, in both the absence and presence of their male relatives. Nor did these activities end abruptly in the thirteenth century. Women continued to perform these roles throughout the whole of the Middle Ages. 150 And despite what has been written in the past about the status of medieval

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> De Weever, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Ibid., Chapter 4.

<sup>149</sup> For example, in *Folque de Candie*, Anfelise is likely a variant of *enfelist* (bitterness) and Fausete means "falsehood." Flandrine, from Doon de Maience, likely derives from flan (murderess). The prefixes mal and mau, both of which connotate "evil," appear in names like Malatrie (Siège de Barbastre) and Maugalie (Floovant). Gaudisse, whose name means "mockery," appears in Anseis de Carthage. Ibid., 132.

See K.B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and

Related Studies (Oxford, 1973), 27-33; M.A. Hicks, "Counting the Cost of War: the Moleyns Ransom and the Hungerford Land Sales 1453-87," Southern History 8 (1986): 11-31; M.K. Jones, "Henry VII, Lady Margaret Beaufort and the Orleans Ransom," in Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross, ed. R.A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne (Gloucester, 1986), 254-73. For women

women, female hostage and captive ransomers demonstrate that women could actively participate in politics and war in the Middle Ages. They tapped into powerful emotive and intercessory rituals and highlighted their importance as mothers, daughters, wives, and sisters to free their kinfolk and asserted their rights as warriors, lords, and commanders, and to determine the fates of hostages and captives. Regardless of this reality, however, medieval authors expressed anxiety about women who took part in these activities. They worried that their overemotional nature might lead them to make hasty decisions in situations when patience was needed most. Furthermore, they feared that the proximity of women to foreign men in their household would tempt women to act inappropriately. Such problems could have larger political significance and potentially change the course of events. Just how and in what ways the actions of one particularly powerful woman —the Empress Matilda—concerning her most important hostage, King Stephen of England, became problematic merits further discussion.

during the later Middle Ages who faced particular difficulties as a result of their husbands' imprisonments, see M.A. Hicks, "The Last Days of Elizabeth Countess of Oxford," English Historical Review 103 (1988), 76-95; C.D. Ross, "Forfeiture for Treason in the Reign of Richard II," English

Historical Review 71 (1956), 560-75.

## **Chapter Five:**

"Every Trace of a Woman's Gentleness Removed from her Face:" Abuse, Gender, and Politics in the Case of the Empress Matilda and the Battle of Lincoln, 1141

Women's hostage and captive-taking practices could play out in their broader political and social contexts. One of the most famous examples in English history is that of the Empress Matilda's capture and mistreatment of King Stephen after the Battle of Lincoln. This can be compared to Queen Matilda of Boulogne's subsequent capture and treatment of the Empress's half-brother and stalwart supporter and military commander, Robert of Gloucester, several months later. The men's captivity left both Matildas essentially in charge of their political factions from February to November 1141. With her cousin King Stephen captured, the Empress was as close to being crowned a ruling Queen of England as she would ever get. With her husband Stephen imprisoned, Queen Matilda of Boulogne would rally the royalist forces that eventually defeated the Empress. While neither woman was a stranger to exercising power, it was one of the few times in which women were the primary negotiators and sources of authority at the same time, presenting a unique opportunity for both contemporaries and modern scholars to reflect upon them. As a result, although the two men were eventually released and the war dragged on in a continuing stalemate, the chroniclers' depictions of both of these women and their actions are useful. Not only do these provide ample insight into the rules and limits of hostage abuse, especially of those of royal blood or high standing, but, more importantly, they offer their commentary on how gender shapes one's ability to rule. The treatment of both hostages became symbolic of both the positive and negative aspects of female rule.

As noted in the previous chapter, none of the chroniclers expressed particular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See *The Empress Matilda*, and Heather Tanner, "Queenship: Office, Custom or Ad Hoc?"

surprise at the hostage and captive taking activities of either Matilda, because they were part of a larger historical trend of women performing those roles. At the same time, however, the various depictions of the women's treatment of hostages became a part of the larger interpretation of each of these women's realization of political power. Each woman displayed what can be called her own personal interpretations of queenly authority and power, shaped by vastly different indidivual situations and very dissimilar goals. For the Empress, the goal was to become sole ruler of England, to assert her dynastic right to inherit the throne her father had left her. For Matilda of Boulougne, it was to see the return of her husband to power—she was a queen consort, not a queen regnant.

To achieve these goals, the women approached their tasks differently. The Empress adopted a much more of the "masculine model," that of an already ruling king—perhaps that of her father, Henry I—and attempted to exercise the powers associated with an already active kingship; in particular, she demanded allegiance and punished harshly those who did not obey. Her actions towards Stephen reflected this kingly self-conceptualization. She treated her captive as a rebellious baron and dangerous threat to her authority rather than an already anointed king whom she had overthrown. She refused to act with clemency, exercising *ira regis*, or "anger of the king." To this, the chroniclers' reacted harshly; however just she may have felt her anger to be, *ira regis* was a very gendered emotion—there was no *ira reginae*, for it was the antithesis of the traditional model of female intercession. Such treatment they might have expected (or at least excused) from a king already on the throne, but not from a potential queen whom the barons had already overlooked for Stephen. In part, this may have been because there was no model for a sole ruling queen—none existed in the twelfth century. Women ruled as consorts or as regents, exercising power only

because the gender plasticity of monarchy made it more acceptable for a queen to be a war leader, a potential fighter, or active participant in military situations than other women. As will be suggested in the following chapters, the evidence indicates that the same principle of plasticity of roles applies to aristocratic women in the context of lordship. While lords of lands tended to be male, just as rulers tended to be male, there were women who took on the role of lord either in their own right or in the stead of their absent male relative. In this sense the role of "lord" can also be seen as a plastic category of gender in much the same way as "sovereign," and this plasticity allowed aristocratic women to participate in the same sort of "masculine" activities as queens.

An attempt has been been made to discuss women from other levels of society when this is possible, although the evidence is much more scarce. Other categories will also be mentioned briefly: nuns and saints, for example. These categories may overlap somewhat, but the point here is to demonstrate some of the ways in which different groups or categories of women may have seen themselves fitting into the larger framework of captive and hostage-taking specifically and warfare more broadly.

### **Outline of the Dissertation**

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One, entitled "Under the Yoke of Lamentable Captivity: Exploring the 'Rules' of Hostage- and Captiveship," focuses on pulling together the existing historiography on hostage- and captive taking practices. Coming from a wide variety of time periods and geographical regions, this scholarship has never before been pieced together to look at hostage and captive-taking practices across the whole of Anglo-French culture. Weaknesses in the scholarship also take a prime place here. Much of the scholarship on hostageship, for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Louise Olga Fradenburg, "Introduction: Rethinking Queenship," in Women and Sovereignty ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (Edinburgh, Scotland: 1992), 1-3. See Chapter Three below.

for a short time.<sup>2</sup> Her adaptation of kingship, which was distinctly male, did mesh well with what was expected for good queens. What positive models for queenship existed portrayed queens as mild and gentle companions, softening their husband's violent, angry behavior rather than exhibiting violence and anger themselves. But the Empress Matilda's potential power and right to the throne came not from a husband or marriage, as it would for a traditional queen, but by birth and through the oaths sworn to her by her father's nobles. She stood alone, partnerless,<sup>3</sup> and thought of herself as queen by right, and acted as such, with all the attitude and actions of a king, including anger. As a result, Matilda was depicted as a tyrant rather than being perceived as a just, if harsh, ruler. Her treatment of Stephen became a key factor in the portrayal of her as a woman unable to rule, either because she could not control her emotions— in particular, her anger—or because her actions demonstrated that she did not possess the qualities or insight needed to negotiate the unpredictable terrain of Anglo-French politics.

Queen Matilda, however, took a more "feminine" or traditional female approach to her newly assumed leadership position. While she took on roles typically assumed by males, she did so without making demands, by treating those around her with humility, generosity and respect, and with supplication, and for this she received praise. Most importantly, Queen Matilda was a queen consort, a wife first and queen

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Two contemporaries of Matilda, however—Urraca of Castile and León, and Melisende of Jerusalem—also stood in direct line of succession as their father's only heirs, and faced similar issues to those of Matilda. For Urraca, see Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Queen Urraca 1109-1126* (Princeton, 1982). For Melisende, see H. E. Mayer, "Studies in the history of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): 93-183. For issues of succession more generally, see Jane Martindale, "Succession and Politics in the Romance—speaking world c. 1000-1140," in *Authority and Regional Power: Aquitaine and France*, 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries (Brookfield, 1997).

In fact, her husband was completely absent from her campaigns in England. He contented himself with helping her conquer Normandy, but this seems to have been out of his own ambition for himself and his sons, rather than out of any desire to help his wife. He actually goes so far as to undermine her ability to conduct her war in England, at one point recalling Robert of Gloucester to Normandy to help him instead of her, during which time she fared poorly. Whether or not this was intentional is unknown, but it is clear from the sources that Geoffrey, while he helped Matilda on the continent, did very little to further her claim to the English throne. The Empress Matilda, 116-117.

only by marriage. Although Queen Matilda had always been her husband's partner in ruling England—she had led military exploits before, negotiated treaties, and presided over judicial courts—her goal to release her husband meant that her assertion of sole power was temporary until her husband was restored to his throne, which was acceptable, and even admirable in the eyes of the chroncilers. Her generous treatment of Robert of Gloucester made her the chroniclers' foil of the Empress, and she became an exemplum of proper queenship.

Hostage and captive-taking practices are only one piece of the larger narrative and do not explain fully either the Empress's or Queen Matilda's failure or success. In fact, the chronicles which cover the events of 1141 most extensively—John of Worcester's Gloucester Continuations, William of Malmesbury's Historia Novella, and the Gesta Stephani—highlight three main factors in the Empress Matilda's inability to secure the throne: her failure of temperament in her dealings with her followers and her use of patronage, her dealings with the Londoners, and her attitude towards the House of Blois, including Stephen, Stephen's son Eustace, Bishop Henry of Winchester, and Queen Matilda herself.<sup>4</sup> But within each of these categories, the Empress' treatment of Stephen can be seen as an important contributing issue, and therefore, while it is perhaps not the sole reason, nor even a reason that the chroniclers highlighted as one of the most important, it deserves discussion. The references to her anger and poor choices may be brief, but when considered in the context of societal beliefs about women, emotions, power, and rulership, these references are quite telling.

Furthermore, while it cannot be expected that these narratives tell the stories with complete accuracy or that they represent the emotions and actions of these

<sup>4</sup> See the "Introduction" of HN, lvi and onward for this list and its explanation in greater detail.

women as they happened in reality, especially when it comes to representations of emotions, what is found in the sources more likely depicts "what people thought other people would like to hear (or expected to hear)." This may leave historians in search of fact frustrated, but this knowledge is useful in its own way. Because emotions help "create, validate, and maintain belief systems," the Empress Matilda's expressions of anger and their representations in the sources can help scholars locate her actions within a scale of acceptability. Moreover, there are conflicting representations at work here. Because the interpretations of the Empress's actions do not uniformly agree, it is easier to see how texts are not passive reflections of culture or cultural expectations, but a multiplicity of voices that contest the meaning of events and actions. The issue of women's power in the Middle Ages was a problematic one for medieval writers, and the authors use historical and textual moments such as these to make judgments.

#### Sources

Because the main sources of the civil war between Stephen and Matilda are often heavily biased towards one side or the other, an explanation of their uses and limitations is necessary. One of the problems with the study of the conflict is that the historical sources are somewhat limited. Sources like the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which provides information until the early 1150s, lack detail, and can only be used to support the most basic of narratives. Many of the important chronicles of the period end in the 1140s, well before Stephen died in 1154, and many of those that do cover the whole period focus on territories outside of England. Orderic Vitalis'

Ecclesiastical History, for example, represents both of these problems. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 193.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 196

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For example, of those discussed below, John of Worcester died in 1140, Orderic Vitalis in 1141, William of Malmesbury in 1142. The Chronicles of Richard and John of Hexham are excellent examples of chronicles that have specific regional foci. Although they do cover events across England, they tend to center their narratives on events in and around the priory of Hexham.

Ecclesiastical History is one of the most valuable sources for study of the Anglo-Norman world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but Orderic seems to have died in the early 1140s, leaving any narrative of Stephen's reign incomplete. Although he covers the beginning of the war between Stephen and Matilda and even goes so far as to dwell at length on the battle of Lincoln itself, Orderic frustratingly decided not to cover the aftermath of the battle, except for a brief discussion of the Norman baron's choice to advocate for Theobald count of Blois after Stephen's capture. Further, because Orderic writes from a monastery in Normandy, he focused on Norman events. As a result, many details of Norman events are included, but not from elsewhere. Very few of the happenings in England are related, except that the king was taken captive and this caused a "great division in the kingdom of England," and "so troubles spread everywhere, far and wide, and England was filled with plundering and burning and massacres; the country, once so rich and overflowing with luxuries, was now wretched and desolate."8 While this lament is illustrative of the damage the civil war caused, it provides very little from which to analyze the reception of Matilda's actions in the aftermath of the battle of Lincoln. Orderic is useful, however, for examining social and military mores of the 12th century. He knew many of the secular patrons of his monastery, and many of them retired there later in life, providing him information about lay culture and mentalities.

Although John of Worcester may have originally intended to end his chronicle in the year 1130/1, at some point he appears to have chosen to continue his chronicle, gathering information and writing until it abruptly ends in the middle of 1140, probably with John's death. His manuscript up to 1130, however, was disseminated to

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Erracta itaque pugna et rege capto, dissensio magna facta est in Anglorum regno. ... Sic ad mondum malitia hinc et inde passim multiplicata est, et rapinis ac incendiis hominumque cedibus Anglia repleta est, et quae olim ditissima diliciisque affluens fuerat nunc miserabiliter desolata est. "OV, 6:546-7.
The manuscript shows evidence of having been revised from the year 1128 onward, with erasures and

rephrasings that indicate an author writing during King Stephen's reign. Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307, 146.

at least five other monasteries, including Gloucester, where a continuator took his Chronicon ex Chronicis until 1141 and perhaps farther. 10 Until 1121 or so, the Chronicon is essentially a compilation of other sources, relying heavily on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Eadmer's Historia Novorum, although the author does depart from his sources on many occasions. 11 But after 1121, the text seems to be original. and from this it derives much of its value. 12 The 1121 date also marks a more narrative and anecdotal style of writing, rather than annalistic entries, which provides greater detail about events. It is a mix of local and national history, providing access not only to the big picture of the Anarchy, but also personal details not found elsewhere about how the ravages of the Anarchy affected the area around Worcester and Gloucester. 13 Gloucester was at the heart of the Empress's territories in England, and thus John and his continuator give a detailed overview of her and her followers' tactics and actions. What makes this text particularly interesting as well as frustrating is that while John appears to have been a supporter of Stephen, the Gloucester continuator seems to have been inclined towards the Empress. Neither, however, is wholeheartedly behind one party or the other, each criticizing both sides when they felt they acted inappropriately. 14 The text, as a result, blends together criticisms of Matilda with those of Stephen. Stephen is depicted as a weak king, and his accession to the throne

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The editors of *The Chronicle of John of Worcester* state that the Gloucester manuscript written by the continuator contains entries in John's hand until 1123, where it switched into another hand—with brief interruptions—until 1141. This continuation follows John almost verbatim, while adding details which John missed, like Matilda's actions after her arrival in Arundel and movements around Gloucester and Worcester in 1141. JW, 3:x1-x1v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> JW, 3:xx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gransden, 143-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> JW, 3:xxxvii-iii. John repeatedly cites himself as a witness and highlights the accuracy of his account. He also in places feels it necessary to insert his opinions on the actions of others. For example, when he notes that in 1140 Stephen moved his army to Ely to "secure peace and end war," he remarks in the first person that he thinks it "was quite pointless" and "to be regretted since it much increased the great arrogance of his warriors by satisfying their passion for vainglory." Ibid, 3:280-1.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 3:xlix.

marked by discord and violence. Yet at the same time, John never indicates that Stephen usurped the throne. He also sees good in Stephen, remarking with a great deal of longing, "Stephen is the king of peace. If he were only the king of firm justice, crushing enemies under foot, assessing all things with the balanced lance of judgment, protecting and strengthening with his mighty power the friends of peace." Likewise, although John calls those who broke their oath to Matilda perjurers, he always refers to Matilda as "the former empress of the Romans, now countess of Anjou," [dudum Romanorum imperatrice, nunc Andegauensi comitissa] and the "ex-empress" [eximperatricem], and never depicts Matilda as justified in her invasion, even going so far as to paint her rule in Worcester and Gloucester as cruel. It is only the Gloucester continuator that terms Stephen's capture as achieved "by the just judgment of God" [iusto Dei iudicio]. As such, the *Chronicon* and its Gloucester continuation provide valuable insight into the early part of the conflict between Stephen and

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<sup>15</sup> Under the year 1138, the chronicle states: "After Henry [I]'s burial, and with Stephen as king, it was not long before there was much discord throughout England and Normandy, and the bonds of peace were torn apart. Each man rose against his fellow. Conflict arose, infiltrating the tall, massive, and diverse fortifications of both greater and lesser alike, and devastating everything. Each man plundered the goods of others. The strong violently oppressed the weak. They deter with threats any criticism of their actions. They kill those who resist. The rich nobles of the kingdom, in their affluence and wealth, are not in the least bothered by the way the poor are unjustly treated. They care only for themselves and theirs. They store castles and towns with necessary provisions. They garrison them with armed followers. They fear any change in the kingdom, not considering the divine dispensation: whose ways are past finding out. When all should be at peace through fear of the king, who should be as a roaring lion, there is in many placers, particularly in Wales, depopulation and devastation. From this anyone can see with how little foresight and with what feeble power, with what injustice rather than with the justice due from rulers, England is governed. Temperance the mother of all virtues is scarcely to be found when greed and the petty search for every king of honor everywhere rules." Ibid, 3:216-19.

16 Ibid., 3:268-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The heading for John's section on the oath is "Concerning the oath now altered through perjury to the peril of many." He gives extensive coverage to the oath swearing, and concludes with what is an obvious later addition by saying "But alas, behold we see an oath turned into perjury. As Terence says, 'Fawning makes friends, truthfulness hatred.' But although this is true, God and His Christ and the Spirit descending from both, know this: if I were not afraid that the royal majesty would harm John's head, I would assert that all the oath-takers were guilty of perjury. But may the God of all things to whose eyes everything is open and clear, so that He sees well and wishes all lords to be better, dispose all this in his mercy and compassion, as he knows so well how to do." Ibid., 3: 176-83.

Ibid., 3:268.
 Ibid., 3:271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 3:292-3.

### Matilda.

Likewise, William of Malmesbury's Historia Novella is a helpful source for the early period of the conflict. Focused mostly on the contemporary events surrounding Matilda's struggle for the English throne, 21 it too ends before the conclusion of Stephen's reign because of the author's death. 22 This enhances its usefulness, however, because the Historia does cover the battle of Lincoln and its aftermath, but stops shortly afterwards in 1142. This means it reveals not only essential details not found elsewhere, but, most importantly, it gives an account that is not shaped by later events and the ultimate success of the Angevin party. In 1142, with Stephen's release, the status quo between Matilda and Stephen was essentially the same as it was before the battle, and, with no end to the conflict in sight, the battle of Lincoln's significance might have appeared differently to William than it would to other authors. Further, the Historia Novella was commissioned by one of the important patrons of William's monastery of Malmesbury, Robert of Gloucester, and thus tends not only to glorify Robert, but also to be supportive of Matilda's cause.<sup>23</sup> He clearly admired Matilda, writing elsewhere that she "displayed her father's courage and her mother's piety; holiness found its equal in energy, and it would be hard to say

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The work seems to have been commissioned no earlier than 1140, and it goes back to cover Matilda's return to England in 1125 after the death of her husband, Holy Roman Emperor Henry V. HN, xxix-

xxx.

William of Malmesbury was one of the more prolific writers in England in the twelfth century, and certainly one of England's greatest medieval historians. He wrote widely, including commentaries, and saints' lives, as well as his two most famous historical works, the Gesta regum Anglorum and the Gesta Pontificum. His Gesta Regum, or "Deeds of the English Kings," covered British history from the arrival of the Saxons to the reign of Henry I, providing valuable information about the political history of England, and his Gesta Pontificum ("Deeds of the Prelates") is essential for those studying the history of the English Church.

Be is careful to repeat, for example, that oaths had been sworn to Matilda. He also refers to her 1139

return to England as "the year in which that formidable lady came to England to vindicate her right against Stephen" [anno quo eadem virago in Angliam uenit, ius suum contra Stephanum assertura]. He was also hostile towards Stephen. He writes "In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1139, the poison of malice, long nurtured in King Stephen's mind, at length burst forth to be observed by all. Reports were being spread in England that Earl Robert might arrive from Normandy at any moment with his sister. And since, in expectation of this, many were deserting the king in deed as well as thought, he sought to assuage his own wrongs by inflicting loss on many." HN, 42-3, 44-5.

which was more admirable."<sup>24</sup> Further, William not only likely knew and spoke with Robert, but also several other "actors" in the story, among them Bishop Roger of Salisbury and Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, both of whom were frequent visitors to Malmesbury. He was also present at legatine councils at Winchester in 1139 and 1141, which gave him first-hand access to texts, sources, and events in a way not available to other writers.<sup>25</sup> William thus provides a perspective not offered by other authors.

Several other sources do in fact cover the entirety of wars between Matilda and Stephen. These can provide insight not only into the Battle of Lincoln and its aftermath, but also into the frameworks needed to understand such an event. Perhaps the most valuable of these is the anonymously<sup>26</sup> written *Gesta Stephani*. It is unique among the twelfth century chronicles because it focuses solely on contemporary events of the civil war, and, although there are several significant lacunae, it is the only chronicle to cover in detail the whole of Stephen's reign. It is also completely independent of other historical sources, providing a unique perspective on the events in describes. Furthermore, because it is not written with the hindsight provided by the successes of Henry II, it tends not to paint Stephen in as harsh a light as later chroniclers did, and it is more critical of the Angevin party, Matilda in particular. The *Gesta*'s author clearly supported Stephen. Not only does he praise the king, he also justifies many of Stephen's failures.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, the author does see many of

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<sup>24 &</sup>quot;... exhibebat patrem fortitudine, matrem religione; contendebat in ea pietas industriae, nec quod magis probares discerneres facile." GR, 1:782-3.

<sup>25</sup> HN, xxiii-iv.

There have been many theories as to who the author of the Gesta really was. For a detailed discussion by the Gesta's editors, see GS, xviii-xxxviii, where Robert of Lewes, the bishop of Bath is proposed.

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Therefore, as well as the "degraded and monstrous way of living" of the English people that caused England to be "tormented by so much internecine strife, such confusion of wars, so many crimes on every side."

Stephen is painted as a good king who is a victim of God's greater plan. "So, though Stephen watched over the pacification of the kingdom with the greatest soldierly skill, though he continually wearied himself and his men with endless efforts in contending with the foe, yet did his success not equal his desire" because the Lord was intent on punishing the English for their sins. GS, 84-7.

the events in the beginning of Stephen's reign—King David of Scotland's invasion of England and Stephen's defeat at Lincoln—as punishment for the king's sins. The author also in turn seems to recognize Matilda's son Henry's claim to the throne as legitimate, making this source more balanced in its assessment of events than might at first seem obvious.

Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* also covers the whole reign, but his focus is much different from the *Gesta* and the *Historia Novella*. Henry is less concerned with contemporary events, for as he notes in his Prologue, the book was meant to "narrate the history of this kingdom and the origins of our people." Even further, Henry spends a good deal of his text charting the development of the English monarchy. Thus the wars between Matilda and Stephen are not only set within a *longue durée* vision of English history but also within the context of the English monarchy, making the *Historia* a valuable source for understanding how Matilda's actions as a potential ruler would have been perceived. Despite Henry's focus on the past, the *Historia* is thought to be contemporary from the year 1129 or so onward. But his chronicling of contemporary events is much less detailed than the previous parts of his history, and is filled with quite a bit of "providential interpretation." The *Historia* is also valuable because—like the *Historia Novella*, it tends to be supportive of Matilda's cause. But because Henry of Huntingdon composed his text as a historical reader for a general public, 11 it contains a level of exaggeration and literary illusion

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<sup>28 &</sup>quot;... huius regni gesta et nostre gentis origines... decurrenda suscepi." HH, 4-7.
29 HH, lxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> He writes, for example, about Stephen's accession to the throne: "But in the time that followed [after the death of Henry I], which was set on fire by the mad treacheries of the Normans, what Henry had done [during his reign that might cause criticism]—whether in the manner of a tyrant or of a king—seemed, by comparison with worse, to be the summit of excellence. For without delay came Stephen, the younger brother of Count Theobald of Blois, a man of great valor and boldness, and trusting to his vigor and effrontery [impudentia], although he had sworn the English realm's oath of fealty to the daughter of King Henry, he challenged God by seizing the crown of the kingdom [regni diadema Deum temptans inuasit.]. William, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been the first to take the oath, blessed him—alas!—as king." Ibid., 700-1.

<sup>31</sup> Henry of Huntington termed it as written for "the many (I mean the less educated)." Ibid., 585.

that is not found in the *Gesta*, and must therefore be read with care. Henry's penchant for romantic and didactic literature adds to its more "popular" nature, something reflected in the large number of copies that survived. Given its popularity, it is reasonable to assume his opinions are a reflection of popular belief.

# Background: Matilda's Struggle for the Throne, the Battle of Lincoln, and its Aftermath

The Empress Matilda, daughter of King Henry I of England, arrived in England in 1139, intent on taking the throne from King Stephen. Stephen, her paternal cousin, 33 had ascended to the throne under suspicious circumstances after Henry I's untimely death without a male heir in December 1135. 34 Henry had on more than one occasion asked the barons of England to swear allegiance to Matilda, 55 but many in England were luke-warm at best about the idea of a female ruler. Not only was she

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Over thirty medieval copies of the *Historia Anglorum* have been found, and at least five (with a possible three more) were made in the twelfth century. In an age when books were laboriously copied by hand, and the number of literate and scholarly were few, the survival of so many copies of Henry's text is amazing. Ibid., cxvii-cxliv.

text is amazing. Ibid., cxvii-cxliv.

33 Stephen was the second son of Countess Adela of Blois, Henry I's youngest sister, ie the Conqueror's grandson by his daughter, Adela.

34 Henry had had a second son of Countess Adela.

Henry had had a son William who died tragically in a shipwreck in November 1120. Henry remarried shortly thereafter in January 1121 to Adeliza of Louvain, but the marriage remained childless.

The first time was in January 1127 at his Christmas court, and is mentioned in multiple sources. According to John of Worcester, they swore to defend her loyally and against all others if she outlived her father and he left no legitimate male heir. The Gesta Normannorum Ducum reports that Henry "uolebat enim illam post suam mortem in regnum Anglie hereditario jure succedere, fecit episcopos et archiepiscopos et abbatem potentiores necnon comites et satrapas totius Anglici regni sub artissimo sacramento illi fidelitatem hoc pacto promittere, quatinus ipsi pro suis uiribus obniterentur, ut eadem augusta, post decessum patris, monarchiam Majoris Brittannie, quam nunc Angliam vocant, obtineret." Likewise, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reported that with the King of Scotland there to help support his effort, Henry "had archbishops, and bishops, and abbots, and earls, and all those thegas who were there swear England and Normandy after his death into the hand of his daughter...." Henry had delayed as long as possible before making arrangements for Matilda to succeed, hoping that his new wife would bear an heir, but as this became less and less likely, Matilda became, in the words of Marjorie Chibnall, his "insurance policy." She had been married to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V (1106-25), but after his death, Henry recalled her in an effort to solidify her claim to the throne. The second oath, reported only by John of Worcester, was at Easter Court 1128. There also seems to have been a third oath swearing in September 1131, after Matilda had married her second husband, in which oaths of those who had sworn previously were renewed and those who had not, were required. There may also have been oaths sworn again in 1133 after the birth of Matilda's first son, Henry, but this was reported by late sources, and therefore not entirely reliable. ASC, 256; GND, 2:240; Roger of Howden, Chronica, 1:186-7; HN, 6-9 (for the first oath), 18-21 (for the second oath); Ralph de Diceto, 1:246-7; The Empress, 51-2; 59.

example, focuses on establishing the so-called "rules of the game," categorizing types of hostages and the types of arrangements in which hostages were necessary as well as establishing success rates. But none of these studies really examines the issues of perception: how were hostages viewed by medieval society? While scholars have tended to suggest that there were "rules" that were supposed to protect hostages and captives, only moderate attempts have been made to see whether or not those rules were truly seen as "rules" to be followed or if they were more changeable. The scholarship also, for the most part, does not deal with women, and those that do only discuss women as victims. The same is true of studies on captives. Furthermore, much of the literature that discusses captives is focused on establishing that the fate of captives improved as a result of chivalry. But as this chapter demonstrates, this argument should be reevaluated.

Chapter Two, entitled "...Nor could anyone report it, / That there were any women so wretchedly tormented:' Women as Hostages and Captives in the Anglo-French World," explores female hostages and captives as they have been previously depicted: as passive victims of their families and warfare. At the same time, however, this chapter pushes beyond the traditional approach to consider the role female hostages and captives played in the medieval imagination. Female hostages and captives played symbolic roles, not only in actual events but also within medieval fantasy and depictions of the historical past. Borrowing from excellent studies of violence done to women, such as Kathryn Gravdal's study of rape, this chapter argues that the anxieties that the sources express over the fate of women has more to do with what women represent than the actual fate of the women themselves and as a result, is really about the abuse of men and their values.

Chapters Three and Four form the heart of this study in that they illuminate areas of female activity during wartime that have yet to be discussed by scholars:

female, but at the time of the first oath swearing she was a widow and childless, making her even more vulnerable. When Henry did provide her with a husband, he chose someone many of the barons heartily disapproved of: Geoffrey of Anjou, son of Duke Fulk of Anjou. Their distaste was likely three-fold. First, Geoffrey's role as consort to Matilda was undefined and many worried about Angevin rule when Matilda became queen. This worry was not abated by the fact the Henry himself refused to discuss Geoffrey's intended role, and likely hoped to yet have a male heir, which would have precluded the need to have the discussion in the first place. 36 Second, it also upset the balance of power within France, uniting Normandy and Anjou together against France. Given that many of Henry I's nobles in Normandy were also subject to the King of France, it put them in an awkward position. 37 Third, Henry I appears to have married Matilda to Geoffrey without consulting his barons beforehand. William of Malmesbury remarks that it was shortly after the marriage that men began "to assert, as though by some prophetic spirit, that after his [Henry I's] death they would fail to keep their oath," in particular Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who reportedly told William himself that he had only sworn the oath on the condition that he was consulted in the matter of Matilda's marriage. 38 As a result, when Henry I died in Normandy in 1135, the succession, as it had been after the death of both his father and his older brother, was disputed. None of the sources agree about what Henry's last wishes truly were. Although William of Malmesbury states that Henry did indeed pass the throne to Matilda, the Gesta Stephani reports that the barons felt the oath they had sworn to her was done under duress, and that Henry, realizing this to be true, had

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<sup>38</sup> HN, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> This may explain why Geoffrey did not come with Matilda when she eventually invaded England and limited his activities to Normandy, which was the long-time rival much closer to Anjou and more relevant to his regional ambitions

relevant to his regional ambitions.

37The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle remarks that Henry had Matilda 'wedded to the son of the earl of Anjou, [who] was called Geoffrey Martel... despite the fact that it offended all the French and English." ASC, 256. See C. Warren Hollister, "Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum," Speculum 51:2 (Apr., 1976), 202-242.

absolved his barons of their oaths to Matilda on his deathbed.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, a recent border war between Anjou and Normandy had led to a quarrel between Matilda and her father,<sup>40</sup> and many barons were even more concerned about Matilda inheriting the crown. Stephen, who must have known in advance that Matilda's accession to the throne was problematic for many of the barons, quickly crossed the Channel from Boulogne and went to London, where he was welcomed by the citizens, and later crowned with the help of his brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester, on December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1135. Matilda, too far away in Normandy to beat Stephen to the punch, could do nothing to undo Stephen's *fait accompli*. Civil war was inevitable.

### In 1139 Matilda invaded England in an attempt to take the throne. She

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid.,13. The Gesta Stephani states that Henry "in his death-agony, when very many were standing by and listening to his truthful confession of his errors, ... plainly showed repentance for the forcible imposition of the oath on his barons." [... supremo eum agitante mortis articulo, cum et plurimi astarent, et ueram suroum erratum confessionem audirent, de iureiurando uiolenter baronibus suis iniuncto apertissime paenituit.] GS, 12-13. The story is corroborated by John of Salisbury in the Historia Pontificalis where he reports that Arnulf, archdeacon of Séez, at a papal curia to decide the matter, asserted that Henry's oath had been "extorted by force and was conditional only," that he had only sworn the oath to support the Empress Matilda's right to the throne if another candidate was not found. He further stated that on his deathbed, "Henry changed his mind... and designated his sister's son, Stephen, his heir." Arnulf claimed that Hugh Bigod, steward of Henry I and future earl of Norfolk, and two knights were witness to Henry's change of heart, to which they publically swore before the Archbishop of Canterbury, causing him to change his mind and crown Stephen. This is also reported in Gervase of Canterbury, 1:94.

According to William of Malmesbury, however, Henry did quite the opposite, confirming that "when he was asked... about his successor he assigned all his lands on both sides of the sea to his daughter in lawful in lasting succession." Both the Gesta and William of Malmesbury were highly partisan—the Gesta for Stephen's side and Malmesbury for Matilda—so it is hard to decipher which version of events is more accurate. John of Salisbury reports only what he heard at the curia, not what he knew from personal knowledge. Although he follows Arnulf's testimony before the court with a condemnatory response by Ulger, the bishop of Angers, John does not pass judgment either way, only remarking that the Pope (Innocent II) refused to make judgment either way. Whatever the reality, however, the story that Henry had backed down on Matilda's inheritance of the throne, combined with Stephen's quick action and the acceptance of his claim by Londoners, provided the barons of England with just the impetus they needed to back Stephen, despite reluctance on some people's parts. John of Salisbury, The Historia Pontificalis, 83-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> C. Warren Hollister remarks that "Maud's [Matilda's] opponents in 1126 would probably have had no choice but to accept her in December 1135, had it not been for her violent break with her father several months before." By getting involved in the endemic warfare along the Angevin-Norman border, they lost support when they needed it most. Further, both Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni report a serious dispute over Norman castles that had been promised to Matilda and her husband at the time of their marriage. It could not have looked to the Anglo-Norman barons as if Henry really wanted Matilda to inherit at this point, despite any oaths they may have taken. OV, 6:444-5; Chronique de Robert de Torigni, ed. L. Delisle, 1:200. C. Warren Hollister, Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World (London, 1986), 162-4. See also The Empress Matilda, 61.

initially had the momentum provided by the support of her illegitimate half-brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester; her maternal uncle David, King of Scotland; Brian Fitz Count, Lord of Wallingford; and Miles of Gloucester, as well as the rebellion of Baldwin de Redvers, but her progress soon ground to a halt. The year prior to the battle (1140) was one of stalemate, as the two sides gained little ground. A full-scale civil war had yet to erupt, and efforts at peace were made, but these failed to resolve the conflict between the two parties. While both Matilda and Stephen had their loyal adherents, many barons switched sides to suit their own needs and the reality of which army was nearby. As Marjorie Chibnall aptly describes it, "some [barons] kept the balance so delicately that even their contemporaries were uncertain which side, if any, they supported at a particular time."

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Miles of Gloucester had originally declared for Stephen and was constable at his court in 1136. The king granted him the honor of Gloucester and Brecknock. But in 1139, he declared for Matilda who in 1141 made him earl of Hereford.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Baldwin was the only English baron to declare for Matilda from the very start, never accepting Stephen as king of England. He immediately seized Exeter, holding it against Stephen, although he later was forced to leave it when Stephen besieged him there. He then continued his rebellion from the Isle of Wight and then Normandy at the urging of Matilda. The Gesta Stephani reports: "But Baldwin, rejecting for the time being the pleasures of the court, girded himself with resolution to encourage rebellion against the king; he complained bitterly to his friends and relations of the king's persecution, saying that he had been driven from his country and disinherited, had unjustly suffered banishment and exile, and therefore had fled to the only harbor of refuge open to him, that with strength and arms united they might try if they could in any way to improve his fortune. And those very distinguished men, showing their tender compassion for his complaints, aided him so vigorously with deed and counsel that they admitted him and his followers into their own castles and granted him without reserve the respect due to a lord. So he himself, with very numerous supporters, began to cause strife in the whole of Normandy, directed especially against the king's adherents; he did not refrain from plunder or violence; he did not shrink from the sword or from arson; by sudden pillaging raids he carried everything away without pity; creating disorder everywhere he made himself a terror to all. The Countess of Anjou, King Henry's daughter, was urging him to the commission of these deeds by continual entreaties and reminders, because on the death of her father King Stephen had appropriated his treasures, which it would have been more just to distribute to the poor for the benefit of his soul, and fortified some castles as his own property." GS, 44-7.

43 The first attempt at peace was made at a conference in Bath, where negotiations were led by Robert

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The first attempt at peace was made at a conference in Bath, where negotiations were led by Robert of Gloucester and Henry of Blois (bishop of Winchester and Stephen's younger brother), Theobald archbishop of Canterbury and Stephen's queen, Matilda of Boulogne. But neither side could agree who should decide how the succession issue should be settled—Matilda's side arguing that the church decide, and Stephen's side vehemently refusing to let this happen—and thus the conference resulted in a stalemate. Henry of Blois later travelled to France to meet with King Louis VII and Theobald, Count of Blois (his and Stephen's elder brother), but neither could broker a peace. Jim Bradbury, Stephen and Matilda, 81

Matilda, 81.

The Empress Matilda, 90.

But it was the actions of two such barons that finally gave Matilda her chance: Earl Ranulf of Chester and his half-brother, William of Roumare. Their mother had been a great heiress, and when Stephen came to the throne both brothers pushed for the return of lands they felt were theirs through her, including the castle of Lincoln. Towards the end of 1140, Stephen made some concessions, granting Ranulf the title of Earl of Lincoln, but did not grant him custody of the castle, which appears to have angered Ranulf deeply. Believing that the Ranulf and his brother were satisfied with the arrangements, Stephen appears to have left the castle lightly guarded. Although William of Malmesbury and the Gesta imply nothing untoward about Ranulf and William's actions in moving into the castle, 45 most of the sources agree that in Stephen's absence, the two brothers-clearly not pleased-decided to take by force what they could not get by grant, seizing the castle. 46

The battle, which took place on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1141, began as a siege, but developed into the only full-blown battle between Stephen and Matilda in the entire civil war. The citizens of Lincoln, either upset with Ranulf and William's seizure of the castle or, in the words of William of Malmesbury, "wishing to lay the king under great obligation,"47 did not submit but sent for Stephen, who led an army to besiege the earl and his brother. Things went well for Stephen at first because neither Ranulf

<sup>45</sup> William even calls their actions "unsuspicious." HN, 80-1; GS, 110-11

<sup>46</sup> Orderic Vitalis writes: "In the year of our Lord 1141 ... Ranulf, earl of Chester, and William of Roumare, his uterine brother, rebelled against King Stephen and, by a trick, captured the castle which he held at Lincoln for the protection of the city. They cunningly found a time when the household troops of the garrison were widely dispersed, and then sent their wives ahead to the castle under the pretext of a friendly visit. When the two countesses were passing the time there, laughing and talking with the wife of the knight who ought to have been defending the castle, the early of Chester arrived, unarmed and without his cloak, as though to escort his wife home, and three knights followed him without arousing any suspicion. Once inside the castle they suddenly snatched crowbars and weapons which lay to hand and violently expelled the king's guards. Then William burst in with a force of armed knights, according to a prearranged plan, and in this way the two brothers took control of the whole city." Orderic Vitalis is the only sources to give any details of the seizure of the castle of Lincoln, although Henry of Huntingdon, Robert of Torigni, and William Newburgh all also imply that the occupation of the castle was unwarranted. OV, 6:538-9; HH, 724-5, Robert de Torigni, 1:220. The Empress Matilda, 94.

47 HN, 80-1.

nor his brother had apparently learned from Stephen's mistake about leaving the castles unguarded. The Gesta Stephani reports that, "the king, arriving suddenly and unexpectedly ... found the castle almost empty, except for the earl's wife and brother and a few of their adherents, whom the earl had left there... [while he] manag[ed] to escape by himself."48 Ranulf's timely escape, however, allowed him to seek help from his father-in-law, Robert of Gloucester. After swearing fidelity to Matilda, he and Robert returned to Lincoln, and the king was eventually taken in battle.

With the king held securely in captivity, Empress Matilda pushed to have herself crowned queen. But she failed to take advantage of the situation, underestimating the limits to which she could push her baronage, the citizens of London, and the bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother. Unable to convince either the ecclesiastical or lay elements of England of her legitimacy, she was forced to retreat from London. On November 14th both she and her illegitimate half-brother Earl Robert of Gloucester were trapped by a royalist army while attempting to take the castle of Winchester. During Matilda's flight from Winchester, Earl Robert appears to have allowed himself to be captured fighting the rearguard action against the forces of Matilda of Boulogne, Stephen's wife, allowing his sister to escape to the castle of Devizes. 49 With both men being held as captives of war, it was left to their wives— Matilda of Boulogne and Countess Mabel of Gloucester—to negotiate their release. Robert and Stephen were eventually exchanged and the other hostages from Winchester released after paying their ransoms.

As a result, the battle of Lincoln and its aftermath resulted in a return to the status quo. 50 The Angevins did manage to exact promises that the castles and lands

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> GS, 110-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> This battle is known as the Battle of Stockbridge. See Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda*, chapters 4-5, and Chiball, The Empress Matilda, 88-117, for more detailed explanations of the events surrounding the Battle of Lincoln and the seizure of Robert of Gloucester.

The Gesta Stephani duly notes that things "returned to the earlier position of the civil war." The author laments this, remarking: "These were indeed harsh and ill-judged terms [the exchange of Robert

they had taken since their arrival in England would remain in the hands of Matilda and her followers, <sup>51</sup> but Matilda seems to have lost almost all hope of gaining the throne. The bishop of Winchester, as papal legate, assured that those who had switched sides to join Matilda were not bound by their oaths, and although Matilda made efforts to gain new support, she was forced to send Robert of Gloucester to Normandy in order to find it. He was delayed there by Matilda's husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, who was more concerned with securing a conquest of Normandy for his son Henry than he was with installing his wife on the throne on England. While Robert was gone, Matilda suffered several losses, and, even when Robert finally returned, little was gained. Although she stayed in England until 1148, she never again had the opportunity that she had in 1141.

## "Dei igitur iudicio circa regem peracto:"52 The Problem of Kingly Captives

With Stephen's capture, Matilda was ready to ascend the throne, progressing slowly towards London and receiving homage along the way. All the sources, even those hostile to her, recognize that she was in a prime position to become ruling queen of England. According to the *Gesta*, after the battle of Lincoln, "the greater part of the kingdom was at once inclined to the countess and her adherents." Henry of Huntingdon reports that "she was received as lady by all the English nation except for the men of Kent," and William of Malmesbury states that "the greater part of England ... graciously accepted her lordship." John of Worcester, too, confirms that

of Gloucester for Stephen] and calculated to do harm to the entire country, but because there could be no peace and friendship between them for the moment, since the two parties were hotly at variance while negotiations were going on, this arrangement was made at last and glady accepted by both sides." GS, 136-7.

<sup>51</sup> The Empress Matilda, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> HH, 738-9.

<sup>53 &</sup>quot;Sed tamen maior regni pars comitissae suisque se fautoribus continuo inclinauit....." GS, 114-15.

<sup>54</sup> Kent was a stronghold of Stephen's and in the hands of William of Ypres, one of his main military commanders. As Henry comments, "Imperatrix ab omni gente Anglorum suscipitur in dominam, exceptis Kentensibus, ubi regina et Willelmus Yprensis contra eam pro uiribus repugnabant." HH, 738-

<sup>9.
55 &</sup>quot;Pleraque tunc pars Angliae... dominatum eius suspitiebat." HN, 96-7.

Matilda received a good deal of support once Stephen had been captured. 56

Stephen's capture was not, however, the complete boon it may have at first appeared. While it opened up numerous opportunities for Matilda, it also left several complications that were not easily resolved. While some sort of confinement seemed to be a good solution for the moment, the issue of the long-term captivity made Stephen more of a problem than he had been as a free man. As Donald Matthew has noted, "By later standards, it may seem extraordinary that means were not found to murder him and so get him out of the way, as happened to four English kings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the twelfth century, the murder of a king would have hopelessly compromised the position of his successor. Even to keep him in captivity was considered infamous...." Within a matter of months of Stephen's capture, the throne of England had slipped through Matilda's fingers, and according to the sources, at least part of the reason was that Matilda mistreated Stephen while he was her hostage.

Despite the fact that Matilda's status as a hostage and captive-taker/holder does not appear to have been considered extraordinary in the sources, Stephen's treatment while in her care elicited almost universal condemnation. The Gesta Stephani reports that Matilda of Boulogne-Stephen's wife and queen-approached the Empress about the release of her husband shortly after the battle of Lincoln. The author writes: Just about this time too the queen [Matilda of Boulogne], a woman of subtlety and a man's resolution, sent envoys to the countess [The Empress Matilda, who was also the Countess of Anjou by marriage] and made earnest entreaty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> "...The lady empress, King Henry's daughter... was ecstatic at this turn of events [Stephen's capture], having now, as she thought, gained possession of the kingdom, which had been promised to her by oath. Therefore, after taking counsel with her followers she... approached Cirencester. There... she received hospitality, and then imposed her rule. Leaving Cirencester, she approached Wincester, and there the bishops of almost all of England, many nobles, the chief magnates, innumerable knights different abbots with their monks, from the same city monks from two houses, nuns from a third house, chanting in procession hymns and thanksgivings, and the clergy of the city with all the citizens and crowds of people, all came to meet her in great state and pomp. Then the most famous city of Wincester was handed over to her, and the crown of the English kingdom was given to her rule." He then goes on to describe the joyful greetings she received in Wilton, Reading, Oxford, and Westminster. JW, 3:292-7. Donald Matthew, King Stephen, 103-4.

for her husband's release from his filthy dungeon and the granting of his son's inheritance, though only that to which he was entitled by her father's will; but when she was abused in harsh and insulting language and both she and those who had come to speak on her behalf completely failed to gain their request, the queen, expecting to obtain by arms what she could not by supplication, brought a magnificent body of troops across in front of London from the other side of the river and gave orders that they should rage most furiously around the city with plunder and arson, violence and the sword, in sight of the countess and her men. 58

William of Malmesbury also highlights Matilda's treatment of Stephen, even though he is the only chronicler to imply that Stephen may have been placed in chains out of necessity. William reports that, once transferred to Bristol, he was at first allowed his liberty, but when he was found outside his place of detention, Stephen was eventually "confined in iron rings." But William also hints that this was not entirely just, for it was done "because of the insolence of some who said openly and continually, in an offensive way, that it was not to the earl's advantage to keep the king in a different fashion from what they themselves desired." He certainly makes it clear that there was contemporary criticism in the months after the battle. He describes a letter from Queen Matilda that was read before a council held after the battle of Lincoln in which she complains that "cruel men...have cast [Stephen] into chains."

John of Worcester also does not mention that Stephen was in chains at first.

He states that Stephen was placed "under close guard" first at Gloucester and then at

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He states that Stephen was placed "under close guard" first at Gloucester and then at

<sup>58 &</sup>quot;In huius etiam temporis instantia regina, astuti pectoris uirilisque constantiae femina, nunciis ad comitissam [of Anjou] destinatis, pro uiro ex carcerali squalore eruendo, filioque illius ex paterno tantum testamento hereditando, enixe supplicauit; sed cum duris et inhonestis conuiciata inniuriis, tam ipsa quam et illi, qui uice illius supplicaturi accesserant, suae petitionis compotes [minime]exstiterant, regina, quod prece no ualuit, armis impetrare confidens, splendidissimum militantium decus ante Londonias ex altera fluuii regione transmisit, utque raptu et incendio, uiolentia et gladio in comitissae suorum que prospectu ardentissime circa ciuitatem desaeuirent praecepit." GS, 122-23.

<sup>60 &</sup>quot;Succedenti uero tempore, propter insolentiam quorundam palam et probrose dictitantium non expedire comiti ut regem secus ac ipsi uellent seruaret, simul et quia ipse ferebatur plusquam semel, uel elusis uel delinitis custodibus, extra statutam costodiam noctu presertim inuentus, anulis ferreis innodatus est." Ibid., 86-7.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 96-7.

Bristol.<sup>62</sup> But by the time Matilda had reached London, he evidently had been placed in chains, for John reports that "the queen of England [Matilda of Boulogne] interceded with the empress on behalf of her king, who was a prisoner under guard and in chains." The "chief men and highest nobles of England" also pleaded with the empress on Stephen's behalf, and "offered to give her many hostages, castles, and great riches, if the king were to be set free and allowed to recover his liberty, though not his crown. They promised to persuade him to give up the crown, and thereafter live a life devoted to God alone as a monk or pilgrim."

Henry of Huntingdon tells a slightly different story which puts the blame for Stephen's treatment squarely on Matilda's shoulders. Whereas William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester place Stephen's harsh treatment before Matilda's flight from London, Henry places the event later. It was only after she was driven out of the city that she "ordered the king, the Lord's anointed, to be put in irons."

None of the four main authors suggest that Stephen's treatment while in prison was the sole reason for Matilda's failure to gain the throne. However, despite the fact that none of them can agree on exactly how it was that Stephen ended up in chains, Stephen's mistreatment and Matilda's refusal to release him from captivity are consistently highlighted as among of the more important reasons that the nobles and ecclesiastics of England turned away from her.<sup>65</sup>

The consistent message in all four sources is that Matilda's mistreatment of

...primo ad Glocestrensem...., deinde ad Bricstouuensem urbem adductus et custodie mancipatus

est." JW, 3:292.

63 "...interpellauit dominam Anglorum regina, pro domino suo rege capto et custodie et uinculis mancipato. Interpellata quoque est pro eadem causa et a maioribus seu primoribus Anglie, obsidibus multis, castellis et diuitiis magnis sue dictioni tradendis, si rex absolutus, non regno sed sue tantum redderetur libertati. Se enim ei suasuros spoponderunt, quatinus regno dimisso, Deo soli, siue monachus

siue pergrinus, exinde deseruiret." Ibid., 3:296.

64 "Irritata igitur muliebri angore regem unctum Domini in compedibus poni iussit." HH, 740-41.

65 The other main reasons seem to be her treatment of the citizens of London and her refusal to let Stephen's son Eustace inherit the counties of Boulogne and Mortain, which had been bestowed on Stephen by Matilda's father Henry I, and as such were Stephen's prior to his assumption of the throne. HN, 98-101.

Stephen was a major blunder on her part. In Henry of Huntingdon, it is the event that directly precedes Matilda's rout at Winchester, and as noted above, in the Gesta it is Matilda's failure to release Stephen from his "filthy dungeon" that led the queen to raise an army and chase Matilda out of London. John of Worcester reports that she refused all the requests made of her while she was in London, including that for Stephen's release from captivity, and as a result, "a plot was made against her, and the Londoners who had received her with honor now tried to seize her with indignity. She was forewarned...and escaped shamefully with her followers, abandoning her goods and those of her men." When the bishop of Winchester saw this, he "began to think of setting free his brother."66 While William of Malmesbury suggests that Matilda's refusal to give Stephen's son Eustace his father's lands was the "origin of all the evils that followed in England," Stephen's mistreatment once again plays an important role in Queen Matilda's complaints against the Empress, and his imprisonment serves as one of her pleas to Henry of Winchester in order to get his help. 67 As a result. Matilda's imprisonment and maltreatment of Stephen require a bit of contextualization and analysis. What was it that Matilda did that was so dreadfully wrong by putting Stephen into prison and chaining him up?

As noted in Chapter One, life-long imprisonment of high-profile and problematic captives was not unusual in Anglo-Norman England, and, like her father before her with Robert Curthose, Matilda faced a conundrum. She probably never had

<sup>66</sup> JW, 3:296-9

<sup>67</sup> According to William, Henry of Winchester, who had assumed these lands would go to Eustace, was "enraged" when Empress Matilda refused to let this happen and promised them to others. As a result, he met with the queen and "influenced by her tears and offers of amends he resolved to free his brother." Although Robert of Gloucester attempted to make peace between Henry and Matilda, once she got wind of his betrayal, she led a troop to Winchester to besiege the bishop, and while she was there, she was eventually besieged by the forces of Queen Matilda. But I would like to suggest that this depiction of events is shaped by William's desire to allievate some of Matilda's fault in treating Stephen so harshly. Further, it sounds to me like this is an interpretation that would be favorable to Henry of Winchester, and a justified excuse for his leaving the Angevin party and returning to Stephen's camp. So while Matilda's refusal to grant Eustace his father's estates was likely a sore spot, I think that Stephen's mistreatment was just as important for the reasons suggested above. HN, 98-101.

women as hostage- and captive- takers, holders, givers, and ransomers. For the first time, women are seen as active participants in customs in which they are usually painted as the exact opposite. Women appear to have been involved in the processes much more frequently than has been acknowledged in the past. Furthermore, they use such roles to achieve positions of power, prestige, and authority within their families and communities. They also draw upon uniquely feminine ideologies and roles in order to successfully accomplish their hostage- and captive- taking, holding, and ransoming goals. Like previous chapters, this one also investigates medieval attitudes towards these women by looking at literary representations of them. What is found is that, as with female hostages and captives, medieval society was unsure how to approach women in charge of hostages and captives. On the one hand, there was a certain level of acceptance that women would on occasion have to fill active roles associated with hostages and captives. Yet there appears to have also been a deep-seated worry that women were not entirely capable of doing so and that relying on women in these cases could lead to serious trouble.

Chapter Five, entitled "Every Trace of a Woman's Gentleness Removed from her Face: Abuse, Gender, and Politics in the Case of the Empress Matilda and the Battle of Lincoln, 1141," is a case study of one particular hostage situation involving a female hostage-taker and holder, the Empress Matilda of England. It takes many of the lessons of Chapter Three and examines how they played out in the context of Matilda's bid for the English throne. What becomes apparent is that Matilda's choice to mistreat her hostage—her rival King Stephen of England—which, although under normal circumstances would have been less problematic, is understood by her contemporaries in predominantly negative ways. Her actions, rather than seen as the justice of an angry, legitimate ruler, are painted as a product of womanly anger and her inability to control her emotions. While not the sole reason for Matilda's downfall,

any intention of releasing Stephen from prison. In fact, the *Gesta Stephani* reports that he was "to be kept there [in the tower of Bristol] until the last breath of his life." To release Stephen would make no sense. Why would Matilda release the enemy she had worked so hard to catch and one who would be unlikely to calmly resume being a mere lord, having once been king? Stephen would only become a rallying point for the barons Matilda had only recently received submission from (or had not received submission from yet), and thus his wife's request that he be released was unreasonable from the Empress' perspective. Further, despite whatever ability the barons of England might have had to sway Stephen to give up his throne, their request (as reported in John of Worcester) to have him freed so he could become a monk or pilgrim seems ridiculous and her refusal prudent. Even if Stephen had agreed, there were plenty of people in England willing to make trouble for the Empress in his name. Keeping Stephen in prison for life was the judicious choice.

Much of the problem for the authors of the contemporary sources, however, was not his imprisonment, but that Matilda mistreated Stephen, actions that reflected poorly on her. It would be easy to dismiss Stephen's suffering in Matilda's hands as malicious revenge against the man she perceived having stolen her throne and birthright. But even if this were true, things are likely more complicated than that. Again, as noted in chapter one, degradation of elite captives was not unusual in either the Anglo-Norman or the broader medieval European world by any means, and, we have seen that it was not uncommon for lords to purposefully abuse or threaten to abuse captives in order to press their advantage and gain concessions regardless of social status. Matilda's own experience as queen consort of Germany would have provided her with ample opportunities to see this for herself; her husband Henry even

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> GS, 114-15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> See Strickland's arguments in Chapter One.

held prisoner the pope himself and his cardinals until they conceded to his demands. The Given this tradition, it is likely that this was at least in part Matilda's strategy. The scale here, however, is much grander. While the kings above used captive abuse as pressure to gain the surrender of castles, Matilda's capture of Stephen gained her the potential surrender of an army, a queen, and a kingdom. It is possible that she expected her mistreatment of Stephen and her disregard of requests for concessions would force what was left of Stephen's support—led by his wife—to surrender completely.

Matilda may also have been working within the cultural standard discussed in chapter one that rebels taken in active defiance of the king or their lord seem to have, in general, been punished more severely. Defiance and refusal to concede justified the harsh treatment and was one way for a lord or king to show his resolution that the rebellion or defiance was not acceptable or defensible. It is certainly possible that Matilda was making a deliberate effort to construe Stephen as a defiant rebel rather than a legitimate king. Stephen had sworn the 1127 oath to support Matilda's accession to the throne as Henry I's heir. By defying that oath and having himself crowned king, Stephen was arguably, in a technical sense, a rebellious lord, and therefore in Matilda's mind, the worst kind of criminal, worthy of harsh treatment. By treating him harshly and making no secret of it, Matilda may have wanted to shift the focus away from Stephen's royal status. In essence, she attempted to desacralize him, to make clear through her actions that he was never a king to begin with, despite any unction he may have received.

Matilda's actions in publically deciding the fate of captives, receiving hostages, and locking Stephen up indicate that she might have wanted to disseminate an image of herself as swiftly just and capable of waging war in order to demonstrate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> The Empress Matilda, 25, 50.

her strength as the rightful inheritor of the throne despite her sex. Since Matilda knew her claim to the throne had not been considered valid because she was female, she might have felt the need to prove that she had the authority and power to act decisively against those who crossed her. Stephen was the prime offender, and as such she might have wanted to make a clear example of him. Stephen was only a noble when he seized the throne. Although he was the king's nephew and the biggest secular landholder in England second to the king at the time, he was still only the Count of Mortain and as a second son not even heir to the Counts of Blois and Champagne. Matilda refused to acknowledge Stephen's status as king as legitimate and treated him according to his status prior to his assumption of the throne: as a recalcitrant noble. But whatever message Matilda may have been trying to convey to others by her treatment of Stephen, the nobles of England did not accept it. As far as they were concerned, Stephen's anointing as king changed his status irrevocably. As Henry of Huntingdon's comments suggest, many in England-even those likely to support her—saw Stephen as a consecrated king, whether or not he had assumed the throne honestly. As Marjorie Chibnall suggests, the capture of a king did not automatically mean he was deposed, 'whatever the circumstances in which he had originally seized the crown." While she might have been mimicking her father in his efforts at strong justice towards criminals and traitors, she might have been wiser to take the example of his treatment of Robert Curthose, who, despite never having been anointed king, was thought by his contemporaries to have a legitimate claim as the eldest son of William the Conqueror. Stephen had a claim whether or not Matilda liked it. Even the pope had supported his accession to the throne; by 1136, Stephen had letters of support from Pope Innocent II, who reconfirmed his commitment to Stephen in 1139

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> The Empress Matilda, 96.

after Matilda had brought her case before the Papal Curia. Matilda could not erase the fact that there were many in England and Normandy who had not sworn an oath to her, or who, in the last days of her father's rule had felt unsure of Henry I's intentions. Nor could she deny that, usurper he may have been, he had been consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and ruled England for six years at the time of his capture. Certainly Matilda should have been aware that many of both the lay and ecclesiastical barons understood Stephen as a legitimate king defeated in battle when Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury and "most of the bishops, together with a number of laymen," went to seek Stephen's permission to transfer their allegiance to the Empress "as the times required." As a result, her choice of mistreating him became an example not of her political astuteness, but her inability to understand the rules of politics and war.

Further, as Annette Parks notes, the higher the status of the incarcerated individual, the greater the expectation that he or she would be treated with respect. Likewise, Jean Dunbabin argues that while "chains were probably regarded as suitable for most people, it is apparent that they were perceived as demeaning to those of high status." Once crowned, a king was supposed to be protected from poor treatment by his new and elevated status. This may be why William of Malmesbury was so careful to mention that Robert of Gloucester did not chain Stephen up out of "regard...[for] the splendor of the crown." A harsh imprisonment of Stephen would inevitably cause a public outcry and cause worry among the barons of England about their own treatment in the future. If she could treat a consecrated king that way, they could likely expect no better. If, as John Gillingham has remarked, the civil war was "virtually unwinnable" for Stephen, because chivalric conventions limited his freedom

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ibid, 75-6.

<sup>73</sup> HN, 90-91. Stephen gave them "courteous permission."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Parks, 199-200.

<sup>75</sup> Dunbabin, Captivity, 29.

<sup>76</sup> HN, 86-7.

to treat Matilda as he would have treated a man who challenged his throne, 77 Matilda, too, was limited in her ability by that very same code to punish Stephen in a harsh way. Her abuse of Stephen was therefore not read as the decisive action of as strong monarch, but the vindictive action of an over-emotional woman.

#### Ira Reginae? The Problem with Anger and Angry Women

Matilda's mistreatment of Stephen took on yet another nuance it did not for other abusers of captives. It became one way in which sources negative to her could not only suggest that she was unfit to rule, but that she was unfit precisely because was an angry, haughty, and overbearing woman. Even if certain parts of her behavior, like deciding the fate of hostages and captives were acceptable, once she went out of bounds, the sources reduced her behavior to a product of her femininity (or lack thereof) and therefore her inherent weakness. She became the justification for many of the sources as to why women were not supposed to rule alone, something the sources indicate was an issue when her succession was first proposed in the 1120s. Even if women did on occasion have to fill in for their husbands as Queen Matilda of Boulogne did, left to their own devices, women would go too far, and in the minds of the authors of the sources, Matilda's actions proved exactly how and why. As Marjorie Chibnall remarks, while Matilda may have learned statecraft from her father, Henry I, "some of his methods set examples she would have been wise not to follow.... Conduct acceptable in a powerful king whose barons had reason to fear his anger was not acceptable in a 'Lady of the English' fighting an uphill struggle to establish her authority." She could not maintain the upper hand simply by retaining control over Stephen. Following Stephen's capture, Matilda's husband Geoffrey had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> "Indeed it was chivalry which made the civil war virtually unwinnable for Stephen since it meant that he was unable to treat his female rival in the way he would have dealt with a man." He is referring here to the moment of Matilda's arrival in England at Arundel, when Stephen let Matilda leave and go to Bristol rather than capture her. John Gillingham, "1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry", 209. The Empress Matilda, 62-3.

gone to Normandy to force the barons to a decision. When the barons there proposed their solution, it was not in Matilda's favor. Instead, they suggested that Stephen's elder brother Theobald, count of Blois, be given the throne and Stephen be released and granted the territories he had held before becoming king, demonstrating just how much ground Matilda had yet to gain in her attempt to take the throne. Matilda may have felt completely justified in her actions and she may have considered them completely rational under the circumstances, but the chronicles clearly believed that she acted out of anger, without caution or forgiveness, and paint her as irrational as a result. Since she still faced resistance from the queen and those who remained loyal to the king despite his capture, and because she also needed to gain the support of the Church in order to be accepted and crowned queen, her choice to mistreat Stephen was, as Dr. Chibnal says, unwise. Rather than being read as justice, her treatment of Stephen was read as an example of her inability to control her on anger and therefore also a sign of her tyranny. So

Three themes are important to consider in discussions of Matilda's anger. First, anger is often easy to find in medieval texts, historical and literary alike, because in the medieval understanding of anger, anger manifests itself physically. It so consumes the person experiencing it that not only does a person feel it internally, but also physiologically, and her or she expresses it through words, gestures, changes in physical appearance and facial expressions. This burning up with anger, in a much used image, is often considered involuntary, almost like a disease spreading through the body against which a person must vigilantly defend himself. Alcuin, writing in the 8th century, said that anger was so debilitating that it literally took over a person's ability to think and act. It was "one of the eight principal vices. If it is not controlled

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> OV, 6:546-51; The Empress Matilda, 95.

Annette Parks makes a similar conclusion about the treatment of hostages.

by reason, it is turned into raging fury, such that a man has no power over his own soul and does unseemly things. For this vice so occupies the heart that it banishes from it every precaution in acting and in seeking right judgment." Medieval writers depicted the victims one infected as having red and visibly angry or fierce faces, pulling their hair out, throwing tantrums, eating straw, foaming at the mouth, bursting with rage, possessing burning eyes, gnashing teeth, and boiling blood. 32

Second, as Lester Little and others have noted, the standard Christian theological view of anger differentiated between a "vice that was self-indulgent and could be recklessly destructive and a righteous zeal that could marshal passion and thus focus energy to fight constructively against evil." Philosophers across the Middle Ages consistently highlighted the destructive nature of anger, pointing out not only how the individual was ruined by it, but also how anger threatened the whole surrounding community with chaos and destruction. Furthermore, Christian writers condemned anger because "from a theological perspective, anger was regarded as one of the central sins which guaranteed eternal damnation without any hope for ultimate salvation." Standards were higher for monks and nuns: the elimination of anger was especially necessary in order to pray and practice religion perfectly.

For the laity, however, "anger was an accepted aspect of the human condition that could have legitimate origins and could be made to serve legitimate ends." One of the few contexts in which anger carried some legitimacy was royal or kingly anger. While the just and merciful king was favored over the violent and angry one, anger had its place in the repertoire of emotional acts available to kings, even if it was

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<sup>81</sup> Alcuin, from the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, as quoted in Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, "'Just Anger' or

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Vengeful Anger'? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West," in Anger's Past, 75.

Stephen White, "The Politics of Anger," in Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, N.Y, 1998), 136-7.

<sup>83</sup> Lester K. Little "Anger in Monastic Curses" in Anger's Past, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Anger and Anger Management in the Middle Ages: Mental-Historical Perspectives," *Mediaevistik* 19 (2006): 25-32.
<sup>85</sup> Little, 27.

frowned upon by medieval authors, especially ecclesiastical ones. On the one hand, beginning in the Carolingian period, the Church, which "offered the ruler the advantage of sacral legitimacy and thereby the stabilization of his rule,...demanded from kings...conduct in line with Christian claims and norms," in this case a king who was "patient, mild, and...ever forgiving." Anger became anathema to the representation of good kings; in fact, "anger functioned...as proof that a ruler could not meet the demands of his office." To be angry was to fail as a king.

By the twelfth century, however, a new literary motif emerged in which the king could express just anger, or anger in a just cause. This new motif co-existed with the older one and "broadened the range of [a king's] options and lifted the all too obligatory duty to leniency." It is likely that this motif reflected a long-standing reality that, however much ecclesiastics might encourage kings to act, the expectations of secular society were much different. As Paul Hyams explains, "the patience to suffer evil was not what secular magnates and barons wanted of their king. [....] The prime functions of a good king for them inevitably included such *im*patient actions as the defense of the realm from enemies without, maintenance of peace within, and the doing of good, strong justice on wrong doers." Even churchmen could not only justify but demand the king's anger if it was directed against "infidels" and heretics, or disturbers of the peace of the realm, as Orderic Vitalis has Serlo, bishop of Séez, do in a sermon before Henry I of England. But this liberty was limited to "just" anger. A

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Seed Althoff, "Ira Regis: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger," in Anger's Past, 61. See also Paul Hyams, "What Did Henry III of England Think in Bed and in French about Kingship and Anger?" in Anger's Past, 99.

<sup>87</sup> Gerd Althoff, "Ira Regis," 65, 67.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 70-3.

<sup>89</sup> Hyams, "What did Henry III," 99.

on "Just king, in this dire distress of your native land, 'be angry' to some purpose, and, as David, prophet and king teaches us, 'sin not' by taking up arms not for lust of earthy power but for the defense of your country." ["Pro tanta natalis soli erumna probe rex utiliter irascere, et sicut Dauid propheta et rex commonet noli peccare, arma sumens pro defensione patriae non pro terrenae potestatis augendae cupiditate."] The bishop is supposedly giving an Easter sermon to Henry in response to Robert Curthose's lackadaisical rule of Normandy. OV, 6:60-67; quoted here from 62-65.

king could not arbitrarily harm his subjects or unleash unmitigated war against his barons or enemies, for if he did, he risked his kingdom. The rise of chivalry, reflected not only in courtly and epic literature, demanded generosity among friends and more merciful treatment of enemies, and meant that a king faced secular as well as ecclesiastical pressures to mitigate his anger and violence. Especially when dealing with factions or rebellious lords, it may have been in a king's best interest to act with leniency and bring former offenders back into the fold, as Henry III did in 1267 after Simon de Montfort's rebellion. Simon de Montfort's rebellion.

What this suggests is that, as Barbara Rosenwein proposes, in the Middle Ages, "an entire repertory of conflicting norms persisted side-by-side.... Some of these condemned anger outright; others sought to temper it; still others justified it." As a result of dichotomous ambiguity in medieval discussions of anger, authors could wield descriptions of anger as weapons in their writing, describing both friends and foes as possessing different types of anger. As Stephen White has noted, "medieval emotion talk was often used in such a way as to suggest that when writers imputed anger to specific people, they did so, not because they had direct knowledge of their feelings (if there is such a thing), but rather because they considered this emotion appropriate to a particular situation. In other cases, writers represented emotions whose inappropriateness was supposed to be evident to all." The anger of those of whom they approved was just and rightly motivated with proper results. For those they detested, anger was excessive or misdirected. As a result, examining an author's descriptions of moments of anger provides insight into how an author felt about a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ibid., 107-8; 112-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Ibid., 122-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, "Controlling Paradigms" in Anger's Past, 242-3. She cautions here, however, against letting Norbert Elias's idea of the "civilizing process" influence the history of emotions too much. To a certain extent, both Hyams and Althoff both appear to subscribe to a least a modified version of Elias's theory, albeit one that pushes his idea of a turning point back to the middle ages.
<sup>94</sup> White, 137.

specific person or their actions, revealing not only an author's personal bias but also illuminating medieval social values.

Third, while Christian writers encouraged all their readers to avoid anger at all costs, they especially admonished women, who were particularly prone to the sin of anger. In fact, Anger, or Ira in Latin, was depicted as a woman, a tradition that art historians believe dates back to the fifth-century text, Psychomachia, by Prudentius, which tells the epic story of the war between the virtues and vices. In this story and in the literature, art and images that resulted from this tradition, Ira appears as violent and disheveled with distorted features, or foaming at the mouth, a figure that eventually in her frustration at being unable to control her own violent behaviors, turns them upon herself, committing suicide with her own weapon. 95 Anger was also often associated with the Devil. In Christian writings, the virtues and vices were often spoken of in pairs, Patience and Anger were placed together, and Patience was associated with the actions of Christ, leaving Anger to be the epitome of the Devil.

Not only were women in general considered to be more, and often excessively, emotional, but specific emotions were thought to affect women in different ways than men. In particular, because in Augustinian thought women were deemed wet and cold, their anger lasted longer than that of men, whose temperament was hot and dry. As a result, while men could burn with anger quickly, their anger was also short-lived, whereas women, who were damp, smoldered over long periods of time. For men, then, any loss of reason associated with loss of control due to anger was short-term what might be called temporary insanity-whereas women's anger was premeditated and their inability to overcome their anger in a short period of time was a sign of the "perpetually irrational state of women."96

Little, 14. Kristi Gournay, "A Pugnacious Pagan Princess," 137-8.
 Perfetti, "Introduction," 5.

her treatment of her hostage becomes part of the reasons that she, as a woman, is deemed incapable of ruling England.

In many ways, this project raises more issues than it answers, but it provides a basic framework for beginning to discuss the complicated, and often problematic, nature of women and their relationship to hostage and captive-taking practices in the Middle Ages. The nature of this project is one that will pull together the diverse and scattered scholarship of recent decades into a concise and accessible format while presenting new research to augment a developing, yet still largely incomplete, picture of women in war. The product will hopefully be a better understanding of the West's cultural assumptions and legacy on these subjects.

Descriptions of Matilda's anger and its relationship to her hostage-taking practice make it clear that the sources felt she let her anger get the better of her and that this was one source of her downfall. The Gesta Stephani makes this point most clearly. The author suggests that her actions and overly arrogant attitude were what really pushed people away. The barons of England, the ecclesiastical community, and the city of London had all been at least partially willing to submit to her. Her accession to the throne was to usher in a time of peace and prosperity. But rather than graciously forgive those who had previously chosen Stephen but humbly submitted to her, she took away their lands and titles. Drunk on power, she became "arbitrary, or rather headstrong, in all that she did." Her anger was not perceived as being used in any sort of just cause, but in revenge for the wrongs she felt had been committed against her. According to the Gesta, she:

by reckless innovations...lessened or took away the possessions and lands of some, held on a grant from the king, while the fees and honours of the very few who still adhered to the king she confiscated altogether and granted to others; she arbitrarily annulled any grant fixed by the king's royal decree, she hastily snatched away and conferred on her own followers anything he had given with unshakeable perpetuity to churches or to his comrades in arms.

She also did not treat her own followers with respect, refusing to either stand in their presence or listen to them. Instead she acted on her own, without their counsel.<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, when she finally came to London with her army to be crowned and gain

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<sup>97</sup> The author repeats this idea of her arbitrariness later, saying she "arranged everything as she herself thought fit and according to her own arbitrary will." See below for the Latin and citation.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Illa itaque in hunc supremi honoris cumulum tam gloriose tam et excellenter euecta, cuncta coepit potenter, immo et praecipitanter agere, et alios quidem, qui regi paruerant, quique se illi et sua subicere conuenerant, inuite et cum aperta quandoque indignatione suscipere, alios autem iniuriis et minis afflictos indignando a se abigere, istorum possessiones et terras, ut rex haberi permiserat, ordine indiscrete permutato minuere uel auferre; illorum feudos et honores, qui, licet perpauci, regi adhuc paruerant, distrahere ex toto et aliis permittere; quicquid rex decreto regali permissum statuerat, ore imperioso destituere, quicquid ecclesiis uel secum commilitantibus fixe et inconcusse donarat, abripere confestim et suis impendere; quodque plurimi fuerat supercilii et arrogantiae indicium, cum rex Scotiae et episcopus Wintoniae et frater illius comes Glaorniae, quos totius regni primos continuos tunc comites secum ductabat, pro quolibet supplicaturi, poplitibus ante ipsam flexis accesserant, non ipsis ante se inclinantibus reuerenter ut decuit assurgere, nec in postulatis assentiri, sed inexauditos quam saepe, tumidaque responsione obbuccatos a se inhonore dimittere; iamiam que non illorum consiliis, ut decebat et ut eis promiserat, inniti, sed suo quaeque prouisu, suae et dispositionis praesumptu, cuncta ordinare."

GS. 120-1.

the support of the city, she demanded a large sum of money. The citizens told her that the war had hurt the city's wealth and asked for an extension on the payment until the city had recovered, but she arrogantly refused and angrily lashed out. She told them she would not spare them because they had given money to Stephen many times. <sup>99</sup> The Londoners immediately became regretful of their decision to support the Empress, for the "new lady of theirs was going beyond the bounds of moderation and sorely oppressing them," and they had no hope "that in time she would have bowels of mercy or compassion for them, seeing that at the very beginning of her reign she had no pity on her subjects and demanded what they could not bear." They decided to make a deal with the queen, "since having incurred a just censure for too hastily and too heedlessly abandoning the king they were in some fashion accepting, while he was still alive, the tyranny of usurpers that was laid upon them."

As the editor of the *Historia Novella* points out, her refusal to accept the grants made by King Stephen—one of the *Gesta's* sore spots—was not all that remarkable because her own son would essentially refuse to do the same. The mistake was "one of policy, not personality." But regardless of what current historians may judge to be her mistakes, her own contemporaries saw her policy failures not only as examples

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> "...cum immenso militum apparatu, rogatu Londoniensium, qui se illi supplices obtulerunt, ad ciuitatem postremo deuenit. Cumque ciues laetos se pacis et tranquillitatis attigisse dies, regnique infortunium in melius permutatum aestimarent, illa, ditioribus quibusque mandatis, infinitae copiae pecuniam, non simplici cum mansuetudine sed cum ore imperioso, ab eis exegit. Proinde cum illi solitas diuitiarum opulentias per regni dissensionem conquererentur amisisse, ad asperrimae famis, quae imminebat, releuandam inediam plurima impendisse, usque ad impudentem pauperiem regi semper obtemperasse ideoque pie illam et humiliter implorarent, quatinus calamitatis et oppressionis suae miserta, in exigendis pecuniis modum eis imponeret, iniungendis insoliti tributi angariis uexatis ciuibus uel pauco tempore parceret; deinde uero, cum sopitis per regnum bellorum tumultibus pax ex integro rediret stabilior, quanto amplius diuitiis dilatarentur, tanto obnixius ei suffragarentur. Talia his modis ciuibus prosequentibus, illa, torua oculus, crispata in rugam frontem, totam muliebris mansuetudinis euersa faciem, in intolerabilem indignationem exarsit, regi inquiens Londonienses plurima et saepe impendisse; diuitias sua ad eum roborandum, se autem imbecillandam, largissime prorogasee, cum aduersariis suis in malum suum dudem conspirasse; ideoque nec iustum esse in aliquot eis parcere, nec exquisitae percuniae uel minimum relaxare. His ciues perceptis tristes et inexauditi ad sua discessere.' Ibid., 120-23.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. 101 HN, lviii.

of her tyranny, but as intimately linked to her status as a woman. The Gesta makes this link between Matilda's tyranny and her gender explicit by considering her behavior un-womanly. Her anger was clearly the type that was considered out of control and unjust. It so powerfully consumed her that it could make her appear other than who she was. As soon as Stephen was captured, "she at once put on an extremely arrogant demeanor instead of the modest gait and bearing proper to the gentle sex, began to walk and speak and do things more stiffly and more haughtily than she had been wont..." Later when she was outside London, she acted "not with simple clemency/mildness, but with an imperious/domineering voice" [non simplici cum mansuetudine sed cum ore imperioso]. When the Londoners asked for a reprieve from the heavy financial burden she asked of them, her anger was so great that it physically manifested itself, going to far as to make her the embodiment of Ira herself: "she, with blazing eyes, her forehead wrinkled into a frown, every trace of a woman's gentleness removed from her face, blazed into unbearable fury" [illa, torua oculos, crispata in rugam frontem, totam muliebris mansuetudinis euersa faciem, in intolerabilem indignationem exarsit]. 103 Her failure to act with a woman's "gentleness" and "clemency" drove the Londoners away.

Further, she failed to act with the restraint of a just ruler, regardless of gender. According to the Gesta, she went "beyond the bounds of moderation" and was "sorely oppressing them." They felt they had no hope that "she would have the bowels of mercy or compassion for them, seeing that at the very beginning of her reign she had no pity on her subjects and demanded what they could not bear." Her anger was

illa statim elatissimum summi fastus induere supercilium nec iam humilem femineae mansuetudinis motum uel incessum, sed solito seuerius, solito et arrogantius procedere et loqui, et cuncta coepit peragere...."

103 GS, 122-3.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 122-5. "... noua illa domina discretionis metas transcendens immoderate se contra eos erigebat, nec futurae eam mansuetudinis uel pietatis habituram erga se uiscera sperabant, cum in primo iam regendi capite suorum nequaquam miserta intolerabilia eos postuleret: quocirca dignum consultu iudicarunt, ut cum regina pacis et cofoederationis pactione redintegrata, ad regem et dominum a

personal—the Londoners had helped her enemy, and therefore needed to be punished—and irresponsible at the delicate moment that was the beginning of a new reign. She seems to have underestimated or forgotten how powerful the Londoners truly were; they had, after all, practically made Stephen king. Rather than take their belated acceptance of her right to the throne for the gift it was and welcome the Londoners as subjects, she completely destroyed any chance she had of winning them over. Instead, they chose to return their loyalty to Stephen because of "the tyranny of usurpers that was laid upon them."

Other sources also make the link between Matilda's tyranny, her treatment of Stephen, and her gender. Her anger erupts because she is too womanly, again highlighting the medieval link between anger and femininity. According to John of Hexham's chronicle, although the nobles agreed to make her queen, "she ... elated by a woman's levity, assumed a majestic haughtiness of demeanor, and so she provoked the nobles by arrogant denunciations; she also declared that she would deal severely with King Stephen." He then makes the direct connection between her choice to punish Stephen and her loss of the kingdom, remarking that it was on this account that "the legate Henry, bishop of Winchester, king Stephen's brother, deserted from her, and very many were excited to enmity against her." Even Henry of Huntingdon, a source more favorable to Matilda than the Gesta, remarks that after her victory at Lincoln, Matilda was filled with "insufferable arrogance" [superbiam intolerabilem] and that as a result "she alienated the hearts of almost everyone" [omnium fere corda a se alienauit]. This was the reason she was driven out of London, and "provoked by this into a womanly rage, she ordered the king, the Lord's anointed, to be put in

uinculis eruendum unanimiter conspirarent, quod pro rege nimis subito nimis et indiscrete relicto iuste notati, iuiunctam sibi nouorum tyrannidem quoquomodo spirante adhuc rege susciperent."

105 Ibid., 124-5.

<sup>106</sup> Simeon of Durham, 2:309-10.

irons." For these authors, Matilda gave in to her base womanly nature, which was naturally prone to anger, and allowed her emotions to control her. Her emotions made her incapable of making the proper, rational kinds of decisions a king would have to make.

Only the Historia Novella, the source most favorable to her, refrains from placing overt blame on her unpopularity and failure to take the throne on her gender or tyrannical nature. Its author does his best to shift blame elsewhere. William focuses on the role of the Bishop of Winchester and the Londoners rather than the Empress. Here, they are the ones who are angry and cruel. First, William highlights the bishop's role in the Empress's rise to power. It is the bishop who urged the prelates and lords of England to abandon Stephen. He dismissively records the bishop as saying that it was too "tedious to wait" for the Empress to arrive from Normandy in order to be made queen, so he had supported his brother. So he soon began to regret his initial decision. He was "vexed to remember and ashamed to tell" of how his brother acted as king, "how no justice was enforced upon transgressors, and how peace was at once brought entirely to an end, almost in that very year," and gives a list of Stephen's transgressions. Because "God has executed his judgment on [his] brother in allowing him to fall into the power of the strong," he then supports Matilda, "the daughter of a king who was a peacemaker." When the Londoners and the barons demanded that Stephen be freed, it was the legate who answered their request negatively, and he also the one who refused Queen Matilda's request to free her husband.

It is also the bishop who, in his anger, was responsible for Matilda's downfall.

He demanded from Matilda that she give Eustace, Stephen's son and his own nephew,
the lands which Stephen had held before he was king. Matilda refused, having already

<sup>107</sup> HH, 738-41.

promised them to others. The bishop, "displeased by this injury [ille offensis iniuria], kept away from court for many days and, though often summoned back, persisted in refusal." He then made a pact with Queen Matilda to free his brother. The blame for her failure to keep London, William also places firmly on the Londoners, who also have uncontrollable anger. "But, behold," he writes," when it was thought that she was about to gain possession of the whole of England, everything was changed. The Londoners, who had always been under suspicion and in a state of secret indignation [semper suspecti et intra se frementes], then gave vent to the expressions of unconcealed hatred [tunc in aperti odii uocem eruperunt]; they even laid a plot, it is said, against their lady and her companions. The latter, forewarned of it and avoiding it, left the city gradually and calmly with some kind of military discipline." Given that William of Malmesbury was at this council, 109 his account of events may in fact be the most accurate, namely, that, contrary to what the other authors suggest, Matilda was not entirely to blame for what happened. But regardless of the truth, whether or not William was covering for his patron's sister or the sources accurately depicted Matilda, most of the sources of the time chose to paint her as a haughty, tyrannical, and power-hungry woman whose gender got in the way of her ability to rule England.

Even William himself seems to have criticized Matilda for her behavior in the treatment of Stephen. Although he never actually states that Matilda placed Stephen in chains, he goes out of his way to state that Robert of Gloucester treated Stephen with the utmost respect:

Therefore the worthy earl of Gloucester gave orders that the king should be kept alive and unharmed, not suffering even that he should be the victim of any insulting language. Behold, he mildly protected in humiliation him whom he had just been furiously assailing when exalted in majesty, so that, controlling

108 HN, 91-101.

<sup>109</sup> He writes "As I took part in this council, I will not deny posterity the whole truth of what occurred, for my memory is very clear" [Cuius concilii actioni quia interfui, integram rerum ueritatem posteris non negabo; egregie quippe memini." Ibid., 91.

emotions of anger and joy, he both showed kindness to a relative and had regard, even in the person of a captive, to the splendor of the crown. 110

The overall impression is that William feels the need to exculpate his hero and patron Robert for Stephen's treatment by overstating the chivalry of his treatment in the beginning. Robert is depicted as having respect for family as well as royalty and his actions are portrayed as having been made rationally and correctly. The fact that he is careful to point the finger away from Robert indicates that perhaps he was conscious of general criticism against him for Stephen's treatment at the time he was writing. He is careful to note that Robert of Gloucester controlled his emotions, in particular those of extremes—anger and joy—suggesting that William was aware that these emotions may have been an issue.

William also provides other clues that Matilda may have been prone to anger and perceived as a problematic ruler. He writes that while the legatine council was in session, Robert:

constantly with her, increased her prestige in every fitting way, by speaking affably to the chief men, making promises, either intimidating the opposition or urging it to peace by his envoys, and beginning the restoration of justice and of the ancestral laws and peace in every region that supported the empress. It was well-established that, if other members of his party had trusted his restraint and wisdom, they would not afterwards have endured such a turn of illfortune.111

This description of Robert's actions reflects the person that Matilda should have been, which may have been William's point. Unable to criticize the sister of his patron openly, he presented Robert as a foil to Matilda. Robert did everything right: he spoke affably, rather than haughtily; he restored justice and made promises to the opposition,

<sup>110 &</sup>quot;Predicandus itaque comes Gloecestriae precepit regem uiuum et illesum asseruari, non passus etiam ullo exprobrationes conuitio illum proscindi. Ex quem iratus modo impugnabat regno fastigatum, placidus ecce protegit triumphatum, ut, compositis irae et letitiae motibus, et consanguinitati impenderet humanitatem, et in captiuo diadematis respiceret dignitatem." HN, 86-7.

<sup>111 &</sup>quot;Frater eius Rotbertus assiduus circa eam omnibus quibus decebat modis eius gloriam exaltare, proceres benigne appellando, multa pollicendo, diuersas partes uel terrendo uel etiam per internuntios ad pacem sollicitando, iam iamque in omnibus partibus imperatrici fautoribus iustitiam et patrias leges et pacem reformando. Satisque constat quod, si eius moderationi et sapientiae a suis esset creditum, non tam sinistrum postea sensissent aleae casum." Ibid., 96-7.

rather than demanding fees and disinheriting; he restored justice and peace, rather than ruling by the Gesta's so-called "reckless innovations." Most importantly, he treated Stephen with respect and dignity, while Matilda did not.

The various descriptions of Queen Matilda of Boulogne also serve within the sources to highlight the links connecting the Empress's irrational anger, Stephen's mistreatment, and her inability to rule. William of Malmesbury's description of Queen Matilda's treatment of Robert of Gloucester is illustrative. When Robert was captured at the Battle of Stockbridge, he was handed over to the Queen, who placed him under house-arrest at Rochester. But as William notes, the Queen was careful to treat Robert with the utmost respect, perhaps directly in response to the Empress's mistreatment of her own husband. "The queen," William writes,

though she remembered her husband had been fettered by his orders, never allowed any chains to be put on him or ventured anything that would have dishonored his rank. Finally, at Rochester, for he was taken there, he was free to go to the churches beneath the castle when he liked, and to talk with whom he liked, at least as long as the queen was there.

When the queen finally did leave, he was kept "under open arrest," but was free enough to receive money from his men in order buy "some expensive horses." 112 John of Hexham also contrasts Queen Matilda with the Empress to prove his point that the latter was unworthy of the throne. Shortly after his depiction of the Empress Matilda as haughty, he writes that Queen Matilda worked hard to gain support for her husband. He writes that she "made supplication to all, importuned all with prayers, promises, and fair words." He then ends the whole narrative with a moral, saying "And God resisted the proud, and gave grace to the humble." The Gesta Stephani also notes a

<sup>112 &</sup>quot;Itaque regina, quae licet meminisset uirum suum eius iussu fuisse compeditum, nichil ei umquam uinculorum inferri permisit, nec quicquam inhonestum de sua maiestate presumpsit. Denique apud Rofacestram, illuc quippe ductus fuit, libere ad aecclesias infra castellum quo libebat ibat, et quibus libebat loquebatur, ipsa dumtaxat regina presente. Nam post profectionem eius in turrim sub libera custodia ductus est, adeo presenti et secure animo ut ab hominibus suis de Cantia accepta pecunia equos

non parui pretii compararet, qui ei post aliquanto tempore et usui et commodo fuere." Ibid, 114-17. 113 Simeon of Durham, 2:310.

marked difference between the Empress and Queen Matilda. Whereas the Empress's feminine inability to control her anger leads her to tyranny and thus greater weakness, the *Gesta's* author admires Queen Matilda's strength, remarking that "forgetting the weakness of her sex and a woman's softness she bore herself with the valor of a man." These comments directly precede others about Queen Matilda's supplicating technique and its success as a tactic. Rather than demanding money and submission, she won over valuable friends "by prayer or price." The author also reports that she "humbly besought" bishop Henry to "take pity on his imprisoned brother and exert himself for his freedom, that uniting all his efforts with hers he might gain for her a husband, the people a king, and the kingdom a champion." Henry, "moved by the woman's tearful supplications, which she pressed on him with great earnestness and by a dutiful compassion for a brother of his own blood," began to contemplate ways to help her. 115

The intended contrast between the two Matildas is obvious. Whatever rights the Empress may have thought she had, she went about gaining them in a fashion that the chroniclers heartily disapproved of, even those that tended to be supportive of her elsewhere in their narratives. She emerges as a woman unaware of the limits of her authority and the means to calm her anger and smooth over what was for many in England a hostile take-over of the throne. Whatever legitimacy her status as the daughter of King Henry I may have given her was completely obliterated by her perceived inability to control herself and negotiate the tricky political situation that resulted from Stephen's capture. If the barons inclined to support her had worried about the lawlessness of Stephen's reign, they appeared almost immediately to have become even more worried about the tyranny of Matilda. Robert of Gloucester and

Ibid.

<sup>\*</sup>Regina... sexusque fragilitatis feminaeque mollitiei oblita, uiriliter sese et uirtuose continere....
GS, 126-7.

Queen Matilda, on the other hand, appear in the chronicles to have understood that winning over the barons required a light touch and promises that their rights, honors, dignity, and freedoms would be respected. More importantly, they seem to have realized that men and women in positions of need were not supposed to demand what they wanted outright, but present themselves as supplicants. The sources paint the Empress Matilda as unaware of—or at least unwilling to use—such methods. She demands rather than asks, just as she punishes rather than forgives.

Previous historians have read the complaints of the contemporary sources about Matilda's personality and taken them at face value, arguing that Matilda pridefully threw away her chance at the throne. 116 And in some ways, this interpretation is at least partially correct. She appears to have misjudged how to treat Stephen, and in this, proved herself to be politically imprudent, or at least unaware that her actions would be construed so negatively. But as Marjorie Chibnall has suggested, the Empress Matilda was a politically astute woman who had the potential to become a good ruler by medieval standards. While married to her first husband, Holy Roman Emperor Henry V, he had relied on her to rule in his stead on many occasions, even during times of war. 117 She apparently did an excellent job; several Anglo-Norman chroniclers claim that she was so loved in Germany that, after her husband's death, they wished her to stay. 118 Furthermore, when she realized that her own chances of

<sup>116</sup> See the list of scholars who take this approach in Jean Truax, "Winning over the Londoners: King Stephen, the Empress Matilda, and the Politics of Personality," The Haskins Society Journal 8 (1996): 43, nt. 2.

117 The Empress Matilda, Chapter 2.

<sup>118</sup> William of Malmesbury writes that after the Empress had returned to England, "some princes of the Lombards and Lotharingians came to England more than once in the following years to ask for her as their lady." This is confirmed by Robert of Torigni in the Gesta Normannorum Ducum, who writes that "the eminent princes of the Roman [German] court, well aware of her prudence and charming character, had expressed their wish while her husband, the emperor, was alive, that she would rule over them in every way and for this reason followed her to her father's court [when she returned to England] making this petition." Orderic Vitalis also writes that Matilda was well-loved in Germany, and that "The Empress Matilda returned to her native land after her husband's death, preferring to live among her own people although she was greatly loved abroad." HN, 4-5; GND, 1:240-1; OV, 5: 200-1.

# **Chapter One:**

"Under the Yoke of Lamentable Captivity:" Exploring the "Rules" of Hostageand Captiveship.

Before examining the ways in which women and gender fit into the practice of hostage- and captive taking both as 1) hostages and captives and, 2) active hostage and captive takers, holders, and ransomers, it is necessary to outline the general practices associated with both institutions. In order to do so, this chapter will be divided into two parts that look at the general history and historiography of each custom, beginning with hostageship. Each section will end by examining not only problems with the current historiography, but ways in which this project helps supplement or correct the current scholarship.

#### Hostageship

Historians have often dismissed the institutional use of hostages as an archaism, a tradition that waned "as various legal cultures developed more sophisticated systems of surety." While this may be true concerning hostages used to seal private agreements, hostage-taking appears more frequently in diplomatic and military encounters. Yet even those military historians of the Middle Ages who have referenced hostage use as a regular part of military practice usually note the phenomenon without exploring its implications in any depth, choosing to focus their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>GND, 1:104-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Adam Kosto, "Hostage during the First Century of the Crusades" *Medieval Encounters* 9:1 (2003), 3; Kosto, "Hostages and the Habit of Representation in Thirteenth-Century Occitania" in Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, Adam J. Kosto, eds. *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe*, 950-1350, Burlington, VT, 2005), pg 184-5.

<sup>1350,</sup> Burlington, VT, 2005), pg 184-5.

3 As Kosto remarks, "While the chronology of this shift is not entirely clear, it is true that hostages only occasionally feature in private agreements in the medieval West." 'Hostages during the First Century of the Crusades," 3. It is likely that Kosto is construing "military encounters" here in the broadest ways possible to include what is often called "private" warfare between contumacious lords.

gaining the throne were limited, she switched gears and successfully paved the way for her son Henry to assume the throne, which he did in 1154. She too clearly knew how to successfully manipulate people. Walter Map recorded in his *De Nugis* 

Curialium [Courtier's Trifles] Matilda's advice to her son Henry:

I have heard that his mother's teaching was to this effect, that he should spin out the affairs of everyone, hold long in his own hand all posts that fell in, take the revenues of them, and keep the aspirants to them hanging on in hope, and she supported this advice with an unkind analogy: an unruly hawk, if meat is offered to it and then snatched away or hid, becomes keener and more inclinably obedient and attentive. He ought also to be much in his own chamber and little in public: he should never confer anything on anyone at the recommendation of any person, unless he has seen or learned about it.

Although Walter likely meant this as a criticism of Matilda and her son, as Marjorie Chibnall notes, "it reads like a lesson in practical statecraft." But this is a modern interpretation of Matilda's actions, and to her contemporaries "practical statecraft" was not the best response given the circumstances. Her treatment of Stephen, practical though it may have been, was seen as a sign of her disrespect for custom and nobility, and her inability to act without anger and vengeance. But more importantly, for better or worse, the Empress Matilda's mistreatment of Stephen and her governance more broadly were consistently linked to and seen as the direct result of her gender. Matilda did what her male contemporaries consistently did, seemingly expecting that her actions would be understood in the same light. But clearly her actions were read differently, and her chance at the throne was lost as a result.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> The Empress Matilda, 62. Walter Map's comment can be found in De Nugis Curialium/Courtiers' Trifles, ed. and trans. M.R. James, revised C.N.L. Brookes and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), 479.

### Conclusion:

## The Broader Implications of Women's Participation in Hostage and Captive-Taking Traditions

Just how important were women to hostage and captive-taking practices in the Middle Ages? Evidence suggests that they were extremely important, and that, as suggested throughout this entire study, medieval society did a great deal of agonizing over their fate. Moreover, there was a continuing concern about the fate of women who were affected by hostage- and captiveship into the Later Middle Ages beyond the scope of this study. The abduction of women became a treasonous crime in France, and King Edward III of England attempted to make it treason in England, as well, although he failed. Women continued, however, to be captured in wartime. Joan of Arc is perhaps the best known of all medieval women captives. Her capture, trial, and execution are among the best documented. Other, lesser-known women, however, also suffered in captivity. The Countess of Roucy, captured along with her husband in 1358, is just one among many.

Further, women from all levels of medieval society also continued to ransom. The Hundred Years War, with its seemingly never-ending conflict, provided plenty of opportunities for women. Jeanne of Penthièvre organized a ransom treaty for her husband, Charles of Blois, captured in 1347 at the Battle of la Roche-Derrier. She sent the ambassadors herself, although her attempts failed due to opposition from King Philip VI of France and Pope Clement VI.<sup>4</sup> The biography of Saint Mary of Maille reports that her husband, Robert, was captured sometime between 1356 and 1360 and taken to the castle of Guernelle. It is clear that she was responsible for payment of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2004), 12, 14. <sup>2</sup> The bibliography concerning Joan is far too vast to even touch upon here. A good place to start is with Kelly DeVries' excellent study of her as a military figure. *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Stroud, Gloucester, 1999).

Jonathan Sumption, The Hundred Years War: Trial by Fire (Philadelphia, 2001), 405-6.
 Ibid., 25.

ransom, for when she was late making payment, her husband was poorly treated in response. According to the miracle story, Robert prayed to the Virgin Mary, who rescued him. After returning to his wife, both Robert and Mary helped others who had been captured by providing ransoms. Mary is also credited with petitioning the French king to release captives condemned to death. Joan, wife of John Pound, citizen and merchant of London, asked the Mayor of London to help ransom her husband, who had been captured by the captain of the castle of Savetyngee in Flanders. Beatrice, wife of Reginald Fuller, a tailor, paid 8 marks to William Knott, for help in the release of her husband and another man who had been captured by the French and imprisoned in Boulogne. Moreover, images of female participants in warfare continued to be popular in medieval literature throughout the High and Late Middle Ages, and Christine de Pisan, writing in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, advised women to be knowledgeable about military matters.

Thus the examples found in the chapters of this study do not stand in isolation.

The evidence presented here, while tentative, suggests that further consideration of later sources would find that women as hostages and captives, ransomers, and the other roles explored here were a part of a larger medieval trend of women's participation in these activities. The question of significance remains, however. What does it mean that women did these things? How many women involved themselves in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Michael Goodich, Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation (Cambridge, 1995), 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Barbara Hanawalt, 'Of Good and Ill Repute:' Gender and Social Control in Medieval England (Oxford, 1998), 91-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sarah Westphal-Wihl, "The Ladies' Tournament: Marriage, Sex, and Honor in Thirteenth Century Germany," Signs 14.2 (1989): 371-98; Helen Solterer, "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France," Signs 16.3 (1991): 522-49; L.K. Stock, "'Arms and the Woman' in Medieval Romance: The Gendered Arming of Female Warriors in the Roman d'Eneas and Heldris's Roman de Silence," Arthuriana 5 (1995): 56-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "We have also said that she ought to...know how to use weapons and be familiar with everything that pertains to them, so that she may be ready to command her men if the need arises. She should know how to launch an attack, or defend against one." Christine de Pisan, Treasure of the City of Ladies, or: The Book of Three Virtues, trans. Sarah Lawson (New York, 1985), 129.

these matters, especially in comparison to men? If many, what does this mean? If few, do they even matter, or can scholars safely dismiss them as anomalies? Why is any of this important?

What is clear from the sources is that women who desired or were forced by circumstances to assume active roles in hostage and captive-taking roles were caught between a rock and hard place. They lived in a society that on the one hand promoted or encouraged such behavior, yet oftentimes limited a woman's freedom to excel or stretch the boundaries of participation once she assumed that role. Further, what was acceptable for one woman in one place or time was not always for another woman under different conditions. While this study has attempted to find patterns and categories with which to speak about women who might have fought or helped men fight, what has perhaps been demonstrated most effectively is that there were no "roles" that were always at all times acceptable for women to play, only ones like the "suffering mother" or the "virtuous Christian ransomer" that were accredited more legitimacy. While some sources seemed to accept and even praise women who suffered valiantly as a hostage or captive or could commend a woman who loyally ransomed a husband or son, others were quick to condemn women they perceived as overstepping their bounds or, as in the case of the Empress Matilda, acting in ways that were not acceptable for women. Medieval writers never appear completely comfortable with women in any capacity that brought them to the political forefront and made them active participants in the power structures of medieval politics even as those same power structures essentially required women to function within them.

Despite authorial reluctance to accept women in such roles, however, the topsy-turvy nature of warfare created opportunities for women. Because war almost always shaped and was shaped by politics locally, nationally, and internationally, it allowed women who were directly or indirectly involved in it access to power

networks and positions that they may not have had more regularly in their everyday lives. Medieval warfare, because it blurred the line between "public" and "private," allowed women to expand their influence outside of the domestic realm, even if medieval writers looked askance. Women were stereotypically supposed to concern themselves with domestic issues such as raising the family and maintaining the household, but when a husband or son needed ransoming, the provision of ransom quickly became a family matter not only because it was a family member that was in trouble, but also because ransom money, except at the highest levels, came out of a captive's or hostage's private funds.

Yet at the same time, this blurring of boundaries left many medieval contemporaries concerned about the nature of women and whether they were truly capable of handling the burden that war required those who participated in it to bear. Domestic concerns and familial duty were natural to women, yes, and war was one of the more important contexts in which these issues legitimately arose, but war also required, among other things, strength, rational thought, and control of one's emotional and sex drive. Where, then, did that leave women who were by definition supposed to be weak-willed, easily frightened, sexually wanton, and physically fragile? This was a question with which medieval society repeatedly grappled, and to which it found no consistent answer.

Nor can specific numbers ever be achieved because of the nature of the sources, which tended to exaggerate figures at best and at worse not mention them at all, and in general neglect discussions of women. Women probably never outnumbered men in any of these roles, and as a result it is impossible to argue that they achieved any sort of dominance in them or that they became the preferred ransomer, hostage, or captive overall. But this study has established that women did participate in the ransoming, giving, and holding of captives and hostages and did

become hostages and captives in numbers never before acknowledged by scholars.

They created their own tactics for successful ransoming, and co-opted those of men.

Additionally, as argued in the chapters above, there were cases in which women were favored not only as hostage and captive-holders and ransomers, but were also preferred in the more passive roles as well. While female hostages were often avoided out of concern for the violation of women, they may in fact have been preferred as captives, not only for the sale into slavery, but also because of their symbolic value as representative of their families and their nations.

Moreover, like many historians, I tend to argue that what we see in the chronicles is only the tip of the iceberg. I have been able to show not only elite women involved in hostage and captive-taking traditions, but also, where records exist, women at lower levels of society doing so as well, which suggests that the practice, feature was widespread in medieval society. Not only did medieval women probably participate in greater numbers than historians can ever know, but they are part of a long-standing tradition of female participation in warfare across time. Scholars need to stop seeing them as aberrant or merely exceptions to the rules. As David Hay has noted, "the more one looks outside one's field of specialty, the more one realizes that every age seemed to have its anomaly, whether her name was Brunhild, Irene, Matilda, Joan or Elizabeth. At what point do these exceptions become so numerous that they can no longer be deemed exceptional?"

Part of the problem is that in the past, like the subject of women's participation in warfare, non-combatant roles have received very little attention from scholars. This is primarily because much of the scholarship on the subject has tended to define "warfare" in a very limited sense when it concerns women, and only generally discusses women actually fighting or specifically in siege warfare. But, as this study

<sup>9</sup> Hay, Matilda of Canossa, 253-5.

has highlighted, medieval warfare incorporated all sorts of essential activities to support the physical fighting that took place, and without which, medieval warfare could not have happened. In other words, to participate in warfare one does not necessarily have to be a combatant. What is needed, in essence, is a different typology of "warfare" that allows for roles that make the beginnings, middles, and ends of wars possible. While scholars of medieval warfare have been willing to incorporate an expanded understanding of the social aspects of medieval war and its effects on medieval society, they often appear less than willing to extend this same consideration to the subject of women. But scholars need to recognize that women participated in warfare not only as occasional combatants, but also as lords with their own knights, commanders, defenders of castles, regents for husbands and sons, raisers of troops, raisers of money and provisioners of armies, strategizers, instigators of war, the motivation for war, and as diplomats, peace-inducing marriage brokers, and trucemakers.

Furthermore, scholars should be careful not to place artificial chronological limitations on their understanding of women's participation in medieval warfare. While some restrictions are necessary for the manageability of the subject matter, as in this study, scholars should be reluctant to follow in the footsteps of Megan McLaughlin, who argued that women's participation in warfare sharply declined after the year 1000 when military institutions increasingly became associated with the state. 10 The examples provided here tentatively suggest that such a boundary, at least in terms of women as hostages and captives and women's ransoming activities, is problematic at best.

Nor should we limit ourselves to thinking that the relevance of medieval women's participation in warfare pertains solely to the Middle Ages. The examination

<sup>10</sup> McLaughlin, 201ff.

of women's military participation in the past has important implications for today. On the one hand, evidence like that presented in this study should help to overturn the commonly held belief that in the Middle Ages women's only wartime role was as the passive victim of male violence. Women's active and sometimes very enthusiastic participation in warfare goes back further than previously assumed, and modern historians will need to ponder not only their actual participation, but the medieval debate about the whether or not women were indeed capable of fighting at all. The disconnect between the theoretical belief that women were incapable mentally or physically of fighting and the reality that they were not only required by circumstance, but actually expected to participate in warfare on a regular basis by their male counterparts was as much alive now as then. Giles of Rome, for example, writing in the thirteenth century, stated that, because women lacked "a cautious and foreseeing mind" and "a robust and strong body" they were incapable of participating in warfare, and that men, who possessed "virile and manly heart[s]," were more suited to combat. Nor was he alone in these arguments: Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, and Ptolemy of Lucca, among others, all shared similar views. 11 Scholars may tend to think that these ideas are outdated, but they remain prevalent in modern times. In 1995, for example, Newt Gingrich gave a series of lectures at Reinhardt College called "Renewing American Civilization," in which he discussed the place of men and women in the modern United States military. He argued that:

If combat means living in a ditch, females have biological problems staying in a ditch because they get infections and they don't have upper body strength. I mean, some do, but they're relatively rare. On the other hand, men are basically little piglets, you drop them in a ditch, they roll around in it, doesn't

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> James M. Blythe, "Women in the Military: Scholastic Arguments and Medieval Images of Female Warriors," History of Political Thought 22:2 (Summer, 2001): 242-269.

The issue of the gender of military commanders that was of great concern in the Middle Ages can also be seen in the modern debate over General Janis Karpinski, who was commander of all military police troops in Iraq at the time of the 2004 Abu Graib incident. See Katrin E. Sjursen's enlightening discussions of the connections between this event and its medieval precedents. "Factoring Gender into Warfare: Women Commanders in the Middle Ages and Today" (forthcoming).

matter, you know.12

Gringrich used many of the same ones that Giles of Rome did in the thirteenth century: they both assumed that women's lack of physical strength was an impediment to their participation in warfare. And while Gingrich's comments may have created an outcry at the time from both men and women, he is far from the only person to have ever expressed such beliefs. Not only has similar logic been used by the US military itself to justify the exclusion of women from combat, but such views are pervasive in American popular culture: women do not fight, should not fight, and have never fought in the past because they are biologically and physically incapable of doing so. Exploring women's wartime participation, however, can begin to unravel these specious arguments. Furthermore, grasping the earlier stages of the debate on women and warfare may help deepen our understanding of the development of gender roles and their relationship to warfare across the longue durée as well as the continuation of the debate in the modern world.

Thus, this study suggests important connections not only between women and medieval warfare, but also women and modern warfare. Most importantly, however, let me repeat what I said in the Introduction: the women considered here demonstrate again that women in the Middle Ages participated in warfare in valuable and significant ways both as victims and as active participants. Moreover, even when they did not participate directly, women were central to the way that medieval society understood war and the way that warriors understood themselves, their honor, and their duty as men and soldiers. Medieval writers agonized about what it meant for women to pick up a sword or to be around and to influence those who did. While the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Kenneth C. Clatterbaugh, Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity: Men, Women, and Politics in Modern Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Boulder, CO, 1997), 31-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See Female Soldiers: Combatants or Non-Combatants? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, ed. Nancy Loring Goldman (Westport, Conn., 1982); and Linda Bird Franke, Ground Zero: The Gender Wars in the Military (New York, 1993).

complete study of women and medieval warfare has yet to be written, this study has attempted to bring to light one aspect of medieval women's participation in order to suggest the necessity of the more over-arching perspective. Medieval women in particular, but women in general, have for too long been ignored in historical studies of war. This is not to suggest that they need take up equal page space as men. But it is essential that they be reinserted into the narrative. If scholars do not do so, they are missing a key piece of the puzzle.

studies more on tactics and logistics or the other standard fare of military history. <sup>4</sup> But as historian Adam Kosto has noted, hostageship to secure peace and seal agreements "was in fact very common in medieval Europe" well into the fourteenth century, both within Europe and also in the Medieval West's interactions with Muslims throughout the Middle Ages. <sup>5</sup>

Nor was hostageship unique to the Middle Ages. It has a long history going back well into the Greek and Roman periods and probably much further. The Romans, in particular, developed sophisticated hostage-taking ideas, using hostages as a means to influence foreign states as well as surety for peace. When they took hostages, especially hostages of high standing, the Romans would bring them back to Rome, raise them as Romans, and then send them back to their home country with the hopes that they would influence local politics in Rome's favor, essentially making these hostages Roman clients. While this tactic was not always successful—several of these hostages lost their lives because those back home feared Roman influence—these cases demonstrate that hostages could serve political purposes outside the immediate reasons they had been taken hostages.<sup>6</sup>

Several historians in the past decade have started to flesh out the practice of hostage-taking in the Middle Ages and the motives behind it. Adam Kosto (2002, 2003, 2005) has written extensively on hostageship and hostage-taking practices and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A small sampling of military histories demonstrates the trend. Michael Prestwich, for example, in his history of the experience of war in medieval England notes that one of the many ways warriors expected to profit from war was through hostage-taking and suggests that the execution of hostages and captives was an unusual, but not unheard of or unacceptable aspect of medieval warfare, but says little more than that. Helen Nicholson likewise barely mentions hostages. John Beeler's Warfare in Feudal Europe, 730-1200, published in 1972, does not seem to mention hostages at all. Michael Prestwich, Armies and Warfare in the Middle Age: The English Experience (New Haven, CT, 1996), 111, 239-40. Helen Nicholson, Medieval Warfare (New York, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Adam Kosto, "Hostages during the First Century of the Crusades," 3; Kosto, "Hostages and the Habit of Representation," 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For Roman hostage taking practices, see Joel Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-taking in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2006). Annette Parks, "Living Pledges: A Study of Hostageship in the High Middle Ages, 1050-1300." (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2000), 6-8. For Greek hostage-taking practices, see Andreas Panagopoulos, *Captives and Hostages in the Peloponnesian War* (Athens, 1978).

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their relation to warfare. He argues that unlike contemporary conceptions of hostageship which emphasize the role of force and derive from the modern framework of international terrorism, medieval hostageship centers around "the contractual role of the hostage: a hostage...is a form of surety, a person deprived of liberty by a second person in order to guarantee an undertaking of a third." In this way, a hostage is different from a captive, who is also deprived of liberty, but is not a surety, and also a guarantor, who is surety, but not deprived of liberty. He further elaborates upon the distinction between captives and hostages, arguing that whereas captives are taken, hostages are "in principle given" even if they are not given willingly, "for hostages must be recognized as such by both parties."8 There is a clear power imbalance between the giver and the receiver of the hostage, but the underlying principle is that the giver always gives the hostage and that this process establishes a formal relationship between the two parties bound by a hostage or hostages. He acknowledges, however, that the terminology sometimes slips, not only in the use of the words for hostage (obses, obsidis) and captive (captivus, captivos) in the sources, but also in situations where authors do not clearly differentiate their subjects as members of either category, making the process of distinguishing hostages from captives sometimes difficult. 10 Although he refers in this context primarily to the early medieval world of the Carolingians, this problem continued into the later Middle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Adam Kosto, "Hostages in the Carolingian world (714-840)" Early Medieval Europe 11:2 (2002), 128

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 131; Kosto, "Hostages during the First Century of the Crusades," 7.

The giver and the receiver need not be singular people. They can, in fact, be cities or towns. In these cases, "the institution of hostageship tended to be like the formation of representative assemblies, a process that linked the ruler and various communities or groups of his subjects through individuals acting in their place." When these types of hostage exchanges happened, hostage selection often had a geographical element or social status element to it. For example, Kosto notes that in 1013, when Swein invaded England, he received hostages from every shire. Likewise, when Frederick Barbarossa was in Italy in the 1150s and 1160s, he received hostages from Northern Italian towns, and after Milan's capitulation in 1158, he received hostages from "all three orders of the town: the capitanei, the vavassores, and the populares." Kosto, "Hostages and the Habit of Representation," 185.

10 "Kosto "Hostages in the Carolingian World," 131-33.

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## Ages as well.

Kosto also suggests some commonalities concerning hostages for the Carolingian period that apply to the later Medieval period. He notes, for example, that there was "a preference for the use of sons as hostages" and only notes one case where a woman is specifically mentioned as a hostage during the Carolingian Age. 11 He proposes two different categories in his analysis of hostage-giving and taking. The first—finite causes—included temporary postponements of a siege in the expectation of surrender, the conditional release of a prisoner, a hostage given for safe passage through a territory who is then returned when the giver has completed his travel through the land in question, and the hostage who is given for the return of land. Whereas the evidence suggests that the first three mentioned causes have a relative high success rate because "these [are] less subject to the pressure of changed circumstances," the last of the four-a hostage for the return of land- appears to have had a higher rate of reneging on the part of the hostage giver. 12 Most hostage agreements, however, fall into the second category of hostage-taking: indefinite agreements, defined as "grants after a defeat or subjection to guarantee the positive obligation of continued fidelity," including loyalty oaths. 13 He argues, however, that hostages not only functioned in a merely legal sense, but also had a real political and social "symbolic value," serving as public reminders of submission, the relative status of hostage givers and receivers, or even the equality of the two parties when hostages were exchanged rather than unilaterally given. 14 With this in mind, Kosto suggests that grants of hostages often involved parties outside the three immediately privy to agreement (the giver, the receiver, and the hostage him/herself). In the Carolingian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The mother of Andrew, duke of Naples.

<sup>112 &</sup>quot;Kosto "Hostages in the Carolingian World," 135-6.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 136-7.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 137-8.

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age, the Church often manipulated hostage exchanges between two other groups—the Franks and the Lombards, for example—either as means to influence political and military events or as means to convert pagan populations.<sup>15</sup>

Kosto's theory of Carolingian hostageship is also applicable to the Crusades. He argues that hostage exchanges, while "seemingly primitive," are a normal part of medieval diplomatic and military affairs during this time because "different political entities may not share common institutions for the guarantee of agreements and, more importantly, there is no ultimate authority to enforce such guarantees." Hostage exchanges were therefore particularly useful during the Crusades because all parties involved (the Franks, Byzantines, Arabs, and Turks) came from very dissimilar cultural backgrounds. 16 Because hostage exchange had a history in all four cultures as well as a history between these cultures, "the course of any individual episode [of hostage exchange] was determined more by the personalities involved and the particular political situation than by differential understandings of the institution."<sup>17</sup> They were particularly useful for facilitating the passage of crusading armies through foreign territories, when leaders on both sides worried about Crusader warriors getting out of hand and harming the local population. For the most part these were successful, with notable exceptions. 18 Hostage exchanges were also used during other short-term situations like guaranteeing a capitulation after a siege. Likewise, they secured longer-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In the case of conversion, young men from important family in pagan tribes would be placed in ecclesiastical household, often those belonging to important Church figures in an attempt convert the young men to Christianity. Once converted, they could be returned to their native lands, and—in the eyes of the Church—hopefully wield influence over the people. Kosto suggests that this was "a wise investment in the long-term success of the endeavor [of conversion]." Ibid., 144-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Kosto, "Hostages during the First Century of the Crusades," 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The Byzantines, for example, had a tradition of hostage exchange with the Muslims going back as far as 650, and while the tradition was not as strong between Byzantine and Frankish powers, seemingly dyng off in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, there were precedents as late as the 1060s. Ibid., 6, 30.

One of the more glaring cases where hostage exchanged failed was after Frederick Barbarossa's successful siege of Iconium on May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1190. He received twenty hostages from the Turkish Sultan Kilidj Arslan II so that the crusaders could leave Turkish territory unmolested. When the Turks harassed the German army anyway, Barbarossa threatened to kill the hostages, and after he had left Turkish territory, he refused to return the hostages as he had promised. Ibid., 8-12.

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'VIRILE STRENGTH IN A FEMININE BREAST:' WOMEN, HOSTAGESHIP, CAPTIVITY, AND SOCIETY IN THE ANGLO-FRENCH WORLD, c. 1000- c.1300

## Colleen Elizabeth Slater, Ph. D. Cornell University 2009

Hostage and captive-taking were fundamental to medieval warfare and medieval society in general. Despite their importance, however, until recently, these practices have received very little scholarly attention. In particular, the relationship between gender and these practices has been virtually ignored. The evidence, however, belies this neglect, and the sources are littered with examples that not only illuminate the importance of women and gender to these customs, but also how women used them to exercise power and independence militarily, politically, socially, and religiously. Moreover, women worked within a patriarchal society that was often deeply distrustful of their participation in hostage and captive situations in any capacity.

This thesis attempts to fill the gaps in the scholarship and illuminate the importance of considering gender when examining hostage- and captiveship. It pulls together evidence from a wide variety of historical and literary sources to suggest that women were not only victims of these processes as hostages and captives themselves, but were also active participants in them as hostage and captive takers, ransomers, and holders. Moreover, they were sometimes but not always accepted in such roles. It will also be suggested here that women were essential to medieval men's understanding of male roles in these activities. Medieval society possessed deepseated anxieties about the fate of hostage and captive women that were played out in a

term, open-ended agreements like alliances, treaties, and truces, as well as guarantees of loyalty, although here with less success. Once in the possession of the hostagetaker, hostages could be used as "bargaining chips outside the context of the agreements for which they were originally granted," changing the dimensions of the situation. This was not always a bad thing, however. On the one hand, the threat of violence against hostages was one way in which leaders could push for greater concessions from the hostage giver. On the other, hostage-takers could release hostages before their time or without payment from the hostage giver, on the condition or implication that this would improve relations between the two parties. 19

Ryan Lavelle (2006), using Kosto's framework as a starting point, suggests in his work on the Anglo-Saxons that although historians are plagued by "the reluctance of sources to elucidate the nature of Anglo-Saxon hostageship," the institution of hostageship in the late Anglo-Saxon period shares many similarities with its Carolingian and Crusader counterparts.<sup>20</sup> The types of hostages (sons or kin) and the language used to describe hostageship (hostages as given, not taken) are much the same. Further, as with Carolingian hostageship, the value of Anglo-Saxon hostageship "lay in the bonds of lordship, obligation and reciprocity" because hostages were "an important projection of lordship: for both contemporaries and the audience of the sources, the holding of hostages could also be highly symbolic, personifying no less than the submission of one lord to another." They were one tool among many that Anglo-Saxons kings could use to display their power to and over both their own native populations and foreign ones.21

Lavelle, however, adds three new facets for Kosto's argument. He proposes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ryan Lavelle, "The use and abuse of hostages in later Anglo-Saxon England," Early Medieval Europe 14:1 (2006), 269-70.
<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 270-4, 295.

to "distinguish between those occasions on which the receipt of hostages demonstrated tangible subordination and those which projected power."<sup>22</sup> In other words, the language of the sources may imply that hostage-givers rendered themselves subordinate to the hostage-taker, where the reality of the situation sometimes reflected otherwise. This is especially true of relations between the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings, where peace may have been temporary and enemies were likely to reappear in the near future. Likewise, he cautions that "while the inherent prestige of hostage receipt cannot be dismissed, ...signs of defeat, submission and superiority projected in the sources may have obscured a pragmatic reality." Hostages could be taken before peace was concluded rather than after, implying that hostages could have served the short-term, limited, and practical goal of providing an extra incentive for parties to come to an agreement. Violence to hostages was never far below the surface, and the implicit threat to important people in the hostage giver's life was likely to induce results. Finally, taking Kosto's argument about hostage-taking as a shared institution for arbitrating disputes between foreign entities, 23 Lavelle suggests that hostageship was in fact a type of mutually shared social language between different ethnic groups. It was a way for Anglo-Saxons and their foreign adversaries to communicate their objectives to each other, especially in terms of peace and trade. Hostages were thus

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ibid., 274

Kosto suggests that the Arabs, Turks, and Byzantines all had long-standing traditions of hostage-exchange and that this facilitated relationships with the Christian West. Although Lavelle does not mention this, the Vikings also appear to have had a hostage tradition. Snorri Sturluson's Ynglinga Saga (Ch. 4) tells of the war between the Vanir and the Æsir. "But when each became weary, they agreed between them for a peace meeting and made peace and exchanged hostages. The Vanir gave their best man, Njörð the wealthy and his son Freyr, and the Æsir in return gave Hoenir, who was thought to be well-suited to be a chieftain. He was a great man and handsome. Along with him, the Æsir sent one named Mimír, a very wise man. Then in turn, the Vanir gave one of the wisest from their group. Such was named Kvasir. When Hnir came to the Vanir, he was thence made a chieftain. Mimír taught/gave counsel to him in all/for all things. When Hnir was present for things or meetings and Mimír was not, and some difficult issue came before him, then he answered in the same way and he said, let others decide/counsel. Then the Vanir suspected that the Æsir may have been false in their exchange. They took Mimír and beheaded him and sent the head to the Æsir." Thanks to Christopher L. Bailey for this reference, and providing the translation above. The original Icelandic can be found in Snorri Sturluson, "Ynglinga Saga," in Heimskringla I, IF 26, ed. Bjarni Aðjarnarson (Reykjaví, 1979).

"mutually recognized personification[s] of a guarantee of behavior, demonstrable of honourable intentions." Even when trade and peace were broken, the exchange or provision of hostages was one way in which both parties indicated that they had understood the rules of the game.

Annette Parks' (2000) dissertation "Living Pledges: A Study of Hostageship in the High Middle Ages, 1050-1300" was one of the first studies to examine hostageship in-depth and has unfortunately been little noticed by later scholars. Like Kosto, she distinguishes between hostages and captives, that hostageship should be divided into four groupings within two overlapping categories: state that hostageship should be divided into four groupings within two overlapping categories: state that hostageship should be divided into four groupings within two overlapping categories: state that hostages domestic hostages, and hostages for security versus hostages for submission. State hostages were most frequently mentioned as security for treaties, submissions, and alliances, although they often proved to be ineffective deterrence to breach of agreements. Domestic hostages, on the other hand, were usually security for promises of neutrality, or to ensure loyalty from an individual or group to the monarch, and as such tended to be perceived as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Lavelle, 290-2. Guy Halsall has suggested on the other hand that part of the reason that Vikings were so feared in the early Middle Ages is that they did not share the same "rules of war" as the Anglo-Saxons, and this is why, despite raiding and captive-taking being normal part of medieval warfare, the Vikings were so loathed. "Not only were the Vikings not generally aware of these rules, they did not consider themselves to be bound by them in any case, because they did not share the cultural norms upon which they were based." Guy Halsall, "Playing by Whose Rules," A Further Look at Viking Atrocity in the Ninth Century" Medieval History 2:2 (1992), 7.
<sup>25</sup> Neither Kosto nor Lavelle mention her work in their own interpretations. This is understandable,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Neither Kosto nor Lavelle mention her work in their own interpretations. This is understandable given that the dissertation was not published and that she has not published any articles that I have found detailing her analysis on hostageship, this is perhaps expected.

<sup>26</sup> "The term continuation of the standard of the standard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> "The term captive describes persons taken as a result of warfare, abduction, and/or ambush who are subsequently held for ransom or destined for the slave markets. Captives might be non-combatants, knights taken in tournaments who must ransom themselves, or prisoners of war whose lives might have been considered forfeit and who might have been held either for ransom or for exchange." Hostages, on the other hand, "are defined as persons who are demanded or offered by one person or group and given to another person or group for the purpose of securing an agreement (e.g. a peace treaty, truce, alliance, etc.) with the stated or implied understanding that a breach of the agreement on the part of the hostage-giver will result in retaliations against the hostage." Parks, 21-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Hostage exchanges between kingdoms; i.e., England and Scotland or Wales.

Hostage exchanges between kings and their subjects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Hostages given as a part of surrender terms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Hostages given to guarantee or as a promise of future good behavior, or to avoid conflict.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Parks, 25

temporary by the parties involved. Because domestic hostage exchanges passed from the less powerful to the more so and were therefore more clearly an act of submission or subordination, hostages in these arrangements were also more likely to suffer punishment when the agreement that they sealed was breached because the breach could more readily construed as rebellion and/or treason. 32 She acknowledges, however, that these categories can be problematic, especially the state hostage, because state hostages could be construed by the hostage taker as domestic hostages. This is particularly true when speaking of hostage exchanges between the English king and the Welsh. Because English kings saw the Welsh as formally bound to their crown, they felt free to deal with them more harshly.33

Likewise, Parks highlights, in a way Kosto and Lavelle do not, that a breach of hostage agreements often endangered the hostage. The harming of hostages could be intentional, either because the hostage-giver had not lived up to his or her end of the arrangement or because the hostage taker felt that such a display of power was necessary under the circumstances. But hostage-takers had to be careful not to overstep their bounds. Even though hostage-givers knew that their hostages could be mistreated, given that hostages exchanges had a built-in ideology of proper treatment, mistreatment of hostages was usually frowned upon, and "required an explanation [on the part of the hostage-taker] if the stigma of dishonorable behavior was to be avoided."34 For example, hostage abuse could stiffen rebellion against the hostagetaker, or be seen a flagrant call for war, especially if the hostage was of a high social status,<sup>35</sup> and thus was not something to be considered frivolously. This was particularly true in the case of state hostages, where the hostage was likely to be of

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 26-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid., 37. <sup>34</sup> Ibid., 198-9, 201.

royal blood and the hostage giver was likely to have greater resources available for retaliation. In addition, because state hostage exchanges were done to publicize and display victory and defeat both at home and abroad, "harming [hostages] rarely served a useful purpose since doing so only highlighted a breakdown of hierarchical relationships." Furthermore, while homage—another visible sign of hierarchy and submission—was often a one-time or at least infrequent event, hostages "could be displayed regularly and at will." As Parks remarks: "Dead hostages cannot be displayed; maimed or maltreated hostages may not have the desired effect; live and healthy hostages, publically displayed, communicate both dominance and, for lack of a better word, chivalry." In order to maintain both the public image of a dominant and submissive relationship between kingdoms and one's respectability as a just monarch, hostages must survive intact.

What makes Parks' argument particularly useful in the present context is the fact that of all the authors discussed so far, she is the only one to elaborate upon the role of women at any length. She agrees with Kosto and Lavelle that most traditional hostages were male kin important to the hostage-giver, 37 but suggests that political marriages/betrothals in which women were transferred between two people or groups in conflict with each other in order to end or check hostilities and seal peace can be construed as hostage exchanges, just done under a different guise. Although she acknowledges that these arrangements can be interpreted in different ways, she contends:

women and young girls were routinely sent away from their homes to foreign courts and households in order to establish bonds between political groups; even when their marriages were never solemnized, they might still be detained for years for the purpose of controlling the political activities and policies of their families in ways that would have been ineffective unless they were valued

<sup>37</sup> She does state, however, that "this is not to say that women were not used as conventional hostages because they certainly were; however, in a culture which valued honor and nobility, the undistinguished detention of aristocratic women required careful handling." Ibid., 28-9.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 36-7, 43-4.

in different, but no less important ways than men were. In effect, they were used as hostages.  $^{38}$ 

Parks asserts that such marriage/betrothals were useful hostage exchanges for two reasons. First, "when important long-term goals such as the permanent transfers of property or the creation of alliances were at stake, the usual form of hostageship, which involved the expectation of the hostages' eventual return, might not suffice."39 Because marriages created kinship bonds<sup>40</sup>—and dowries and dowers were needed they were a perfect way to accomplish a long term, if not permanent, hostage exchange under those circumstances. Second, because such marriages/betrothals did not have the same overt submission/subordination characteristic as traditional hostage exchanges, both parties could maintain their honor. She further suggests that in some cases, these marriages/betrothals were "actually preferred ... over males because control of bodies, especially female bodies of heiresses, facilitated control of property and the men who controlled the distribution of those bodies had the power to affect the inheritances, lineages, and political activities of rivals." The younger the potential bride the better because she could be held and controlled by the hostage-taker longer, and her marriage could be delayed for a greater time, giving the hostage-taker power over her, her property, and her family for much longer.

A major problem with all of these studies (excepting Parks) is their omission of women. While Kosto notes in his argument about the Carolingians that women were infrequent hostages, he does not mention or explain that during the Crusades not only was there an increase in the use of women as hostages, but also a large number of women who served as hostage negotiators. Likewise, Lavelle mentions Thietmar of

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 253-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid., 28-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Althoug Parks does not note it, women were often specifically depicted as "peaceweavers" who united together previously warring families. See Paul Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY, 2003), 13, and the references found there.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 30-1, 242.

Merseburg's statement that Queen Emma gave three hundred hostages to the Danish invasion force of 1016, but he never addresses its significance. 42 Even Parks, with her extensive section on marriage as a form of hostageship, looks minimally at women who served as hostages outside of marriage and within the normal structures of the process. Parks' argument about "hostageship marriage," moreover, is problematic and results in more questions than are answered in her discussion. Although she is careful to note that not all marriages and betrothals were hostage situations. 43 her definition of marriage as a form of hostageship is so broad as that almost all of them would fit her criteria since so many marriages were made between warring factions in order to make peace and many future wives travelled to their future husband's court and lived there many years before a marriage was solemnized or consummated, two of the most important features in her definition of "hostageship marriages." She discusses some important examples that fit her criteria well, in which the women do look like hostages, and here Parks is on firmer ground, especially in the cases in which the supposed marriages never take place. But she does not examine cases that are more ambiguous. The end result is that it appears that all marriages are hostage situations and all medieval wives were hostages, which is clearly not the case. She also fails to deal with the implications of the lack of a formal status as hostage for these young women and how that shaped their treatment and the possibility of abuse and what its implications might be. As she notes, "hostageship marriages" created kinship bonds between the "hostage" and her husband's family, an element not present in other hostage situations. The power dynamics of medieval marriage themselves are quite different from hostage situations, another point Parks fails to address. She sees women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> What is interesting here is that, according to Thietmar, the Danish also demanded a large sum of money and the death of Emma's step-sons from her marriage to King Æthelred the Unready (978-1013, 1014-16). See Chapter Three for further discussion. Lavelle, 281-2.
<sup>43</sup> Parks, 243.

as mere pawns or victims of the institution. But whereas in hostage situations, the hostages are often of lower status or a position of weakness, in marriage, women could come from the more powerful or prestigious family; they, in essence, married beneath themselves, something that often gave these women power within their marriages.<sup>44</sup>

For the most part, these scholars see women as victims of these institutions, not as manipulators of them. But as the following chapters will demonstrate, while women's roles may have been limited by their infrequency as hostages, their problematic status as hostages and medieval society's reluctance to use them as hostages demonstrates their importance to scholars' understanding of the custom. Even as "victims," women could use their status as hostages to present themselves in politically motivated ways and provide justification for the actions of others. Furthermore, understanding the active roles women took and the unique practices they used in hostage-taking and negotiating practices enhances our understanding of the relationships between men and women, women and their families, and women and power.

It is also worth noting that while all of these scholars are careful to create a distinction between hostages and captives that derives from the reasons for and methods by which they were obtained, none of them highlight yet another subtle difference between hostages and captives which may also been important: the formality of the arrangement and its link to the treatment of the victims. Hostagetaking and giving were very ritualized acts and in many ways, very much like legal agreements. They represented the formal, public submission of one party to another, and as a result, hostages often had more offical status and protection. Captive-taking, however, was much less regulated. While it, too, was an issue of submission, it was a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Kimberly LoPrete makes this argument about Adela of Blois, for example, in "Adela of Blois: Familial Alliances and Female Lordship," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999).

much more fluid activity that was done in the heat or aftermath of battle without the same level of formality as hostage-taking. Captive-taking also had a greater amount of implied and overt violence: hostages were given, but captives were taken. It is these distinctions that may account for the varying degrees of treatment between hostages and captives. Hostages, although there were some notable exceptions and violence could be a part of the process, were treated on the whole much more carefully than captives, and there was much more apparent anxiety on the part of the hostage holder over the care of his or her hostage. It may also explain why, as discussed below, despite cultural admonitions to treat captives with care and kindness, medieval captive-takers felt much more able to abuse captives without fear of retribution or social stigma.

## Captiveship

Like hostageship, captivity and captive-taking have been almost ubiquitous features of warfare, from ancient to modern times. Biblical references to the horrors of warfare and the fear of captivity abound, 45 and Roman and Visigothic law both contain provisions concerning the redemption of captives. 46 In the early Middle Ages raiding, plundering and tribute-taking-all of which regularly featured the taking of captives—were standard practice in warfare in the British Isles and on the Continent. 47 Captivity was not, however, a common fate for men. For the most part, war among the Vikings and the Anglo-Saxons and Franks resulted in death rather than ransom for its high-ranking male participants. Unlike later warfare in the Anglo-Norman period, both sides appear to have preferred to slaughter the enemy rather than capture them, and ransoming—selling a captured warrior his freedom either through his own

<sup>45</sup> Deuteronomy21:1-17, 1Samuel 30:1-6, Ezekiel 30:18, 2 Kings 8:12, Judith 9:3, Psalms 137:9, Isaiah 13:16, 18; Amos 1:13, and Nahum 3:1-19 all dwell upon the horrors of what happened after a battle was lost, of which captivity was a part.

James Brodman, Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain (Philadelphia, 1986), 6.
 Halsall, 4.

payment or that of his family or friends—does not seem to have been common. There were some exceptions, however, and they tended to follow certain rules. First, those that were most likely to be ransomed were not taken in battle, but in raids or the capture of cities because these activities were done mostly for financial profit rather than for conquest. If captive-takers thought that sufficient money could be made either by enslavement or ransom, or that the captive would serve as an effective bargaining tool, captivity was a possibility. Captivity was usually reserved for women and children, and most would be "destined for the slave markets of Northern Europe or the East."

The rise of "chivalric knighthood" in the 11<sup>th</sup> century seems to have lessened the chances of outright slaughter and slavery in the West and increased the potential of captivity for both men and women. Captivity became more monetarily beneficial to the captive-taker. War was an expensive proposition and risky investment in the Middle Ages. Between paying for his entourage, horse, and equipment, a knight or lord could easily become impecunious. Captive-taking was a quick and easy way to get money or goods immediately, while other more traditional methods of earning money took time and were not always as profitable. The ransoming of captives also became a charitable act for Christians, which increased its prevalence. In fact, due to "increasingly bitter Muslim-Christian conflict engendered by crusader enthusiasm and Berber revivalism," the twelfth century saw "increasing instances of capture, which in turn led to attempts to organize the means of redemption," especially in Spain where religious organizations like the Order of Merced were created exclusively for the purpose of ransoming captives. Ransomers came from all walks of life—kings,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Matthew Strickland, "Slaughter, Slavery, or Ransom: the Impact of the Conquest on Conduct in Warfare," in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Carol Hicks (Stamford, England, 1992), 51-8, 47-8.

Carol Hicks (Stamford, England: 1992), 51-8, 47-8.

49 Jean Dunbabin, Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe, 1000-1300 (New York, 2002), 89.

wide variety of sources. As will be demonstrated here, by exploring all the ways in which women and gender intersection with hostage and captive-taking practices, we can more greatly understand not only how women shaped medieval military matters, but also familial relationships social hierarchies, family relationships, religious conflicts and agreements, understandings of emotions, power, authority, love, and hate; as well as theories and practices of rulership.

merchants, mendicants, military orders, cities, and other individuals all participated. 50

One of the many problems with studying captivity and captivity-taking practices, however, is that it is rarely documented in any detail. As James Brodman notes in his study of the Order of Merced, "The threat of capture, whether by pirates or coastal raiders, or during one of [Spain's] intermittent wars, was ... so persistent and ordinary ... that individual instances of capture rarely elicited much notice beyond illusions in chronicles and wills." This could easily apply to captivity outside of the Spanish context. Many references to captive-taking practices are brief at best, noting only that captives were taken, perhaps with the detail of the chains by which they were bound, or that they were to be ransomed.

Despite this potential problem in the sources, captivity has received some scholarly attention. In the past, studies of captivity usually approached the concept from a legal or judicial perspective, focusing on the increasing importance of prisons and punitive or custodial imprisonment. More recent studies still follow this trend. Guy Geltner's recent monograph, The Medieval Prison: A Social History, for example, as the title suggests, focuses on the development of medieval prisons rather than on captivity in any broad sense. However, scholars in the 1990s began to revive close examination of other medieval narratives of captivity and captive-takers. These studies have demonstrated the importance of captivity and captive-taking in the prosecution of medieval warfare and have made efforts to understand and analyze it.

John Gillingham has dedicated a large part of his career outlining the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> James Brodman, 6-7, and passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid., 1. Brodman, despite his excellent study, does not receive as much attention here as perhaps one would expect because he focuses solely on the practice of ransoming captives through religious redemptive orders in Spain, which mostly falls out of the parameters of this study. He does not tend to extrapolate his ideas to the broader practice of captive redemption.

<sup>52</sup> Ralph Pugh in discussing medieval England, charts the Crown's increasingly successful attempts at

Ralph Pugh in discussing medieval England, charts the Crown's increasingly successful attempts at creating a monopoly over justice and incarceration. He speaks very little if at all about captivity or imprisonment in relationship to warfare. Ralph Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1968).

<sup>53</sup> Princeton, 2008.

relationship between the English and their Celtic neighbors and the changes in English warfare as a result of the Norman conquest of 1066. As a result, many of his articles (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995)<sup>54</sup> are relevant since they touch upon captive-taking and life in captivity. He argues that previous social trelations between captive and captor played a significant role in determining how the captive was treated in captivity. He suggests two trends helped shape this. First, by the twelfth century, a chivalric code was introduced in England that attempted "to limit the brutality of war by treating the defeated in a more humane fashion," and that it was assumed by those of the upper strata that this code would be observed, which "enabled enemies to trust each other's word." This "compassionate treatment of high-status enemies" was "a defining feature of chivalry."

In order to prove his argument, Gillingham focuses on the decrease in the reported number of violent deaths during war in the Anglo-Norman realm. He claims that in Normandy after 1025, both blood feuds and rebellions became distinctly less violent than they had been in the past, remarking that only eight men were murdered and one mutilated. Specifically, during "anarchical" rule of Robert Curthose—which chronicler Orderic Vitalis among others always painted as a time of widespread violence and civil war—not a single aristocrat was murdered. In England, the arrival of the Normans saw the treatment of enemies change for the better, a trend epitomized by William the Conqueror, who, rather than eliminate his English enemies, including his rival to the throne, Edgar Atheling, chose clemency instead. Even rebels had little to fear post-1066. While Anglo-Saxon kings and lords had regularly done violence to their enemies and rivals and Celtic society continued to do so, "the clement treatment

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> All of these articles have been conveniently assembled in one volume entitled *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity, and Political Values* (Rochester, NY, 2000). For the following footnotes, the name of the original article will given and the page numbers from this volume will be given.

of rebel traitors became the norm during the chivalrous centuries which started with the reign of William the Bastard." He suggests that the reason for this decrease in violence may have been the result of two different rulers in England and Normandy and the weight of divided loyalties between the English and French crowns for many English and Norman barons. Barons were forced to choose between competing obligations, and as a result, were less likely to be blamed for choosing one side over the other. Violent deaths for assassination attempts continued to be acceptable, but kings who severely punished rebels—for example, William Rufus's 1095 hanging of the rebel William de Alderie and Henry I's blinding of William of Mortain in captivity—were criticized by chroniclers for their cruelty. Thus while, "in England, disputes over succession to high office, or succession to great estates, certainly involved violence, ... it was violence which was controlled so as to spare the lives—and limbs—of the royals and aristocrats engaged in it."

Second, there was an increasing divide between English and Celtic society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which resulted in more violent treatment of captives by both cultures when they were in conflict with each other. According to Gillingham, while prior to the arrival of the Normans Anglo-Saxon and Celtic societies had looked alike, by the twelfth century chroniclers in England were regularly referring to the Welsh, Irish, and Scots as barbarians, seeing their culture as backward and looking upon their war-time practices as abhorrent. In particular, the English were horrified by the "slave hunt." As the practice of slavery disappeared from England, it remained in the Celtic world. During war time, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish warriors took captives specifically for the purpose of selling them into slavery, usually killing all warriors and all others whom they would not be able to sell. While the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle had rarely made judgmental comments about slave

<sup>55 &</sup>quot;1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England," 209-12, 221-226.

raiding, by the time of the 1136-7 rebellion of the Welsh and the 1138 invasion of the Scots, English chroniclers were writing in what Gillingham calls "hysterical language" and "a deluge of vituperation," painting gruesome and savage pictures of Celtic warriors brutalizing women, throwing babies on pikes, dashing brains out, and dragging off captives. This trend to distinguish between the Anglo-Norman world and the Celtic one is seen in Gerald of Wales who, in his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, juxtaposes French-ified English culture and Celtic peoples by remarking that: "In France, knights are held in captivity; here [i.e. Wales and Ireland] they are decapitated. There they are ransomed, here they are butchered."

Gillingham further suggests that "the conventions of chivalry were appropriate to a certain stage of socio-economic development, one which England had reached by the twelfth century but which Celtic countries had not." English society had become "a highly monetized society," which made ransoming a more reasonable and therefore more popular option. It was strategically more viable and more profitable for warriors to capture their enemy alive and treat him well in order to extract large sums of money from him or his family. In Celtic society, which was not as monetized, ransoming was less of an option and death or slavery more common. Furthermore, in Anglo-Norman society, which had developed cities as well as castles and fortified towns, the ransoming of captives for the surrender of these strategic strongholds was common. Celtic society, however, had few of these concentrated population centers or castles, making the ransom of captives for these purposes also unlikely. As a result, neither the English nor the Celts tended to ransom captives taken when they warred against each other. As Gillingham notes, for the English, the only

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> "Conquering the Barbarians: War and Chivalry in Britain and Ireland," 44, "The Foundations of a Disunited Kingdom," 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> 1006 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England," 227. The quote is from Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland, ed. and trans. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), 246-7.

way to defeat the Welsh, Irish, or Scots was to put them "out of action—by killing them or mutilating them." <sup>58</sup>

The cultural evolution of the Anglo-Normans also had profound effects on both soldiers who did not come from the upper echelons of society and non-combatants within the Anglo-Norman realm. For common soldiers, these effects were not positive. Ironically, the elimination of slavery meant that "ordinary soldiers who could not afford ransoms were no longer a source of potential profit, and in consequence, especially in the closing stages [of a battle], were now more likely to be killed than captured." This was especially true for foot soldiers, crossbowmen, and the garrisons of castles. Non-combatants, however, while still subject to the ravaging of their lands and the theft or destruction of their property and goods, were less likely to be subject to bodily harm or capture because selling them into slavery was no longer an option. While those on the periphery of England might still fear the incursions of the Welsh or Scots, for the most part, non-combatants could by the twelfth century expect less violence to themselves.

Matthew Strickland's article on "Slaughter, Slavery, or Ransom" (1992) and his monograph War and Chivalry (1996) were two of the earlier studies to look extensively at the uses of war-related captivity in the Anglo-French realms. In a world built on a foundation of warfare, captivity was an essential feature of society. He, as Gillingham does, draws a sharp line at the Norman Conquest of 1066, arguing that in pre-Conquest England, captivity was much more likely to result in death. By the 1030s, however, the Normans were beginning to adopt the process of ransoming, regularly attempting to capture prisoners as a money-making venture. By the time the Anglo-Normans ruled England, ransom and non-fatal captivity were regular features

58 "Conquering the Barbarians," 53-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> "The Introduction of Knight Service into England," 184.

of warfare. He suggests several reasons for this division. First, he implies that bloodfeud might have been one factor in the bloodiness of Anglo-Scandinavian warfare, and
that warriors of the time might have been compelled not only to avenge their lords,
kin, or fellow brothers-in-arms, but also a greater impetus to die for them in battle
rather than be captured afterwards. He also points out that the Anglo-Saxon sources
construe these wars as pagan versus Christian, and suggest that Anglo-Saxon warriors
may have felt themselves to be defenders of the Christian faith against a hostile, pagan
force. Layered on top of this was the Anglo-Saxon sentiment that they were defenders
of their homeland against invaders. Because the stakes were higher, the death rates
followed suit.

According to Strickland, for the Anglo-Normans, however, warfare was different than it had been for the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings. This resulted from the social and financial burdens on the elite classes beginning in the Anglo-Norman period. Financially, as noted above, war became more expensive, and the chroniclers report that warriors not only captured other warriors for profit, but also horses and military gear such as hauberks and swords. Keeping captives alive meant that they could either pay their ransoms with money or at least with the armor they carried and the horses they rode. The importance of captivity, however, was located in the nature of medieval warfare at the time, and in many ways served as its foundation. War was typically against neighbors, members of the same social group, and relatives either by blood or marriage, and therefore the impetus to kill was not as strong. War was also on a much smaller scale, and the opposing sides tended to be evenly matched, so battles were never really decisive. Further, Anglo-Norman warfare also lacked a raiding element, which was a staple of Viking warfare, and focused more on land-based maneuvers from the back of a horse. This type of warfare required training and

<sup>60</sup> Strickland, War and Chivalry, 183-4.

money, and created a "heightened sense of a profession of arms and a milieu in which the aristocracy came increasingly to identify itself with its military function." In other words, warriors—even on opposing sides—shared the same value and social system, creating a sense of brotherhood among warriors, and they did not want to kill their fellow knights. The increase of captivity and ransom rather than death, then, was a sign for Strickland as well as Gillingham of the growth and growing importance of chivalry. Because elite society was based in war and the warrior ethos, which in turn was built upon the principle of captivity rather than killing, the principle of ransom became a driving force behind the way elites conducted their own lives and their relationships with each other; it "at once both limited the execution of warfare itself by the prevention of wholesale killing among the warrior nobility and yet, as one of the principal raisons d'être of war for participants of all ranks, acted as a incentive to the prosecution and further escalation of hostilities."

Captivity, however, had military as well as social and financial purposes, and it did not necessarily limit the violence done to captives, even if it did keep them from death. Strickland suggests that the conditions for captives themselves could vary drastically, some being held honorably and others in less desirable conditions, and that the reasons for these differences could range from personal hatred of the captive to the strategic military goals. The bitter feuds of the Anglo-Norman families often led to harsh treatment, as did rebellions. In particular, acquiring castles—which under normal circumstances could take a long time with great expense—was one of the main reasons for captive abuse. Because castles were so hard to take the old-fashioned way, captive abuse, if it resulted in a quick and easy surrender of a castle, was acceptable, if

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Strickland, "Slaughter, Slavery, or Ransom?" 51-8.

<sup>62</sup> Strickland, War and Chivalry, 185.

<sup>63</sup> Strickland is also careful to note that battle, when it happened, was also bloody, even if major battles were rare. Ibid., 162-9.

not applauded.<sup>64</sup> This applied more broadly, as well. If captive-takers were attempting to push their advantage in having a high-profile captive, mistreating that captive could induce the captive's family to quickly provide the required ransom, lands, or goods desired. The refusal to ransom captives, however, was, according to Strickland, "regarded as among the most heinous of atrocities in war, for it negated the crucial assumption that, not withstanding the price demanded, a captured nobleman could ultimately purchase his freedom." Habitual cruelty on a broad scale, was, however, "the exception, standing in isolation with the outrages of a handful of notorious lords." Moreover, violence was more likely to be the result of the feuds among nobles, rather than war between territorial princes. <sup>65</sup>

Europe takes a different approach than Strickland and Gillingham. By covering the year 1000 to the year 1300, she follows not only the older school of captivity studies by discussing captivity in terms of the growing importance of judicial imprisonment, but also analyzes captive-taking during and after war. She suggests that like hostageship, imprisonment throughout the period of her study was mostly coercive rather than punitive or custodial. It was "a means of extorting a ransom or a debt claimed by the captor, an instrument of private revenge, a form of discipline an aristocrat might impose on members of his *familia* (household), or a method of forcibly withdrawing from the political scene an opponent too dangerous to let loose." But whereas other studies have failed to examine wartime captivity as a relevant and related equivalent to judicial imprisonment, Dunbabin argues that

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<sup>64 &</sup>quot;The recourse to such treatment of important captives was an indirect manifestation of the great strength of castles. In siege warfare, the art of defense so outstripped that of offense that to take such strongholds...would have necessitated a prolonged and uncertain investment. To gain... castles at a stroke by the intimidation of an individual, without loss of time, men and money, was an act of expediency that few could ignore if presented with the opportunity." Ibid., 196-9; quote from 199.
65 Ibid., 196-203.

<sup>66</sup> Dunbabin, Captivity, 3.

captivity as punishment and wartime captivity are related in that "prisoners of war were often regarded as guilty of crimes" just as their judicially prosecuted counterparts were. While she admits that war-time captivity had "at best an oblique relationship with the processes of law," the line between war and law was blurred in an age where legal conflicts could be decided by battles and judicial duels and wars were often merely "personal feuds writ large." She alleges that well into the twelfth century, defeat in battle was often construed as a judgment from God and took on a meaning similar to the verdict of a trial: God always punishes guilty parties.<sup>67</sup> Wars fought to bring recalcitrant barons to heel or disturbers of the peace to justice assumed not only that the "the guilt of the accused parties [had been] proved through notoriety," but also that the councils often held prior to wars were essentially trials held with the accused in absentia.68

As with hostage exchanges, the social status of the prisoner was an important factor in the treatment of captives. As Dunbabin notes, captives "were ... clearly differentiated from other prisoners where their rank required it or when some benefit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> While certainly some medieval authors do claim that victory in battle proves that God was on the side of the just (usually their own side), the Crusades provides a counterpoint to Dunbabin's argument here. On more than one occasion, medieval authors discussing the failure of various crusading armies have wondered why God was not on the "right" side and was not punishing pagans.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 2, 8-9, 86. Orderic Vitalis clearly links war, law, and judicial trial, as well as God as a judge of "war crimes" or war as a crime in his discussion of Robert of Bellême's imprisonment in 1112. Orderic writes: "At that time Robert of Bellême gave vent to the fierce hatred he had fostered by long brooding, and openly came out against the king whom he had previously placated, hiding his venom. ... Breaking his oath of fidelity [rupto fidelitatis uinculo], he openly committed perjury [periurium palam incurrit], for he deserted his natural lord Henry at a time when foes beset him on all sides, and gave both counsel and military support to help Fulk of Anjou and other public enemies of his lord. So, on 4 November at Bonneville, King Henry with good cause summoned him to answer the following charges: why he had acted against his lord's interests, why he had failed to come to his court after having been summoned three times, why he had not rendered account as the king's vicomte and officer for the royal revenues pertaining to the vicomtés of Argentan and Exmes and Falaise, and also for other misdeeds. By a just judgment of the royal court [iustoque iudicio regalis curiae] he was sentenced to close imprisonment in fetters for the many shocking crimes which he was unable to deny he had committed both against God and against the king. After the imprisonment of the tyrant who had disturbed the land and was preparing to add still worse crimes to his many offenses of plundering and burning [et multiplicibus rapinis ac incendiis adhuc addere peiora parabat], the people of God, freed from the bandit's yoke, rejoiced and thanked God their liberator, and wished long and prosperous life to their king." OV 6:178-

to the captor resulted." But even special treatment according to rank was not guaranteed. Warfare, especially in the earlier period of her study, regularly included pillaging and the taking of captives for ransom and slavery, and economic considerations could trump social convention. Further, as Strickland similarly explains, Dunbabin highlights the way treatment within captivity could vary from minimal restrictions to chains, claustrophobic spaces, and lack of food. When the captive was considered a criminal—especially if his or her crime was perceived as treason—rank could matter very little, and the imprisonment could be purposefully harsh.

Yvonne Friedman's monograph and many articles consider captivity and ransom in the Holy Land (1995, 2002, 2002, 2006). Captivity was an integral part of war and peace in the East. She argues that in a frontier society like the Holy Land, where different religious groups lived together in close proximity and control over territory could change quickly, captivity was a fact of life, not only after battles, but also during sieges, raids, and on travel. 70 In the East, however, the crusaders at first tended not to take hostages or captives, especially those they considered pagan, 71 often choosing to slaughter the survivors of battles and sieges. But by the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, captivity and ransom had become more common as crusaders became more influenced by the rules of chivalry and Muslim military practice. But even if one was spared death, the conditions in captivity were often harsh, and the majority of captives died in captivity. 22 Both men and women in the West often attempted to save their own,

<sup>69</sup> Dunbabin, Captivity, 1, 3, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Yvonne Friedman, "Women in Captivity and their Ransom during the Crusader Period," in *Cross* Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (New York, 1995), 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Friedman also suggests that wholesale slaughter may also have been "logical" because there was no slave trade in the West, and therefore no economic reason to keep captives. Friedman, Encounter Between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Leiden, 2002), 71. <sup>72</sup> "It seems that the second and third generations of Franks in the Latin Kingdom had ... learned the

norms of exchanging captives as a part of the accepted mores of war and peace in the East." Ibid., 76,

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Colleen Elizabeth Slater received her Bachelor of Arts in 2002 from the University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington. She graduated *summa cum laude* with honors in her department and won the university prize for best undergraduate thesis. Prior to receiving her Ph.D., she received her Masters of Arts in History from Cornell University in 2005 and was the recipient of several fellowships, including the Jesse F. and Dora H. Bluestone Peace Studies Fellowship and the Mommsen Research Fellowship.

however. The ransoming of captives was seen as a "meritorious deed of charity," one of the seven good works expected of a good Christian, and was felt to link a person to Jesus. As a result, people would send money eastward to help ransom those in captivity.<sup>73</sup>

Friedman not only deals with captivity and ransom more generally, but she is also one of the first historians to devote any lengthy space to women in captivity. She suggests that for many medieval writers, the whole mission of the Crusades was conceived as an expedition to free a female "captive": Jerusalem, the West's spiritual mother. 4 More broadly, Friedman argues that, despite the fact that chroniclers often minimally covered women's roles in the Crusades because crusader narratives were primarily male discourses, captivity was "one part of crusade history in which women seem numerically dominant.... Women were often the first and sometimes the only captives taken on both the Muslim and Christian side." This happened during the larger crusader expeditions in particular, when large armies included significant numbers of non-combatants and the difference between civilians and soldiers was less clear, especially when the camps were sometimes mere meters from the battlefield. The chronicles of the Crusades clearly present the problem of women in captivity. On the one hand, it was expected that women—because they had economic value either through sale into slavery or ransom for money—would be taken captive. Yet on the other, sometimes these women were abandoned to their fate. In fact, those who were ransomed often faced a difficult life once they had returned home. It was assumed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ibid., 4.; Friedman, "Women in Captivity," 75-6. James Brodman notes in his work on the Spanish Order of Merced that the religious overtones that the Crusades added to ransoming can be seen in the language used to describe captives. Whereas prior to the twelfth century the word "captive" was used without modifier, writers in the twelfth century began to used religious language to describe captives. Brodman, 10.

Brodman, 10.

74 Friedman, Encounter Between Enemies, 14. Orderic Vitalis, for example, writes that "The Christians invested Jerusalem on 6 June, not as stepsons would a stepmother, but as sons would a mother. As friends and sons they surrounded her...not to deprive her of her freedom, but to free her from captivity." OV, 5:9, 15.

that women who had been taken captive would be physically abused or tortured and likely raped. Unlike Muslim and Jewish traditions, which absolved women of the guilt of their treatment during captivity, Christian society held women responsible for any violation of their bodies. Even if women claimed not to have been abused, being held captive seems to have always left a taint. 75

As is suggested above, the historiographical trend in the study of captivity is that the rise of "chivalric knighthood" in the eleventh century changed the nature of captivity by moderating its harshness. John Gillingham, Matthew Strickland and Jean Dunbabin have all argued that standards in care of captives—based on rank, social status, and whether or not people perceived that that captive had committed any wrong—come to be more frequently discussed in the sources. Yet even as the Middle Ages progressed and criticisms of harsh treatment became more prevalent in the sources, they were hardly ever directed against the belief that a person could be seized and held captive by another. As Jean Dunbabin remarks, "... for long periods of the high middle ages and in many parts of western Europe lay aristocrats accepted that, if defeated in a conflict, they might either be killed or find themselves in an enemy's grasp, bound, perhaps even chained, until they yielded to the victor's will, either by surrendering some disputed right or property or by paying a ransom."<sup>76</sup> The attitudes about treatment may have changed, but the practice of captivity not only persisted, but so too did the potential for harsh treatment.

While much of Strickland and Gillingham's arguments underpin those made in this thesis, there is room for a more nuanced approach. Both Gillingham and Strickland rely on a variation of Norbert Elias' "civilizing process" argument to imply that the chivalric code civilized the barbaric warfare practices of the Early Middle

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ibid., 162-84.
 <sup>76</sup> Jean Dunbabin, Captivity, 7, 67.

Ages. 77 But as much as Gillingham highlights the growing moderation towards peers of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries by suggesting that very few aristocrats died violently during battle or were summarily executed afterwards, an argument that Strickland does not wholeheartedly agree with, the fact remains that these centuries were still bloody and that the fate of captives was often not very pleasant. Because he focuses on death, Gillingham overlooks the issue of treatment in captivity. As will be shown below and in the next chapter, for all their chivalry, kings and lords alike still violently tortured and maimed captives and hostages of all genders, social statuses, and ethnic groups or nationalities despite any strictures to the contrary. While Gillingham and Strickland may consider living under harsh conditions and suffering from brutal treatment a better option than death, making Gillingham's argument that war was more "chivalrous" relatively true, it is unclear if medieval men and women felt the same way.

Perhaps treating elite prisoners "in a relatively humane fashion" was indeed part of the chivalric code, but nobles did not always adhere strictly to that code. Gillingham and Strickland are right to suggest that there are many cases in the chronicles in which nobles acted with clemency and were praised for it. Furthermore, medieval chroniclers and historians were certainly outraged when men like Robert of Bellême treated prisoners cruelly. Orderic Vitalis consistently railed against Robert in his Ecclesiastical History for his barbarity, especially in his treatment of captives.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> In this, they follow historians like C. Stephen Jaeger who, like Elias, were looking for civilizing processes. Unlike Elias, however, who located them in the early modern period, Gillingham, Strickland, and Jaeger locate the "civilizing" processes in the Middle Ages. Gillingham writes, for example, "In my view those who believe in fundamental shifts in European modes of perceptions are more likely to find what they are looking for in the twelfth century than in the sixteenth century." Gillingham, "The English Invasion of Ireland," 150. Stephen C. Jaeger, The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210 (Philadelphia, 1985). See Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

78 Gillingham, "1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England," 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> For example, he writes: "Like the dragon of whom John the apostle writes in the Apocalypse, who was cast out of heaven and vented his bestial fury by warring on the dwellers of the earth, the fierce disturber of the peace, driven from Britain, fell in wrath upon the Normans. He pillaged their estates,

Orderic also clearly felt that some rule or custom had been broken when Henry I mutilated Geoffrey of Tourville, Odard of Le Pin, and Luke La Barre for their part in the 1124 rebellion. But as Henry I's defense of his actions during this episode and the inability of other nobles to counter it implies, kings and nobles did not always feel that the chivalric code applied. In many ways, they followed it when they had to, and took advantage of situations when they could get away with more. This is perhaps the most fundamental problem for studying hostage and captiveship "rules." In many ways, the system is defined in the same way the McCarthy era defined communism. Medieval authors knew violations of the rules of hostage- and captiveship when they saw them, but never really defined the rules concretely. For every 'thou shall not,' exceptions were made based on circumstances. Hostage and captive

burning all behind him, and tortured to death or mutilated the knights and other persons whom he was able to capture. He was so cruel that he preferred formenting his prisoners to growing rich on fat ransoms offered for their release." OV, 6:30-1. Gillingham follows the argument of Kathleen Thompson in suggesting that Orderic exaggerated Robert's actions in an effort to make his hero, Henry I, look better and to justify Henry's own barbaric treatment as "necessary" to curb the violence of out-of-control barons. It is worth noting, however, that Orderic was not the only chronicler to condemn Robert for violence and cruelty. William of Malmesbury states, "he was a man of intolerable looseness of conduct, and pitiless towards others' failings; notorious for his cruelty..." Likewise, Henry of Huntingdon calls him "a Pluto, a Magaera, a Cerberus, or something more fearful to describe. He would not trouble to ransom prisoners, but killed them." GR, 1:724-5. HH, 602-3. See Kathleen Thompson, "Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Bellême," Journal of Medieval History 20 (1994); ibid, "Robert of Bellême Reconsidered," Anglo-Norman Studies XIII, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Rochester, NY, 1991).

He has Charles, count of Flanders, say to Henry: "'My lord king, you are doing something contrary to our customs in punishing by mutilation knights captured in war in service of their lord." ["'Rem nostris ritibus inusitatem domine rex facis, qui milites bello captos in seruitiodomini sui debilitatione membrorum punis.'"] OV, 6:352-355. Quote is found on 352.

81 To [Charles] the king replied, 'My lord count, what I do is just, as I will prove conclusively.

To [Charles] the king replied, 'My lord count, what I do is just, as I will prove conclusively. Geoffrey and Odard with their lords' consent became my liege men, and they broke faith with me when they deliberately committed treason; therefore they deserve the punishment by death or mutilation.
[...] Luke on the other hand, never did homage to me, but recently fought against me at the castle of Pont-Audemer. In the end, when peace was made, I pardoned his guilt and allowed him to go away freely.... But he straightaway gave his support to my enemies, united with them to stir up fresh troubles against me, and went from bad to worse. Moreover this jesting songster composed scurrilous songs about me, insulted me by singing them in public, and often raised mocking laughter against me from the enemies who sought my undoing. Now therefore God has delivered him into my hands for punishment.... When he heard this the duke of Flanders made no reply, for he had no reasonable argument to advance against it." Ibid.

Standard This reminds me of Captain Barbossa's comments in the movie Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse

This reminds me of Captain Barbossa's comments in the movie *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003) concerning the supposed Pirate Code. When the character Elizabeth demands he act according to the code, he replies: "the code is more what you'd call 'guidelines' than actual rules."

takers were supposed to do a lot of things: treat their prisoners well, especially if they were elite; ransom their prisoners in a timely fashion; not take women, children, or religious people prisoners, so forth and so on. But time and time again, the sources demonstrate that these things did not happen.

The problem may be that we rely on the descriptions and prescriptions of religious chroniclers who in general abhorred violence and condemned brutality, especially when many of the direct and indirect victims were monastic and religious communities. As Strickland notes, chansons de geste regularly present the harsh treatment of prisoners as a normal part of warfare, 83 a fact which he dismisses because it comes from less "sober" sources. But the fact that the chansons were a literary form prized by lay society may actually give these sources more weight than Strickland is willing to admit, and may be more reflective of lay values about cruelty to captives. It is also possible that religious writers went to such lengths to praise those who acted chivalrously because they were tiny lights of virtue in a sea of brutal violence. Furthermore, because the source material we have focuses almost completely on the deeds of kings and other very important people at the top, the image of a steadily less violent society may be heavily skewed. We possess very little evidence of what was going on in the lower levels of aristocratic society or whether or not those people were interested in any way in chivalric attitudes.

Moreover, the assumption that life in confinement, however long or short, was preferable or more honorable than death is not beyond challenge. Death and captivity are often associated with each other in sources, as if both fates are equally undesirable. 84 The Anglo-Norman chronicler Geoffrey Gaimar stated that the rebel Morcar and his followers would have been better off dead than captured,

Strickland, War and Chivalry, 201.
 For example, Orderic remarks that hostilities between Helias of Maine and Robert of Bellême were "lengthy and caused many to taste the bitterness of death and captivity." OV, 6:30-1.

suggesting that the treatment they received while incarcerated was worse than death or that death was considered more noble than captivity. 85 Even if he was exaggerating or elaborating—he wrote several generations after Morcar's capture—this implies he believed that captivity during the twelfth century was potentially very harsh.

Furthermore, certain cases in the sources imply that even though clerical writers may have felt captivity was better than death, laymen may not. Captivity was not only often physically demeaning and debilitating, but also mentally so, and captives are sometimes depicted as outraged by their treatment even if it was supposedly considered chivalrous. For example, while in prison, Roger of Hereford maliciously burned the clothes of ermine and silk given to him as an Easter gift by William the Conqueror, and act which may have lengthened his stay. 86 Hugh of Crécy was so angry at his lengthy incarceration by King Louis of France that according to Suger, he "was like a dog chained for a long time; it becomes mad and remains so as a result of the drawn-out interval spent in chains. When set free, it rages beyond all bounds; unchained it bites and tears things to pieces." Captives may have seen socalled "honorable captivity" as deeply insulting, especially because those of high rank expected to be able to ransom themselves or to be released by virtue of their status. Captivity could also be meant as an insult to others besides the captive. Orderic reports that in 1105 several opponents of Henry I captured Robert Fitz Hamon, a loyal

<sup>85</sup> Geoffrey Gaimar, L'estoire Des Engleis, ed. Alexander Bell. (Oxford, 1960), Ins. 5695-5705. For a discussion of Gaimar's views on chivalry, see Gillingham, "Kingship, Chivalry, and Love. Political and cultural values in the earliest history written in French: Geoffrey Gaimar's Estoire des Engleis,"

<sup>86 &</sup>quot;Even in prison he [Roger] continued to abuse the king in many ways, and give him still greater offense by his provocative behavior. For once, whilst the Christian populace was reverently celebrating the Easter feast, the king sent honorable servants with a store of valuable garments to Earl Roger in his prison, whereat he commanded that a huge pyre should be prepared and the royal finery—cloak and silken tunic and mantle of ermine skins from distant parts-burned at once. At the news of this the king exclaimed in wrath, 'It is a proud man who insults me in this way, but by God's glory he shall never leave my prison as long as he lives.' The king's sentence was so lasting that even after the king's death nothing but death released him from his fetters." OV, 2:318-19.

87 Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead (Washington, DC,

<sup>1992), 95-104.</sup> 

follower of Henry, along with several others "and kept them in close imprisonment for a long time, both to extort ransoms and to show their contempt and hatred for their lord [Henry I]." 88

Moreover, the sources abound with descriptions of cruelty to captives, demonstrating that captive-takers did not always feel a compulsion to treat captives with any care, regardless of whether or not there was anything to gain by their torture. The most violent and outrageous offenders almost always received attention from the chroniclers, who often saw their treatment of captives as acts against God. William of Malmesbury and the author of the *Gesta Stephani* each comment upon the cruelty of Robert Fitz Hubert during the civil war between Matilda and Stephen. William calls Robert "cruel and savage," as well as "the cruelest man within the recollection our age, and also a blasphemer against God." Often, the sources complained that not only did the repeat offender torture their captives, but also refused to ransom them. According to William, Robert bragged about burning monks in their church. William also reports:

I have heard with my own ears, if he ever let prisoners go (and it was a very uncommon thing) without a ransom and without torturing them, and they thanked him in God's name, I have heard him answer, I say, 'May God never be grateful to me!' He used to smear prisoners with honey, and expose them naked in the open air in the full blaze of the sun, stirring up flies and similar insects to sting them. <sup>89</sup>

Robert himself was captured by John the Marshal, who "put him in a narrow dungeon to suffer hunger and tortures," and was later hanged by Robert of Gloucester because Fitz Hubert surrendered Devizes. William rejoices at Robert's death, remarking, "Wondrously was God's judgment exercised upon a sacrilegious man, in that he earned so shameful an end not from the king, to whom he was an enemy, but from

<sup>88</sup> OV, 6:60-1.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hisce auribus audiui, quod si quando captiuos, quod quidem rarissime fuit, immunes absque tortionibus dimittebat, et gratiae ipsi de Dei parte agebantur, audiui, inquam, eum respondisse, 'Numquam michi Deus grates sciat.' Captiuos melle litos flagrantissimo sole nudos sub diuo exponebat, muscas et id generis animalia ad eos compungendum irritans." HN, 74-7.

those whom he seemed to favor. Those who brought about his death must be given the praise they deserve, for ridding the country of such a plague, and so justly punishing an enemy in their midst." As noted above, Orderic reported that Robert of Bellême preferred to torture and kill his captives rather than ransom them. 91 Orderic goes so far as to suggest that during Lent in 1098 over 300 prisoners died of starvation and cold in Robert's prisons, even after ransoms had been offered for them. 92 While the number is likely an exaggeration, the suggestion that he tortured his prisoners may not have been.

Orderic reports yet another vivid account of torture in his description of Ascelin Goel's treatment of William of Breteuil, Roger of Glos and others whom he captured in 1091. Ascelin:

cruelly tormented his lord [William of Breteuil] and Roger of Glos and the other prisoners. He kept them for three months in his dungeon in the castle of Bréval, and often, in the most severe cold of winter, he would expose them to the north or north-west wind of his upper hall, clad only in shirts soaked with water, until the whole garment was frozen stiff round the prisoners' bodies.

By this treatment, Ascelin was able to extort a huge ransom from William, including one thousand livres in the money of Dreux, the tower of Ivry, and William's daughter Isabel in marriage. The fact that William had been Ascelin's lord also suggests that Ascelin meant the treatment to be deeply insulting to William. Nor was this Ascelin's only reported experience with torture. When William later sought revenge for his treatment in prison, Ascelin captured ten of William's knights who then "had bitter experience of Goel's cruelty in his dungeon," yet another offensive act. 93

Thomas of Marle was also famous for mistreating of prisoners and many chroniclers commented upon his misdeeds. Suger reports that he was "the vilest of men and a plague to God and men alike," and that "All his neighbors lived in terror of

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> OV, 6:30-1.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 5:234-5.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 4:202-3, 286-9.

this unbearable madman" who was "like a monstrous wolf." He was so cruel that even on his deathbed and being held captive himself. Thomas refused to give up captives he had taken, despite threats against him. 94 Henry of Huntingdon recounts that "anyone in his custody, by force or by trickery, could have said without falsehood, 'The sorrows of hell encompassed me.' Human slaughter was his passion and his glory." According to Henry, he took a countess captive whom he "submitted...to shackles and tortures by day to extract money, and dishonored...by night to make mock of her." Guibert of Nogent also remarks upon Thomas' cruelty to female prisoners in particular, lamenting that a pregnant woman died in his prison. 96 Although the problem of taking women hostage or captive will be dealt with more thoroughly in the next chapter, it is worth noting here that the gender of his victims made his atrocities all that more vile and sensational to contemporary writers. In all these cases, despite condemnation by contemporary sources and perhaps their peers, none of these men appear to have felt any compulsion to treat prisoners well.

While Strickland argues that outrageous and consistently violent treatment was the exception to the rule, if these cases are considered along with the numerous others in which violence towards captives was not a reported regular activity of the captivetaker, cruelty to captives becomes more common. Individual acts of violence against captives are also found repeatedly in the chronicles, and these provide context to the cases of more spectacular cruelty by repeat offenders, suggesting that mistreatment of

<sup>94</sup> Suger, 37-9, 143-44.

<sup>95 &</sup>quot;Thomas, princeps magnus iuxta Laudunum in Gallia principans, magnus erat nomine, quia summus erat scelere. [...] Si aliquem ui uel dolo in captione sua tenebat, non falso dicere poterat, 'Dolores inferni circum dederunt me.' Cedes humana uoluptas eius et gloria. Comitissam contra solitum in carcere posuit. Cui crudelis et spurcus compedes et supplicia diebus ut pecuniam extorqueret, stuprum noctibus inferebat ut eam derideret. A carcere in lectum Thome crudelissimi quaque nocte ferebatur, a lecto in carcerem quaque die referebatur." HH, 602-3.

96 Guibert of Nogent, The Deeds of God Through the Franks, trans. Robert Levine (Rochester, NY,

<sup>1997), 201.</sup> 

captives was not as unusual as assumed. 97 Numerous sources claim that King Stephen was placed in chains and in harsh confinement, although the exact timeframe is unclear. 98 Robert of Bellême, the uncle of Mabel of Bellême and distant relative of Orderic Vitalis's notorious Robert of Bellême, was slain with axes while in prison. 99 William son of William Giroire was mutilated by William Talvas, 100 Geoffrey of Thoars mutilated the knights of Hugh de Lusignan by cutting their hands off, which led Hugh to refuse to ransom forty-three of Geoffrey's knights; Hugh himself was imprisoned in chains in solitary confinement. 101 Richard I and Philip Augustus repeatedly mutilated captives in their conflicts with each other in 1194-9, and both King Richard and King John executed prisoners. 102 Henry I appears to have blinded William of Mortain in prison, 103 the prisoners that John of Marmoutier depicts the Angevin count Geoffrey le Bel ransoming were kept in harsh conditions, William Rufus hanged William de Alderie, and William of Eu was blinded and castrated for their involvement in the 1095 revolt against William Rufus. 104 William le Breton reports that after Renaud de Danmartin's capture at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, he was so loaded down with chains by Philip Augustus he could barely move. 105 William the Conqueror had thirty-two defenders of Alençon mutilated after they insulted him

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Many, but not all, of the following examples are listed in Strickland, War and Chivalry, 196-203, or in Gillingham, "1006 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England," 209-31.

See Chapter Five for more details.

<sup>99</sup> OV, 6:396-9.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 2:14-15.

<sup>101</sup> Strickland, War and Chivalry, 197.

<sup>102</sup> Gesta Regis Henrici secundi Benedicti Abbatis, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1867), 1:293; Rigord, Gesta Philippi Augusti, in Oeuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton, Historiens de Philippe Auguste ed. H-F. Delaborde (Paris, 1882-5), 1:127 <sup>103</sup> HH, 698-99.

<sup>104</sup> OV, 4:282-3; GND, 2:214-5; GR, 1:564-5

<sup>105 &</sup>quot;...inde fecit eum Peronam adduci, et ibi in turrim munitissimam includi, et cautissime custodiri ligatum compedibus mira subtilitate perplexis et fere indissolubilibus, conjunctis invicem catena tante brevitatis, quod vix passum efficiat semiplenum. Ejusdem catene medio inserta erat et alia catena longitudinis decem pedum, infixa caput alterum cuidam trunco mobili quod duo homines vix movere poterant, quoties comes iturus erat ad secreta nature." William le Breton, Gesta Philippi Augusti, in Oeuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton, Historiens de Philippe Auguste, ed. H-F. Delaborde, 1:292.

To my Mom and Dad: for putting me on the right path.

To James: for saving me from myself when I needed it most.

by making fun of his illegitimacy. <sup>106</sup> In 1075, William of Warenne and Richard of Bienfait cut off the right foot of those captured in battle "whatever [their] rank." <sup>107</sup> The Margam Chronicle reported that twenty-two captives died of starvation at the castle of Corfe. <sup>108</sup> Waltheof was beheaded in 1075 according to the English law of treason; while his punishment has often been seen as an exception, when compared to the violence done to others, it is perhaps less isolated than has been presumed in the past.

In some cases, no specific punishment is actually named; rather, the captivity is merely called cruel or harsh, or suffering, often in chains, is noted. Reginald of Grancey "suffered" in his brother's dungeon, "the punishment he deserved for his evil deeds." John, the son of Stephen of Meulan, was forced to "endure harsh confinement for four months." Reginald, count Burgogne-outre-Saône, was "kept under close guard with his feet firmly bound together," and when his captor, Hugh, count of Chalon, refused to release him and "increased the number of his guards and ordered him to be even more closely guarded," Duke Richard III of Normandy, Reginald's father-in-law, sent an army to secure his release. Hugh of Le Puiset "was shackled with horrible chains" by King Louis of France in 1111. In 1137, the forces of the Empress Matilda captured Ralph of Esson, and he was "kept in fetters... for a long time." Robert Poard of Bellème was "harshly" imprisoned by Rotrou, count of Mortagne in order to extort the freedom of Rotrou's uncle, who had been held in Robert's prison for six months.

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<sup>106</sup> GND, 2:124-5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> OV, 2:310-11.

<sup>108</sup> Strickland, War and Chivalry, 197

<sup>109</sup> OV, 6:44-5.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid,, 6:46-7.

<sup>111</sup> GND, 2:38-9.

<sup>112</sup> Suger, 84-95.

<sup>113</sup> OV, 6:512-13.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 6:546-9.

spread capture of wealthy men to represent the whole scene of general disorder in England during the "anarchy." The anonymous author laments that the men of Bristol:

sometimes...dragged them [i.e., the wealthy of England] off by force, sometimes lured them away by cunningly bandaging their eyes, also gagging them either by thrusting a lump of something forcibly into their mouths or by means of a device or by means of a device like a curb-bit with teeth in it that muzzled them, so they took them along blindfold and brought them at length into the middle of Bristol, like Elisha's brigand that we read about; there they wasted them with hunger or delivered them over to torments and extracted from them all they possessed to the uttermost farthing. 115

Likewise, the Gesta's author also says that when William de Mohun rebelled against Stephen, he ravaged far and wide, and put any rich man he captured in chains and tortured him. 116 While scholars often overlook these types of descriptions as contemporary exaggerations of the level of violence during the civil war, 117 their implications about what medieval authors felt was acceptable behavior should not be overlooked. They indicate that even when details were not available to writers, writers often assumed or imagined that captivity was harsh and violent.

Abusive captivity was not without logic, however, which likely explains why,

<sup>115</sup> Ubi uero quae in circuitu, et quasi sub manu eorum erant, in perditionis barathrum redacta uidebantur et adnullata, in omnibus Angliae partibus sicubi pecuniosos uel opulentos audierant, celerrime adesse, nunc uiribus abreptos, nunc fraudibus seductos, oculis fasceatis, ore etiam obdurato, uel cum massa aliqua illic urgenter impressa, uel cum machinula ad formam asperi freni capistrata et dentata, caecos secum deducere, tandemque in medio Bristoae, quemadmodum de latrunculis Helisei legimus, inductos, autieiuniis macerare, aut suppliciis addictis usque ad nouissimum quadrantem quicquid possederant ad eis exigere." GS, 62-3 Ibid., 80-1.

As Donald Matthew asserts, "The importance all twelfth-century writers attached to what happened in their own localities did not make them in different to the affairs of the kingdom as a whole, but their local perspective at least prevented them from concentrating their attention on the dispute about succession of the crown. They continued to take the unity of the kingdom for granted, but the information they received about events further afield cannot have been very objective and the use they made of what they heard bears little resemblance to modern practice. Chroniclers were neither trained as journalists to get to the bottom of atrocity stories, nor as historians to analyse causes and understand motives. Their inclination on occasion to burst metaphorically into tears about the current state of affairs needs to be understood in their own terms, and not interpreted as the kind of conclusion required by the rhetorical conventions of modern historical writing. The belief that life was highly disturbed everywhere throughout Stephen's reign relies on the assumption that some notable cases of local violence were replicated all over the kingdom .... Instances of violence and private war certainly occurred, for no civil society exists without crime, but such instances as are known hardly add up to the kind of conclusion [that England was in general disarray]." King Stephen (London, 2002), 132-33.

despite exortations to treat captives kindly, the practice remained a strong tradition in medieval society. As Matthew Strickland notes, lords often purposefully abused or threatened to abuse captives in order to press their advantage and gain concessions, especially strategically important castles or cities. William Rufus gained the surrender of Mowbray castle in 1095 by threatening to put Roger Mowbray's eyes out. 118 Count Theobald of Blois-Chartres had the city of Tours "violently extorted from him" by Geoffrey Martel in 1044. 119 In the 1120s, King Louis of France ordered the captured defenders of the castle of Montferrand to lose a hand, even after they begged to be ransomed. He then sent them back to the castle to convince the remaining defenders to surrender, which they promptly did. 120 When the Bishop of Bath, a supporter of King Stephen, captured Geoffrey Talbot, a supporter of the Empress Matilda, while he was on a reconnaissance mission, the garrison of Bristol, led by Robert of Glouchester's son "was much angered by this and advanced threateningly to Bath ... [and] sent messengers to the bishop, and threatened him and his followers with hanging if their companion-in-arms, Geoffrey, was not freed as soon as possible." The Bishop of Bath, "fearing...for the lives of himself and his supporters, freed Geoffrey from custody, and handed him over to them as they had asked," much to the king's displeasure. 121 King Stephen also practiced this tactic. He tortured Roger,

<sup>118</sup> ASC, 231. According to Orderic Vitalis, he was also permanently imprisoned for his crime. "Captus itaque a satellitibus regis Robertus finem belli fecit, et fere XXX annis in uinculis uixit, ibique scelerum suorum penas luens consenuit." OV, 4:282. 119 GND, 2:122-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Suger, 133-7.

<sup>121 &</sup>quot;Gausfriedus autem de Talebot, regem pacis amicum deserens cum suis, ad Glaocestriensis comitis filium, Brycstouuense castellum contra regem tenentem, diuertit, illius munimini se dedit. Qui uno dierum, uelut cuilibet spatiatui operam daturus, magis autem ut post claruit Bathoniam exploraturus et postmodum inuasurus, cum duobus strenuis militibus Willemo Hoset et alio quodam, iter illo direxit. Quo cognito, Bathoniensis episcopus Rotbertus quasi de regis aduersario triumphaturus, instructo milite sub quadam cautela obuiam procedit. Fugientibus duobus, Gausfridus capitur, custodie mancipatur. Hinc furore succensi Brycstouuenses castellani cum domno suo comitis filio Bathoniam hostilier adeunt, post presulem legant, et ni citius commilito suus Gausfridus reddatur, pontifici et suis suspensionis patibulum minantur. Qua de re presul, uice mercenarii, sibi suis timens, educto de custodia Gausfrido et illis reddito, uoluntati illorum cedit. Quod ubi regiis auribus insonuerat, in episcopum

bishop of Salisbury and threatened to hang Roger's son-Roger le Poer, Stephen's own chancellor-in order to gain the castle of Devizes from the son's mother and the Bishop of Ely, Roger's nephew. He then repeated this strategy with Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, also Roger's nephew. 122

In fact, violence or threats of violence against captives and hostages seem to have been a widespread practice during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda, for all that Gillingham labels it a "very chivalrous affair." The Gesta Stephani, for example, mentions how in 1146, Philip of Gloucester-Robert of Gloucester's son, who had changed sides in 1145 despite his father's status as Matilda's brother and most loyal defender-captured Robert Musard outside his castle. Philip, "lurking in an ambush ... happened to find him when he came out, and by putting a halter around his neck and repeatedly threatening to hang him he gained violent possession of his castle."124 The Gesta also remarks that the Earl of Chester captured Earl Alan of Brittany while Alan was attempting to "avenge the dishonourable capture of his king

uelut in fautorum inim corum suorum exardescit ira; quem, etiam si magis discordie quam paci rex ipse cederet, illum pastorali baculo fortasse priuaret." JW, 3:248-9.

122 "Rex namque Rogerum episcopum Salesbiriensem et Alexandrum Lincoliensem ipsius nepotem

cum pacifice suscepisset, ui olenter in curia sua cepit, nichil iusticie recusantes et iudicii equitatem deuotissime poscentes. Ponens igitur ibidem Alexandrum episcopum in carcere, episcopum Salesbiriensem secum duxit ad castellum eiusdem quod uocatur Diuise, quo non erat aliud splendidius intra fines Europe. Angarians eum igitur ieiunii tormento et filii eius, qui cancellarius fuerat regius, lanqueo collum circumnectens, ut suspenderetur, tali modo castellum sibi extorsit, male recordans bonorum que in introitu regni sui, pre omnibus aliis, ei congresserat. Talem ei deuotionis sue retributionem exhibuit. Similiter cepit Siresburnam quod parum Diuisis decore cedebat. [...] Rex inde rediens, Alexandrum episcopum, quem dimiserat in captione apud Oxinefordam, duxit secum ad Newecam. Ibi quidem construxerat episcopus super flumen Trente in loco amenissimo uernantissimum florida compitione castellum. Quo cum uenisset, indixit rex episcopo ieiunium non legitimum, astruens fide data eum omni cibo cariturum, donec ei redderetur castellum. Vix igitur episcopus lacrimis et precibus a suis optinere potuit, ut castrum suum a iure suo in extraneorum custodiam deponerent. Simililiter redditum est aliud castellum eius, quod uocatur Eslaford, neque forma neque situ a predicto secundum." HH, 718-23. This incident is also reported in the GS, 52-3. John of Worcester states that the king "placed the captured bishops under guard, Roger in the crib of a cowshed, the other [Alexander] in a mean hut, and got ready to hang the third [Roger le Poer] unless the castle was handed over to him." JW, 3:246-7.

123 Gillingham, "1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England," 226.

<sup>124 &</sup>quot;Cepit namque Robertum, cognomento Musard, uirum simpliciter, inmo ut uerum fatear, imprudenter de castello suo egressum: cumque Philippus in insidiis delitesceret, progressum eum fortuito inuenit, suspendium que, collo loro innexo, minitans, castellum illius uiolenter obtinuit." GS, 123

and lord." Earl Alan was "put in chains and subjected to torment in a filthy dungeon until he assumed the yoke of forced submission and the most degraded servility, [and] did homage to the Earl of Chester and delivered over his castles to his disposal."

When Arnulf of Hesdin and others of William fitz Alan's men were hanged at the castle of Shrewsbury, several castles surrendered in response, including Dover. 126

Even the fear of violent torture or death during captivity was thought to induce surrender. Suger reports two such occasions in his Deeds of Louis the Fat. In 1105, Louis attacked the besiegers of the castle of Montlhéry, who, because "they grew afraid that the sudden arrival of the lord Louis would mean the noose for them," surrendered. Suger recalls that Louis was actually disappointed at "not finding any seditious men to fix to a gibbet.",127 Likewise, in 1108, the rebels in the castle of Sainte-Sévère "knew that the lord Louis and his men were bold knights who would not see fit to withdraw until they had destroyed the castle to the foundations; and they would either fix its noble men to a gibbet or rip out their eyes." As a result, they chose to hand over the castle. 128 While Suger's motives for depicting these events as he did certainly arose out of his desire to paint King Louis as a fierce, effective, and authoritative king, they also demonstrate that such actions were not only believable but could also be seen in a positive light. Suger depicts Louis as relishing the idea of killing captives, and he does so in a way that suggests such violence against enemies of the king is appropriate and deserved, an attitude that contradicts Gillingham's suggestion that war was less violent and those who killed captives were routinely condemned.

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<sup>125 &</sup>quot;Comes namque Alanus, uir, ut dictum est, immensae truculentiae et doli, dum comiti Cestriae inhonoram, quam in regem et dominum commiserate, captionem ulturus insidias tenderet, aduersariis praeualentibus, captus et catenatus, suppliciisque in carcerali squalore fuit addictus; donec coactae humilitatis et uilissimae seruitutis induens ceruicem, et hominium comiti Cestriae faceret, et castella sua illius deliberationi permitteret...." Ibid., 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> OV, 6:522-3; HH, 712-3.

<sup>127</sup> Suger, 42-3.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 60.

What is particularly interesting is that threats of violence towards hostages and captives, and even real harm done against them, were not always successful tactics, indicating that those inside strongholds were not always sympathetic to the fate of hostages or captives. In the eyes of the chroniclers, this was especially true when the fate of family and country were at stake. According to Orderic Vitalis, when William the Conqueror blinded hostages in front of Exeter in an attempt to get the city to surrender, it only strengthened the citizens' resolve: "But neither fear nor pity for the remaining hostages could shake the resolution of the angry citizens; instead their obstinate determination to defend themselves and their homes grew all the stronger." The same was also true at York. 30 Both of these incidences occurred during William's conquest of England in the late 1060s, and the added element of invasion meant that overall concern for resisting and defeating William outweighed any concern defenders may have had towards hostages or captives. It may be that Orderic used this description to suggest the heroic nature of the defenders of York and Exeter, willing to sacrifice their families to remain free of Norman rule. It should be noted, however, that the fate of the hostages was not the primary concern here; it seems as if it was understood that violence was a normal part of the process and in such dire circumstances like an invasion, losses were expected.

While not every captive faced bodily cruelty in prison, even if treatment in captivity was mild, the length of time spent incarcerated could be rather long and it should not be underestimated that this within itself was a form of cruelty even if the prisoners were treated graciously. Life-long royal imprisonment of high-profile and problematic captives was not unusual in the Anglo-Norman realm, mostly because it

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<sup>129 &</sup>quot;Denique regio iussu exercitus ad urbem admotus est et unus ex obsidibus prope portam oculis priuatus est. Pertinacia furentis populi nullo timore, nec ulla reliquorum obsidum flectitur miseratione sed acuitur ad defensandum se suosque lares tota obstinatione." OV, 2:210-15.

sed acuitur ad defensandum se suosque lares tota obstinatione." OV, 2:210-15.

130 "Fealty, oaths, and the safety of hostages were forgotten in their anger at the loss of their patrimonies and the deaths of their kinsmen and fellow countrymen." Ibid., 2:222-3.

had all the advantages or value of the captive's death without all the potential disadvantages. Many of these prisoners were either rivals to the throne or contumacious rebels against the king. William the Conqueror had the rebel Morcar imprisoned for life in 1071 for fear he might foment more rebellions. Although he was released at William's death, his son and successor William Rufus re-imprisoned him. 131 William I had also intended that his half-brother Odo of Bayeux be held in prison for the remainder of his life, although according to Orderic, he was released at the insistence of William's nobles. 132 William had Roger of Hereford placed in perpetual confinement for rebellion in 1075, and at the time Orderic was writing circa 1125-6, in the reign of Henry I, Roger's sons were still hoping for his release. 133 Earl Waltheof, mentioned above, was kept in prison for over a year at Winchester before his death. 134 Henry I had his eldest brother Robert of Curthose, a rival claimant for the English throne and the duchy of Normandy, imprisoned for life after his defeat and capture at the Battle of Tinchebray in 1106 because he presented too much of a threat to Henry's security and complicated his designs to reunite William the Conqueror's Anglo-Norman realm. Henry also imprisoned Robert of Bellême in 1112, after he had ignored summons to court three times. 135 Yet another Robert, that of Mowbray, was imprisoned by William Rufus after his rebellion in the late 1090s. 136 Not only were they constant and potential sources of violence and conflict, but their actions had serious political implications, as well. Henry clearly could not release them, as both had proven repeat offenders and were likely to continue to be so, but he also could not kill them—especially in the case of his brother—because their deaths would have likely sparked internal as well as international hostility. Imprisonment, then, was the

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 2:256-9; JW, 3:46-7.

<sup>132</sup> OV, 4:98-101.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 2:318-19; GR, 1:472-3.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 2:20-3; GR, 1: 468-71. 135 Ibid., 6:178-9.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 4:282-3; GND, 2:214-5; GR, 1:564-5.

best option. This also seems to be the intended choice of the Empress Matilda and her brother Robert of Gloucester when they decided the fate of King Stephen after his capture during the Battle of Lincoln in 1141. 137

In fact, Orderic Vitalis goes out of his way to defend long-term imprisonment of rebels against the king as just, indicating that even the views of religious writers were more complicated than has been previously discussed. Orderic twice has William the Conqueror defend a long-term incarceration. The first time, Orderic depicts William telling a council that he is imprisoning his brother Odo of Bayeux because "harmful ambition should always be checked and it is never right to spare one man against the public interest through any partiality." He then demands Odo be arrested and guarded out of "fear [he will commit] even worse deeds." Orderic later inserts a death-bed speech for William in which he gives an extended justification for his choice to imprison several rebels for life. William states that he "condemned many to captivity deservedly for their own disloyalty, and many others for fear of future treachery. Right custom requires, and the divine law of Moses commands, earthly rulers to restrain evil doers so that they cannot injure the innocent." For Orderic, and perhaps also William and other English kings, captivity of repeat rebels was part of the job of kings and rulers. Moreover, Biblical law and precedent justified it. Long-term captivity without ransom, then, had a place among the honorable and praiseworthy actions of a king and served as a type of sanctioned cruelty.

Nor was long-term confinement merely a tool of royalty; other princes also incarcerated those they considered dangerous for lengthy periods of time. Geoffrey Martel's son, Geoffrey, was imprisoned by his brother Fulk le Rechin at Chinon for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> The Gesta Stephani reports that he was "to be kept there [in the tower of Bristol] until the last breath of his life." GS, 75.
<sup>138</sup> OV, 4:42-3.

<sup>139 &</sup>quot;Sic multos uinculis inieci ex merito propriae peruersitatis aliosque plures pro metu futurae seditionis. Hoc enim censura rectitudinis exigit, et diuina lex per Moisen rectoribus orbis precipit ut comprimant nocentes ne perimant innocentes." Ibid., 4:96-99.

thirty years. 140 William the Conqueror, as Duke of Normandy, imprisoned Guy of Pontheiu at Bayeux for two years after the Battle of Mortemer. His grandfather, Richard II of Normandy held his half-brother William of Eu, in prison at Rouen for five years before William escaped. 141 The elder Robert of Bellême was captured by the Manceaux in 1033 and kept in prison for two years until he was murdered by the sons of the noble Walter Sor. Robert's men had captured and then murdered Walter after a battle in which they had attempted to rescue Robert. Henry I, as a young man had also been thrown in prison for a time by his brother Robert Curthose in 1088. 143 Here, again, eliminating rival claimants to lordships or containing potential rebels may have been the point. For example, Orderic states that Robert Curthose imprisoned Henry because advisors close to him wrongly accused Henry of plotting against his brother.

Long-term imprisonment could merely be a lack of one's freedom, cruel within itself, but certainly not as bad as it could have been. Robert Curthose, the younger Robert of Bellême, King Stephen at first, and Ranulf Flambard-William Rufus's notorious henchman-had relatively mild incarcerations, most likely out of fear that others might seek retribution of behalf of these powerful men. 144 But this was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Ibid., 2: 104-5; 304-7.

<sup>141</sup> GND, 2:8-11.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 2:56-7.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 2:204-5, OV, 4:148-9.

<sup>144</sup> Orderic Vitalis records that "For fear that dissidents might molest simple and peaceful folk under the pretext of helping his brother, he [Henry] sent him to England and kept him for twenty-seven years in prison, providing him liberally with every comfort." ["Fratrem uero suum ne inquieti sub auxilii eius uelamine simplices et quietos inquietarent in Angliam misit, et xxvii annis in carcere seruauit et omnibus deliciis abundanter pauit."] As the text's editor Marjorie Chibnall suggests in a footnote, evidence from Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I indicates he was in fact treated well and provided with all the comforts he could want, excepting his freedom. William of Malmesbury also suggests that Henry treated his brother well, remarking that, "He was captured and kept in open confinement until the day of his death, having to thank his brother's praiseworthy sense of duty that he had nothing worse to suffer than solitude, if solitude it can be called when he was enjoying the continual attention of his guards, and plenty of amusement and good eating. So he was held in captivity until he survived all the companions of his journey, and was never released until the day of his death." OV, 6:98-99; GR, 706-7. Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I also indicates that Robert of Bellême was treated well, receiving a comfortable living retainer. See C. Warren Hollister, Henry I (New Haven, CT., 2001), 149-209 for the details of Henry I's struggle with and capture of his brother Robert.

certainly not always the case. Orderic implies that the rebel Morcar spent his imprisonment during William's reign in fetters.<sup>145</sup> A century later, Richard I of England held Philip, the bishop of Beauvais, for quite a long time and in harsh captivity until the Pope demanded his release.<sup>146</sup> Gerbod, a Fleming whom King William had given the county of Chester, was captured by his enemies; "loaded with fetters and deprived of all earthly happiness, he learned through long wretchedness to compose songs of lamentation." Death could also result from injuries or illnesses that happened while in prison, but after the captive was freed. Helias, son of Fulk V of Anjou, was captured in 1145 after he rebelled against his brother Geoffrey and was imprisoned for many years. Yet John of Marmoutier states that Helias died shortly after he was released from a fever contracted while he was incarcerated.<sup>148</sup> William the Fat, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou, was held in captivity by Geoffrey Martel for three years, dying shortly after his release, likely from conditions during his captivity. Ralph the Red de Pont-Echanfray also died two weeks after his release from his wounds and from ill-treatment while imprisoned. <sup>150</sup>

In fact, what Gillingham and Strickland fail to emphasize is that rather than simply an overall improvement in the treatment of captives and hostages, there was a growing tension between chivalric tradition that advocated more lenient treatment of

Both Orderic and William of Malmesbury state that Ranulf Flambard was treated well. Orderic writes, "He received ever day by the king's command two shillings sterling for food, and with this and the help of his friends he made merry in prison, and every day ordered a fine feast to be set before him and his guards." OV, 5:310-13; William of Malmesbury, 1: 714-17.

145 OV, 2:256-9.

 <sup>146</sup> Chronica of Rogeri de Hovedene, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1868-71), 4:16, 21-4.
 147 OV, 2:260-1.

 <sup>148</sup> Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise, ed. L. Halphen & R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913) 170-231; 207.
 149 William of Malmesbury conflates two different events here, the capture of William the Fat in 1033,

William of Malmesbury conflates two different events here, the capture of William the Fat in 1033, and the battle of Chef-Boutonne in 1061 in which Guy-Geoffrey-William duke of Aquitaine lost to Fulk le Rechin but was not captured. He reports, however, that William died as a result of "chafing chains and lack of food," which is supported by evidence from the Gesta of the counts of Anjou. Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou, 60-2; GR, 1:430-1.

150 OV, 4:220-1.

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hostages and captives and a competing view that unsympathetic treatment of hostages and captives was acceptable and often necessary. On the one hand, many violent acts against hostages and captives were judged harshly in the sources according to the strictures of the chivalric code and the religious ideals of monastic writers. On the other hand, cruelty to captives and hostages seems to have continued and even been justified and praised, even if it abated to some degree. Gillingham and Strickland chart only one side of competing ideas.

The Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, a versified and romantic account of the life of its title character, William Marshal, provides several episodes in which this tension is apparent. One such episode comes from William's life as a young bachelor, when he was serving with Earl Patrick of Salisbury as part of an escort for Queen Eleanor as she travelled through Poitou. A group of Poitevins attacked the escort in hopes of capturing the queen, and as she escapes William is wounded and taken captive. His captors treat him horribly, refusing to help him bind his wounds, in hopes that his condition will result in a quicker ransom:

Once they had taken him, they pulled out / the lance, and, once it was out, / the blood ran from his wounds / down his leggings and breaches. / The whole ground [under him] became covered in blood, / ... They mounted him on an ass / and set off at a trot, for they were such wicked people / that they had no care for his comfort; / Why? Well, it is easy to understand: / they wanted to ransom him, / and that is the way that prisoners are dealt with / when in the hands of wicked men. [ll. 1711-24] 151

On the one hand, the author of the *Histoire* acknowledges that the reason for William's mistreatment was "easy to understand," portraying it as a logical, if not wholly acceptable, choice on the part of his captors. This was how men made money from ransoms. Yet on the other, the author also clearly condemns this mistreatment of

<sup>151 &</sup>quot;Quant pris l'orent, sil deffererent / Del glaive, e quant il li osterent, / Si raia fors li sans des plaies / Ensanglanta la terre tote, / Bien le pout l'om sieure par rote. / Desus une aune le monterent, / Trotant, kar si male gent erent / Qu'unke ne lor chaleit de s'aise, / Enz amoent plus sa mesaise. / Por quei? C'est legier entrendre: / C'esteit por lui faire raeindre; / Issi sunt mené li prison / Quant il sunt en male prison." History of William Marshal, ed. A.J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, notes D. Crouch (London, 2002), 1:88-9.

captives. William is later described as having no bandages to staunch the bleeding, and the author repeatedly remarks that no one came to his aid, leaving William to deal with his own wounds as best as possible. He twice refers to the captors as "wicked," and later calls them "mean-minded," attributing William's poor state to the "great viciousness / of the man who held him in his power." Even though his captors "knew the great pain he was in / ... [they] showed him no pity." Thus, even though the author may condemn the acts of abuse in true chivalric fashion, he acknowledges that such practices are commonplace.

Descriptions of real events like King Stephen's mistreatment of the bishops mentioned above also demonstrate the huge discrepancy between the two medieval understandings of acceptable hostage and captive treatment. Even the author of the Gesta Stephani, who favored King Stephen and tended to see the best in Stephen's actions, could not completely remove his disapproval of Stephen's treatment of the bishops from his narrative. 153 He reports that the bishops were kept "under close guard," and "lodged dishonourably, apart from each other and grievously tormented by insufficient diet." He ordered the Bishop of Salisbury's son "put in chains," and that he should "be hung on high right before the castle entrance if the Bishop of Ely did not after all hand over the castle [of Devizes] and admit the king's forces." The bishops were "in great distress and agony of mind, it being clear to all that they and theirs were liable to insults of various kinds and even to peril of death," and they thus

<sup>152</sup> The author's description of William's treatment is extensive. "Il n'out de quei bender ses plaies; / Lors prist les tigeus des ses braies / Si s'en benda si com il pout, / Quer nul aider ne li osout. / Por quei? Por la grant felonie / De celui qui l'out en bailie. / Lor porchaça auqune estupe, / Ses plaies en tente e estupe; / Quant eles furent totes pleines / Del sanc qui del cors e de veines / De si qu'as plaies decorust, / Nuls de ce ne li securut, / Celes li convint relaver. / Molt furent felon e aver / Cil qui sa grant dolor saveient / E nule pitié n'en aveient." Ll. 1725-40. Ibid., 1:88-9.

153 If the attribution of the *Gesta* to the bishop of Bath, Robert of Lewes, is correct, this may explain his

inability to completely forgive Stephen for his actions, given that, despite whatever misdeeds the bishops had done, they were still ecclesiastical men.

resolved to seek "release from the dishonorable arrest." 154

Yet at the same time, the Gesta could depict Stephen's capture of castles and captives positively, suggesting that it was the context was each case of captivity that determined whether or not it was construed by authors as cruel or just. The Gesta's author describes Stephen's 1145 capture of the castle of Faringdon by writing: So by the handing of this castle to the king's disposal God granted to his aspirations a very great deal of glory, the crown of his good fortune, in that he not only enriched his comrades most bountifully from the capture of the knights who had surrendered to him on terms of being held ransom, or from the quantities of arms and booty that he had found within in the greatest profusion, but also struck no little dread into his opponents through the victory that he had so decisively won. 155

Here the Gesta suggests that God was on Stephen's side. Further, the capture of knights by Stephen and his followers is described as beneficial, not only financially but also in enhancing Stephen's status as king by instilling fear in his opponents. Stephen's capture of Henry Calderet and Henry's brother Ralph is likewise depicted as just. Because the Gesta's authors believes Henry and his brother are ravagers and pillagers, especially of churches, he calls the cruelty that these men suffered at Stephen's hands "divine judgment" and a "punishment entirely worthy of their crimes."156 It is likely that the author, himself a cleric, felt that those who harmed the church deserved to be treated harshly while bishops, regardless of whether or not they had committed any crimes, did not. Context to each description of captivity is

<sup>154 &</sup>quot; ... duos secum episcopos custodiis adhibitis stricte seruatos adduxit, iussitque ut locis ad inuicem seclusi inhonestis, acribus macerarentur ieiuniis, summusque illius antigraphus, Salesbiriensis episcopi filius, captus iam et uinculis mancipatus ante ipsum castelli intriotum alte suspenderetur, ni episcopus Eliensis, castello demum reddito, regiam uirtutem intus susciperet. Episcopi itaque nimia anxietate afflicti animo maxime torquebantur, dum cunctis palam esset, diuersis se et suos ludibriis sed et vitae periculo exponendos, ni municipia sua, quae summo studio construxerant, summo et amore complectebantur, in regis deliberationem committerent. Amicorum tamen consultu, qui, licet perrari, curiali frequentiae intererant, fuit eis persuasum et fixe iniunctum, quatinus ex inhonesta, qua detinebantur, custodia se subtrahentes, regis uoluntati ex toto satisfacerent...." GS, 52-3.

155 " Hoc itaque in regis dispositione contradito castello, plurimum gloriae, cumulum fortunae regis, Deus aspirato adiecit, quia non solum ex militum captione, qui se illi sub redimendi conditione

commiserant, uel ex armorum et spoliorum copiis, quas intus affluentissime reppererat, suos largissime commilitones ditauit, sed etiam ex ipsa, quam potentissime adeptus fuit, uictoria, non minimum aduersariis suis terrorem incussit." 182-3.

156 Ibid., 188-9.

essential, then, to understanding whether or not captivity was acceptable. This further suggests that, despite any general cultural mores like chivalry that may have influenced nobles' actions, captive-takers may have been justified and even encouraged by other sets of cultural traditions to treat captives cruelly.

Context could determine how the actions of captive-takers were perceived in other cases, as well. The actions of William the Conqueror are illustrative here. As noted above, Orderic Vitalis goes out of his way to justify William the Conqueror's long-term confinement of several rebels by suggesting that it was the duty of a king to protect his realm at the expense of the freedom of those who disturb the peace. As Gillingham argues, William of Poitiers also emphasizes the justness of William's actions, but instead of defending his imprisonment of others, William repeatedly states that William had the right to kill or exile defeated enemies, yet chose instead to treat them with clemency. 157 As writers interested in justifying the conquest of England and the imposition of order in a formerly chaotic Normandy, both William and Orderic chose to see the Conqueror's actions as appropriate and moderate. William of Poitier was writing under William the Conqueror's patronage, which of course means that he was less likely to criticize his patron's actions. But William the Conqueror was not Orderic's patron, and Orderic writes more as a monk who appreciated the strong actions of a Duke and King that protected his monastery from the depravation by the Norman barons. As such, they both depict William's actions in benevolent and even kind.

The Peterborough Chronicle's 1087 entry, however, suggests that William the Conqueror's actions were much more violent and unjustifiable. As an English source, the Chronicle's author sees William from the perspective of the defeated English and tends to see him in a less positive light. Calling William a "stern and violent man," it

<sup>157</sup> See Gillingham, "1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England," passim for the evidence.

reports "no one dared do anything contrary to his will" because he put "earls in fetters," "expelled bishops from their sees," and "put thegns in prison." The effect of the words is the same, in that William is depicted as using imprisonment as a means of controlling the actions of his nobles, but here the implication is that his actions are unforgiving and therefore unjust. Whereas confinement in Orderic and William of Poitiers' depictions is seen as an act of clemency, for the author of the Peterborough Chronicle, it becomes an unwarranted punishment and terror-inducing tactic used against nobles whose only crime was to disagree with the will of the king and defend their freedom.

It is worth re-emphasizing here that what restraints chivalry might have placed on cruelty to nobles were almost never extended to the lower classes, especially if their crimes were seen as particularly egregious. As both Strickland and Gillingham note, the fate of commoners captured in battle or taken for ransom was rarely pleasant, especially if those commoners had dared to act outside their social class. Suger describes in gory detail the fate of the serfs who had murdered Charles the Good in March 1127. He writes:

That wretched Burchard, having gained the consent of his companions, slipped away in flight. He wanted to leave the land but found no way.... Stopped by order of the king while he was returning to the stronghold of a friend and counselor, he was tied to the top of a tall wheel and delivered over to the greedy appetite of ravens and winged creatures, a miserable death of a choice kind. His eyes were pecked out and his whole face torn to shreds by the birds from above, and his body was pierced a thousand times by arrows, lances, and javelins from below. He died a very vile death, and his remains were thrown into a sewer. Berthold, the ringleader in this wicked behavior likewise decided to flee. [...] His own men seized him and delivered him over to the judgment of the king, who condemned him to hang on the gallows next to a dog; and whenever someone struck the dog, the animal turned its anger on the man, eating up his whole face with its biting. Sometimes, horrible to say, it even befouled him with excrement. [...] The king inflicted many hardships on those whom he had confined to the tower and made them surrender. He had them thrown down from its top one after the other in the presence of their

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<sup>158</sup> ASC, 220.

people, and all their necks were broken. But one of the traitors, named Isaac, whom fear of death had led to a monastery for the tonsure, he had defrocked and fixed to a gibbet. 159

Conan, the merchant "arch-traitor" of Rouen who tried to overthrow Robert Curthose, was also violently murdered when captured by the future Henry I.

Although Conan begged for mercy and offered a hefty ransom of gold and silver, Henry mocked his ambitions, told him "there is no ransom for a traitor," and then promptly threw him from a window in tower of Rouen. He then ordered his body dragged through the streets of the city. 160

The violence done to non-nobles could also be widespread. Ravaging the countryside was a common feature of medieval warfare, and it was the local population that suffered the most. Medieval chroniclers regularly reported wholesale violence done to the masses during the civil war between Matilda and Stephen. While these narratives may represent exaggerations, they do imply that peasants and commoners were often taken captive and expected to ransom themselves for exorbitant sums. John of Worcester reports that in October 1139, when the Empress and Robert of Gloucester arrived in England, a wave of violence swept across the kingdom. Miles of Gloucester, constable of Bristol castle, defected to the empress, and according to John, began to terrorize the local population. He writes:

The disasters which spread from this place, Bristol Castle, cannot be adequately described by anyone with knowledge and eloquence. As many of those who resisted Miles, or supported the king, as could be captured were seized, and all those were chained and horribly tortured. Many cruel punishments were devised, bands of troops hired everywhere to carry out this work of perdition. The husbandmen and inhabitants of villages and townships with all their goods and substance were given or sold to these mercenaries. <sup>161</sup>

161 "Tam uero exhinc, Bricstowensi scilicet urbe, que mala per totam emerserint Angliam, nullius poterit exprimere scientia uel facundia. Resistentes siquidem sibi, regieue dignitati parentes, quotquot capi poterant capiuntur, uniuersi capti uinculis et tormentis mancipantur horrendis, poenarum diuersitates siue acerbitates exquiruntur, militumque caterue ad hoc opus perditionis exequedum undecunque conducuntur, quibus in stipendium dantur et uenduntur uicorum et uillarum cultores atque habitatores

cum rebus suis uniuersis ac substantiis." JW, 3:270-1.

Suger, 138-42. Cf. Galbert of Bruges' version of events. The Murder of Charles the Good, trans. and ed. James Bruce Ross (Toronto, 1982), 171ff, 189, 208-12, 249, 251, 255.
 OV, 4:224-7; GR, 712-15.

When Matilda left Bristol in October, the violence followed. She arrived in Gloucester on October 15 looking to "assert her lordship and receive submission" from the local population. Those who did not submit suffered a similar fate as those in Bristol:

Tortures worthy of Decius or Nero, and deaths of various kinds were imposed on those unwilling to submit to her, and firm in their allegiance to the king. The city, which gloried in its past centuries, was filled with screams and dire torments, which were horrendous to its citizens. 162

He also describes the destruction of his own city, Worcester, at the hands of the citizens of Gloucester who supported the Empress. Many in Worcester were taken prisoner, and were "led away, coupled like dogs, into wretched captivity. Whether they had means or not, they were forced to promise on oath to pay whatever ransom the mouthpiece of their captors cruelly fixed." The widespread taking of captives appears like a form of terrorism, a way to control potential local resistance of nobles and cities alike.

### Conclusions

Overall, the sources give the impression that hostage- and captiveship were complicated processes influenced by multiple traditions and by the context of events and attitudes of the participants involved. At the most basic level, it is necessary to understand that a hostage is different from a captive. The first distinction is that hostages are given voluntarily and captives are taken against their will. Captives are almost always taken during or after a battle, but this is not always the case with hostages, even though hostages are often exchanged in an attempt to end feuds or wars

<sup>162 &</sup>quot;Inde discedens mense Octobri, xviii. Kal. Nouembr., Gloecestrensem uenit ad urbem, ciuium et circumiacentium hinc inde finium expetens dominium et sumens hominum. Hoc uero agere nolentibus, sed regi potius fidelitatem custodientibus, Deciana siue Neroniana inferuntur tormenta cum diuersis mortibus; fitque urbs, retro anteactis seculis gloriosa, ululatibus dirisque cruciatibus plena, suisque habitatoribus horrenda." Ibid, 3:270-3.

<sup>163 &</sup>quot;Plurimi per uicos et plateas capiuntur, et uelut in copula canum constringuntur, et miserabiliter abducuntur. Licet habeant, licet non habeant, quantum crudele os illorum censuerit in redemptionem sui iureiurando promittere et reddere compelluntur." Ibid., 3:274-5.

between two men, families, or factions. What often separates the two practices are the formalities followed in hostage exchanges that are not associated with taking captives. Both captives and hostages, however, often served the same purposes: to make it impossible for the captive or hostage-giver to continue to fight or influence action, to punish or deter certain behaviors, and to promote the good behavior of the captive's or hostage's family members.

Hostageship continued as an important binding and peace-making institution well into the High Middle Ages, and was an important means of cross-cultural communication, especially in the Crusader kingdoms. Captiveship, too, maintained its importance during the same time period, and was regularly practiced against all social classes, and also between various cultures. For French-influenced areas, however, its fundamental features changed as slavery disappeared and was replaced by the importance of ransom. While previous scholars have emphasized a lessening of violence that resulted from the cultural pressures of chivalry, one should, however, not forget that violence was still a well-documented, wide-spread, and accepted part of the process throughout the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Furthermore, such imprisonment, especially long-term incarceration, and even that without the possibility of ransom, could be justified and considered right action, especially if it was done by those in power in an effort to maintain the overall peace of their lands. Furthermore, there is a gap in the scholarship concerning the roles of women as both 1) hostages and captives and 2) hostage and captive takers, holders, and negotiators that this project attempts to fill. As will be discussed in the following chapters, women are an active and vital part of all aspects of hostage and captive-taking. They, too, had to negotiate the conflicting paradigms of chivalric intention and harsh reality as victims and actors. While women faced the same sets of challenges that their male counterparts did, their gender added extra tensions and problems, and

shaped the way in which their actions and the actions of others towards them were perceived.

# Chapter Two:

"... Nor could anyone report it, / That there were any women so wretchedly tormented:"1 Women as Hostages and Captives in the Anglo-French World

As noted in the previous chapter, hostage and captive-taking were ubiquitous features of medieval warfare. This chapter proposes to examine women as hostages and captives in the Anglo-French world as comprehensively as the sources permit.<sup>2</sup> My focus will be on a.) outlining the situations in which women were taken as hostages and captives b.) the reasons why women were taken as hostages and captives, c.) the special problems raised by women hostages and captives and d.) the use of literature as a means of exploring medieval anxieties about women as hostages and captives. The chapter will again be divided into two parts that addresses female hostages and captives separately.

## Hostages

Annette Parks, the only historian to discuss female hostages at any length, does so mostly in the context of exploring the relationship between marriages and betrothals on the one hand, and hostageship on the other. She does suggest, however, that most hostage-givers preferred to give their male relatives as hostages because holding women hostage was problematic. Despite misogynist traditions that downplay the value of women to medieval society, daughters and wives were not only loved and provided for, they were "indispensable elements in medieval society and politics." Concerns over the injury of women being held hostage speaks to both a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lawman, Brut, trans. Rosamund Allen (New York, 1992), 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I shall restrict myself here to an extremely limited discussion of the Crusades, as Yvonne Friedman's study has covered this ground thoroughly. See also David Hay, "Gender Bias and Religious Intolerance in Accounts of the 'Massacres' of the First Crusade," and Yaacov Lev, "Prisoners of War During the Fatimid-Ayyubid Wars with the Crusaders," from Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades, ed. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (Syracuse, NY, 2001), both of which discuss the fate of female captives during the Crusades.

<sup>3</sup> Parks, 246.

would humbly deny it, you are probably the most fundamental reason I am where I am today. You not only helped me with my writing, but you taught me and constantly encouraged me to explore history, to appreciate books and learning. My life is blessed because you are my friend. I must also thank my undergraduate advisor and mentor, Professor Nancy Bristow. She has been a source of strength and advice throughout both my undergraduate and graduate career, and it was her inspiration and confidence in me that led me to professional academics. Thank you for having faith in my abilities.

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I also wish to thank the various members of the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship. Thank you so much for being such a wonderful group of scholars and friends. All of you have helped me to feel at home in the academic world and navigate what is often a very difficult process.

As it is proverbially said, it takes a village to raise a child, and I was lucky enough to have one heck of a village. Thank you to all of my family and friends back reluctance on the part of hostage-givers, who feared harm done to valuable members of their family, and also hostage-takers, who did not want to suffer the consequences of an angry rival family bent on revenge should anything happen to their hostage womenfolk.

Of particular concern to hostage-givers was sexual violation. Any female given as a hostage was outside of the protection of her family and therefore more vulnerable. The concern over sexual violation was paramount because lineage and legitimacy were transmitted through blood. Mistreatment in captivity "clouded issues of legitimacy on which claims of property depended." Not only was the woman herself tainted, but also her family's honor and the honor of the family that had held her hostage. In fact, as Parks notes, on at least one occasion, a female hostage was refused. In 1210, the English justiciar Geoffrey fitz Peter paid a large fine to avoid housing the king of Scotland's daughters on behalf of King John of England. Parks suggests that this was most likely because John was well-known for his abuse of hostages, and he did not want to be associated with any dishonorable acts that John might have in mind for the two young women.

Despite the fact that men preferred to give sons or male relatives as hostages and that medieval social conventions discouraged the use of women, the sources demonstrate that women were still given as hostages, most often to seal peace agreements or in exchange for other hostages or captives. In 1198, Maud de Braose was sent to England where she served as a hostage in exchange for her husband Gruffydd ap Rhys. King John appears to have taken the daughter of a Scottish earl hostage. In 1213, he makes reference to her death while in his custody in a letter to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Yvonne Friedman's discussion of the taint captive women suffered in *Encounter Between Enemies*, 162-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Parks, 250-1.

the earl of Winchester. In 1214, shortly before his death, King William I, the Lion of Scotland, took the Earl of Caithness' daughter hostage. Joan, King Henry III of England's sister, whose case will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Three, was held hostage by Hugh de Lusignan, her former betrothed, when he married her mother Isabel of Angoulème instead. Joan became Hugh's negotiation tool in securing the release of Isabel's dowry, which Henry refused to give up. Henry II of England took both male and female hostages from the Welsh in 1163. Henry also held the daughter of Eudo de Porhoët hostage. Gerald of Wales reported the rumor that Henry seduced her while she was in his care. André de Vitré's daughter was given as a hostage to King Richard I of England in 1196 as part of the peace agreements that allowed Constance of Brittany to be released from captivity. She was eventually returned to her father when he made peace with Richard in 1199. Eleanor of Brittany, who had the miserable luck of being both a hostage and a captive, was held hostage as part of her brother Richard I's ransom, ostensibly to be given to one of the sons of Duke Leopold as a wife.

Sometimes women were used because there were no male relatives to serve as hostages instead. Reluctant though men may have been to use women, it was more expedient to give a woman as a hostage than no hostage at all. For example, Isaac, the Emperor of Cyprus, who had made the foolish decision to attempt taking King Richard I of England's sister and wife captive, was forced to give his only child, his

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "In the autumn, moreover, about the Feast of St. Peter, which is called *ad vincula*, in the year 1214, King William set out for Moray, where he made some stay; and having made a treaty of peace with the Earl of Caithness and taken his daughter as hostage, he came back from Moray into Scotland." John of Fordun, *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. William F. Skene, trans. by Felix J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, 1872), 274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Chapter 3 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> W.L. Warren, Henry II (Los Angeles, 1973), 119. See also Judith A. Everard, Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire, 1158-1203 (Cambridge, 2000), 46, for the details of these events.
<sup>10</sup> Everard, 160, ft. 51; 166, ft. #79; 173-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Roger of Howden, Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1868) 3:232-3.

daughter, over to Richard as a hostage for his good behavior after Richard defeated him.<sup>12</sup> Early attempts at getting Robert the Bruce to submit to English authority repeatedly called for his daughter, his only child, to be given as a hostage.<sup>13</sup>

One of the most detailed hostage exchanges involving women was the mutual release of King Stephen and the Earl of Gloucester from captivity in 1141. King Stephen had been captured at the Battle of Lincoln, and the Earl of Gloucester at the Battle of Stockbridge, and when an exchange of prisoners was finally agreed upon, hostages were needed to guarantee that things went smoothly. As a result, Queen Matilda successfully served as hostage along with her son to guarantee the safe release of the earl. When the king was released, he left Matilda and Eustace in Bristol. When he reached Winchester, the earl of Gloucester was released, and the earl's son was left behind to guarantee the release of the queen. The earl traveled to Bristol, and the queen and her son were then released. 14

The case of Queen Matilda demonstrates that hostageship for women could function like any other hostage exchange. But this was not always so. Brutality towards, or the execution of, hostages was a common feature of medieval warfare, and being female in no way ensured better treatment, even though women were supposed to be protected. In 1165, for example, Henry II mutilated both the male and female Welsh hostages. Orderic Vitalis' tale of Eustace of Breteuil, confirmed by Henry of Huntingdon, also illustrates this point. Eustace, son-in-law to Henry I of England through marriage to his illegitimate daughter Juliana, demanded the castle of Ivry from Henry in 1119. Henry, unwilling to give it up, compensated Eustace with the son of

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Roger of Howden, Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1887), 2:165.
 G. W. S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (Edinburgh, 2005), 444,

<sup>458.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> HN, 106-9

<sup>15 &</sup>quot;Et Henricus rex Anglie transfretauit, et postquam rediit cum exercitu magno perrexit in Guallias, ibique plures occidit et justitiam fecit de duobus filiis regis Ris, et de filiis ac filiabus nobilium ejus, scilicet oculos puerorum eruit et nares auresque puellarum abscidit." Chronica de Mailros, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1835), 79.

the custodian of the castle as a hostage. In order to ensure Eustace's good behavior, Henry took Eustace's two daughters, his own grandchildren, as hostages. Eustace, however, following some bad advice, put out the eyes of the young boy whom Henry had given him. As a result, Henry gave his two granddaughters to the boy's father, who put out the young girls' eyes and cut off the tips of their noses. When Eustace and his wife found out about the treatment of their daughters, they rebelled and fortified their castles. As Orderic notes, it is the innocent children who suffer for the sins of their parents, but Orderic's tale is more instructive than he implies.

The example of Eustace's daughters demonstrates how taking women hostage could have the opposite effect to the desired one. Hostage exchanges, in theory, are designed to create positive behavior modification. Yet despite the fact that his own daughters were held hostage, Eustace harmed the hostage placed under his power, indicating that he either calculated that, because his daughters bore Henry's own royal blood they would come through unscathed, or that he did not care about the fate of his own children. In any case, this incident shows that even being a very young female

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "In eodem anno Eustachius de Britolio gener regis crebro commonitus fuit a contribulibus et consanguineis ut a rege recederet, nisi ipse turrim Ibreii quae antecessorum eius fuerat ei redderet. Rex autem ad presens in hoc ei adquiescere distuilit sed in futuro promisit, et blandis eum uerbis redimendo pacificauit. Et quia discordiam eius habere nolebat, qui de potentioribus Neustriae proceribus erat, et amicis hominibusque stipatus firmissimas munitiones habebat, ut securiorem sibi et fideliorem faceret, filium Radulfi Harenc qui turrim custodiebat ei obsidem tradidit, et ab eo duas filias ipsius neptes uidelicet suas uersa uice obsides accepit. Porro Eustachius susceptum obsidem male tractauit. Nam consilio Amalrici de Monteforti qui augmenta maliciae callide machinabatur, qui Eustachio multa sub fide pollicitus est quae non impleuit pueri oculos eruit, et patri qui probissimus miles erat misit. Vnde pater iratus ad regem uenit, et infortunium filli sui nunciauit. Rex uero uehementer inde doluit, pro qua re duas neptes suas ad uindictam in presenti faciendam ei contradidit. Radulfus autem Harenc Eustachii filias permissu regis irati accepit, et earum oculos in ultionem filii sui crudeliter effodit, narium que summitates truncauit. Innocens itaque infantia parentum nefas proh dolor miserabiliter luit et utrobique genitorum affectus deformitatem sobolis cum detrimento luxit. Denique Radulfus a rege confortatus, et muneribus honoratus, ad Ibreii turrim conseruandam remeauit, et talionem regia seueritate repensam filiabus eius Eustachio nunciari fecit. Comperta uero filiarum orbitate pater cum matre nimis indoluit, et castella sua...muniuit....." OV, 6:210-13. In previous discussion of this episode I have found that many scholars claim it is unsubstantiated by sources other than Orderic, and therefore untrue. Perhaps this is out of admiration of Henry I, despite the fact that he is known to have disfigured others and was known to possess a violent temper. In any case, this story is substantiated by Henry of Huntingdon in his De Contemptu Mundi, although the editor claims there is no authority for the story. She may have missed the story in Orderic. HH, 604-5.

did not necessarily protect a hostage from violence.

It also demonstrates that harming female hostages could provoke their relatives into rebellion or to reciprocate with more violence. As Jean Dunbabin, in her study of imprisonment, suggests, "dishonorable treatment of ladies...could cause serious trouble."17 Orderic recounts another episode supporting this idea. He writes that in 1118, the people of Alençon rebelled against Henry I due to the harsh treatment of their lord, Stephen, count of Mortain. While Orderic reports that part of the problem was that Stephen "oppressed them with burdens and unaccustomed taxes," it was when Stephen took the burgesses' sons as hostages that they became "full of rancour" and "bid their time for vengeance." It was, however, the taking of one particular hostage and her mistreatment that resulted in the rebellion. Orderic writes that "He [Stephen] put the wife of an honest citizen, who was the daughter of Pain of Chassé, a famous knight, to be guarded in a tower where, to her deep distress, she was in the hands of debauched guards. Her husband Amiotus was outraged by the dishonor, and secretly formed a sworn conspiracy with many others who had suffered a similar wrong." These men then went to Arnulf of Montgomery and through him asked Fulk of Anjou, Henry I's enemy, to receive the city from them. This resulted in the capture of the city.18

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<sup>17</sup> Dunbabin, Captivity, 119.

<sup>18.</sup> In illo tempore burgenses Alencionis contra regem Henricum rebellauerunt, causamque notabo cur regem tanto facinore offenderunt. Stephanus Moritolii comes qui tunc eis dominabatur adolescens erat, et burgenses non ut decuisset diligebat, seu competenti iure honorabat. Adulantium fauori non senum consilio more Roboam adquiescebat, et oppidanos infideles sibi et regi autumabat unde iniuriis eos et insolitis exactionibus opprimebat, minusque quam oporteret quid inde sequeretur preuidebat. Denique omnes conuenit et ab eis ut filios suos sibi obsides darent exegit. Inuiti et coacti imperanti obsecundauerunt, sed maliuolentia pleni ultionis tempus desiderauerunt. Iracundiam quippe suam callide occultarunt sed manifestam non multo post uindictam machinati sunt. Comes autem obsides accepit, sed honorifice non tractauit. Vxorem cuiusdam probi hominis filiam Pagani de Caceio famosi equitis in turrim custodiendam posuit, quae lenonibus ibidem commissa uehementer ingemuit. Amiotus autem uir eius nimis iratus erubuit, multosque sibi similis querelae clam fide sociauit. Regem uero iusticiae amatorem imprudentes timuerunt interpellare ne clamorem eorum de nepote suo dedignaretur audire. Vnde Arnulfum de Monte Gomerici fratrem Rodberti Belesmensis adierunt, et per eum Fulconem Andegauis comitem requisierunt, ut Alencionem quem tradere parati erant reciperent, comitisque custodibus de turri explusis libertatem incolis impetrarent." OV, 6:204-7.

Outrage to womenfolk, therefore, could produce dangerous results. By violating and/or insulting a man's female relative, a hostage holder was demonstrating to the world that that man could not protect his family; in other words, that he could not perform his basic, minimal male duty. Furthermore, in cases where rape was potentially involved, the hostage holder was also possibly interfering with the man's bloodline or the ability to marry off his female relative, who had essentially become "damaged property." It was the most public and humiliating insult. Thus the move to hurt a man's wife or female relative was a provocation, often done on purpose in order to make a statement about the relative power (or lack thereof) of the men involved. Stephen may have mistreated the women of Alençon because he did not expect their men to be able to act in return, since they more than likely did not have a readily available military force with which to expel him from the city's citadel. Moreover, the townspeople's reaction suggests that mistreatment of women, although perhaps common, could produce a more public backlash. While the mistreatment of the sons of the townspeople made them angry, they did not openly seek to overthrow Stephen. It was not until a threat was made against the wives of the townspeople that they were spurred to action, to the point that they sought out King Henry's enemy, the Duke of Anjou. Further, this was done knowing that, given the importance of their city to Henry, he would be forced to act against them. Apparently, the mistreatment of their women was a sensitive issue for medieval men. Perhaps because they could be more easily painted as innocents and were perceived by society as the weaker sex unable or less able to defend themselves, women provided an emotional rallying point for men. The outrages they suffered or were said to have suffered could provoke men to the point of war and rebellion or at least serve as a legitimate excuse for doing so.

William of Newburgh's depiction of the events surrounding King Stephen's arrest of Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1143 also suggests that this mistreatment of

female hostages and even holding women hostage in general could have unintended and undesired results. The events surrounding Geoffrey's arrest are somewhat puzzling because the sources conflict in their accounts. 19 Henry of Huntingdon and the Gesta Stephani, for example, report rumors that Geoffrey was intriguing with the Empress Matilda and that this was the reason for Geoffrey's arrest. 20 But Geoffrey was not alone in his flirtation with the Empress when her power seemed in the ascendancy, and, as Jim Bradbury has pointed out,21 this was likely not enough to have pushed Stephen to make the arrest. Further, while Geoffrey is often depicted as a selfish, turncoat baron intent on his own personal gain, what seems clear is that in 1143 Geoffrey had not provided any immediate provocation for his own arrest. Given this state of affairs, it appears that William of Newburgh, writing a half-century later, was grasping for an explanation, and since one was not readily available, he picked the one that seemed most logical: the mistreatment of Queen Matilda, Stephen's wife, and the daughter of King Louis of France, Constance, engaged to Stephen's son Eustace, during Stephen's captivity in 1141. Constance and Queen Matilda had been staying in the Tower of London, which was under Geoffrey's control, and it appears that he severely restricted their movements, eventually wresting Constance away from the Queen who was forced "to depart with ignominy." Geoffrey essentially held Constance hostage, probably as a means of securing his own position in uncertain political times. Although the Empress was in the ascendency Queen Matilda and her supporters were not yet defeated. Controlling the Queen's future daughter-in-law gave Geoffrey leverage and negotiating power in case the Queen was successful and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For the best clarification of events and motives for Geoffrey's actions, see R.H.C Davis and J.O. Prestwich, "The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville," English Historical Review 103.407 (Apr. 1988): 283-317; J.O. Prestwich, "Geoffrey de Mandeville: A Further Comment," The English Historical Review 103.409 (Oct. 1988): 960-66; and R.H.C Davis, "Geoffrey de Mandeville: A Final Comment," English Historical Review 103.409 (Oct. 1988): 967-8.

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103.409 (Oct. 1988): 967-8.

103.409 (Oct. 1988): 967-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Jim Bradbury, Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139-1153 (Stroud, Gloucester, 1996), 128-9.

Stephen was eventually released. If the Empress gained the throne, Geoffrey had a ready-made gift to give her: the daughter of the French king who had supported the ascension of her enemies. His bargaining chip did him no good, however, he was eventually forced to release Constance, only "reluctantly yielding [her] to the king her father-in-law" once Stephen was free. 22

Whether or not Constance's retention as a hostage was the true reason for Stephen's actions is debatable; as Jim Bradbury remarks, Geoffrey's mistreatment of the Queen and Constance was two years prior to his arrest, and it would have been a long time for Stephen to hold a grudge. 23 In reality, even if Stephen did bide his time in taking revenge, it was likely not the sole cause of Geoffrey's fall from favor, as William indicates it was. But even if the arrest was not exactly as William depicted it, his choice to present the mistreatment of the Queen and Constance as Stephen's motivation is significant. First, mistreatment of women can be the source of political turm oil and the cause of political action. Such treatment demanded a response from the abused woman's family, and for William the abuse of a female relative, and in this case also the daughter of a foreign ally, could be the source of anger and revenge years after the fact. Second, medieval authors perceived that the mistreatment of women could lead to harsh political repercussions for the abuser. Most of the sources at the time highlight Stephen's arrest of Geoffrey as the cause of his downfall.

Thus, as the narrative of Geoffrey's arrest suggests, seeking revenge for the mistreatment of female hostages was a common enough activity that, even when more "practical" explanations were available, authors still chose to use this as the justification for a person's motives. Nor is Geoffrey's case an isolated one. According to the versified romance of his life, Eustace the Monk joined the French against King

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> William of Newburgh, in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, ed. Richard Howlett (London, 1884), 1:44-5.

<sup>23</sup> Bradbury, Stephen and Matilda, 129

John of England, his former lord, because John had "killed, burned and disfigured" Eustace's daughter. <sup>24</sup> Eustace had given his daughter to John as a hostage as a sign of his goodwill, and John had betrayed that trust. While the more historically minded sources attribute Eustace's betrayal of King John to John's acceptance of the count of Boulogne, Eustace's arch-enemy, as an ally, <sup>25</sup> the romance paints the betrayal as more personal in nature. Why the author chose this particular reason is unknown, but it seems to suggest that this was a more justified reason for switching sides than the count of Boulogne. The dishonor done to his family and the betrayal of personal trust and lordship not only make the story more of a romance—it is John's failure to act as a true lord that justifies Eustace's actions—but also implies that the author's audience would have also found it a more appealing reason, given that Eustace is the hero of the romance and John in many ways the villain.

Nor was this concern about violence against women an Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French construct or merely the literary topos of romances. As early as the writings of Bede, a woman's safety was the symbolic measure of the peacefulness of England. In order to depict the lack of violence in King Edwin of Northumbria's reign (586-632/3), Bede writes that, "It is related that there was so great a peace in Britain, wherever the dominion of King Edwin reached, that, as the proverb still runs, a woman with a new-born child could walk throughout the island from sea to sea and take no harm." While Bede certainly deployed this tidbit as an indication of Edwin's saintliness, it also suggests that the ability to protect women's bodies was a barometer

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Two Medieval Outlaws: Eustace the Monk and Fouke Fitz Waryn, ed. Glyn S. Burgess (Rochester, NY 1997) 73 77

NY, 1997), 73,77.

25 See Henry Lewis Cannon, "The Battle of Sandwich and Eustace the Monk," English Historical Review 27 (1912): 649-70, for the historical Eustace the Monk

Review 27 (1912): 649-70, for the historical Eustace the Monk.

26 "Tanta autem eo tempore pax in Brittania, quaquauersum imperium Regis Eduini peruenerat, fuisse perhibetur ut, sicut usque hodie in prouerbio dicitur, etiam si mulier una cum recens nato paruulo uellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se ledente ualeret." Bede, The Ecclesiastical History of the English People, trans. Bertram Colgrave, ed. and intro. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1999), 192.

for measuring the power of men. This is further illustrated by Archbishop Wulfstan II of York's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos. In it, he describes the gang rape of women: "And often ten or twelve, one after another, will disgracefully insult the thegn's wife, and sometimes his daughter or near kinswoman, while he who considered himself proud and powerful and brave enough before that happened, looks on."27 Here, Wulfstan depicts sexual violence against women as a tool to humble others. Men who thought themselves powerful are publically and repeatedly humiliated through the desecration of their women. 28 Hostages, already a public sign of a man's submission to another, when harmed, only added insult to a process that was already humility-inducing. The violation of female hostages added even further layers of insult. Not only had an agreement between men been broken, but the man whose female relative had been violated lost valuable status in terms of his ability to protect his family and his property, both symbolically represented by the violated woman. This male concern over the implications of rape continued into later centuries and the anxieties surrounding the violation of women's bodies were played out in numerous sources. As Kathryn Gravdal notes, within rape depictions in the French romances "rape is only part of a larger dilemma: that of maintaining order and strength in the chaotic feudal world."29 Women's bodies, both symbolically and legally male property, were inherently linked with male pride, power and prowess. To violate a woman was an attempt to destroy those commodities and demanded a response. The need for a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Julie Coleman, "Rape in Anglo-Saxon England," in Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West, ed. Guy Halsall (Rochester, NY, 1998), 194-5. The Old English text of Wulfstan's sermon can be found in Whitelock, Dorothy, ed., Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (London, 1939).

Medieval views on rape were rather complicated, but seem have focused mostly on male perspectives. Rape, especially later on, became more and more acceptable: it was legitimized as a way to contract marriage, a means of releasing pent-up male frustrations, depicted as expression of love, and was coded as erotic in romance literature. This is not to say that rape was not depicted as problematic or that women who were raped did not need to be avenged. However, the focus was on male pride and men as victims, rather than the rape victim herself. See below, and Kathryn Gravdal, Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law (Philadelphia, 1991), passim.

29 Ibid., 103.

home. They suffered through my frustrations, and cheered my success with abandon. I have relied on their wisdom, love, generosity, encouragement, and shelter my whole life, and I am as successful as I am because of them. I am blessed in more ways than I deserve, and I am grateful. Each and every one of you have helped me make my dreams possible. But most of all, from the bottom of my heart, I thank my parents, whose steadfast support in every imaginable way has been my foundation. We do not get to pick our parents, and I won the world's biggest jackpot with them. Lastly, to James, who has been through and survived the writing of the dissertation and the job market, and done so with love and grace, no easy task. Sei la mia anima gemella.

response, however, was not built upon a desire to revenge a woman's honor, but a man's.<sup>30</sup> His loss, not hers, was the focus.

The idea that harming a man's female relative might be a deliberate provocation can also be seen in the events of St. Brice's Day, 1002. These events suggest that just as violence done to one woman can be symbolic of the weakness of her family, especially her male relatives, the violation of a hostage woman can be used to imply or alternately highlight the weakness of an entire community or people. Although he is unclear in his dating, William of Malmesbury reports in the Gesta Regum Anglorum that on the day that Æthelred ordered the massacre of all the Danes in England, Eadric, ealdorman of Mercia ordered that Gunnhild, the sister of Danish King Swein, be beheaded along with the other Danes. 31 One of the many reasons that William appears to find this so tragic is because he remarks that she had voluntarily converted to Christianity and offered herself as a hostage for peace with the Danes. Scholars can not be certain of the veracity of this tale, as William is the only one to report it and he does so in a way that highlights Gunnhild's martyr-like actions and the disastrous nature of her death—he has her swearing, among other things, that her blood will cost England dear. But as Judith Jesch remarks, this does not negate the story's importance. It suggests that people found nothing surprising in the fact that a foreign king would invade England merely to avenge the death of his sister and it may reflect one popular explanation for Swein's invasion. 32 It suggests that harming a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2001), 213-215, for more examples of this idea that honor was usually focused on the men.
<sup>31</sup> "Swein was a man of blood and needed little persuasion [to invade England]; so he fitted out his ships

<sup>31 &</sup>quot;Swein was a man of blood and needed little persuasion [to invade England]; so he fitted out his ships and came hastening over. The port where he landed is called Sandwich, and his chief purpose was to avenge his sister Gunnhild. Gunnhild, who was a woman of some beauty and much character, had come to England with her husband the powerful jarl Pallig, adopted Christianity, and offered herself as a hostage for peace with the Danes. Eadric in his disastrous fury had ordered her to be beheaded with the other Danes, though she declared plainly that the shedding of her blood would cost all England dear. And for her part, she faced death with presence of mind; she never grew pale at the prospect, nor did she change expression after death, even when her body was drained of blood, though her husband had been killed before her eyes, and her son, a very likely child, pierced by four lances." GR, 1:300-1.

32 Judith Jesch, Women in the Viking Age (Rochester, NY, 1991), 102.

female hostage could indeed produce a serious and violent reaction in her male relatives. If a leap of faith is taken and credence is placed in William's story, the quickness of Swein's response may indicate just how wounding an insult it was to kill a female hostage related to an important person. Given that traditionally only the most hated of hostages or captives were usually killed, the murder of Gunnhild stands out as a particularly powerful statement of hatred toward the Danes and also as a blatant provocation for war. Visitors to another country, or in this case, permanent residents in a foreign country, regardless of their status as hostages or not, are in many ways reduced to their "otherness." As such, they embody their home nation. Gunnhild symbolically became, as a peace hostage, a living and breathing manifestation of the peace between England and its Danish community. In her martyrdom, her murder was a direct insult to Denmark.

But even if William made the story up entirely as a juicy tidbit to entice his readers, the story is yet another way in which rape and the violence done to female hostages becomes symbolic of a nation's or people's well-being. Again, Gunnhild and her body become representatives of the Danish people: her violation and death is their violation and death. Here, however, it is the St. Brice's Day Massacre that is mapped onto her body and acted out in her martyrdom. In one sense, this masks the violence done to the Danish in that it focuses solely on Gunnhild. The perfidy of the English becomes only the crime of Eadric, the innocence of the Danish represented by Gunnhild's beauty and presence of mind at death. Yet at the same time by casting the Danish as a woman—for even though her husband and son are mentioned, William focuses on Gunnhild—William seems to be tying into the tradition that harming innocent women makes the crime especially heinous.

It is also interesting here that William portrays Gunnhild offering herself voluntarily as a hostage. While the other cases have mostly been women spoken of as

passive victims of warfare, Gunnhild is represented as actively choosing to be a peacemaker, even though her attempt failed. While scholars should be careful to unpack William's motives for writing the story as he did, it may be possible to infer that he concocted this image of Gunnhild from the actions of women in his lifetime. In other words, it was possible in William's mind, and no great stretch to suppose that it was possible in reality, that women might offer themselves up as hostages in order to end wars or feuds; it demonstrates a facet of women serving as peaceweavers in society beyond marriage and intercession rather different than the usual image.

### Captives

While women were less likely to be hostages during the Middle Ages because of the anxieties surrounding their long-term care, this never stopped them being made captive at any stage of the Middle Ages. This was true throughout the entirety of the Middle Ages. While female hostages were often at least protected by the semi-legal conventions of the hostage exchange, female captives almost always suffered through a good deal of violence and brutality because they were taken during or in the aftermath of war. Very little stayed the hand of captive-takers in the Middle Ages, despite conventions designed to restrain the violence done to non-combative populations. While the "Peace" and "Truce" of God at the turn of the millennium attempted to limit lay brutality, these strictures were mostly designed to protect the Church's ecclesiastical members and property. Attempts were made to protect other non-combatants, in particular women: Charles the Bald in 857, for example, decreed that nuns, widows, orphans and the poor were to be protected, and by 1140, Gratian had included protection for these groups in his *Decretum*. Churchmen regularly condemned those who harmed women and children, in particular mercenaries, whom

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Christopher Allman, "War and the Non-Combatant in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Warfare: a history*, ed. Maurice Keen (Oxford, 1999), 254-8.

they declared heretics at the Third Lateran Council in 1179.

Despite these royal and ecclesiastical sanctions, however, violence towards non-combatants, females included, continued unabated. It became one of many sins attributed to the knightly class as such, and one of the many reasons that its warrior members would fail to achieve salvation. Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London implied as much when warning his uncle William de Chesney that he would be overwhelmed on Judgment Day by the widows, paupers, and other innocents he had victimized in his life as a knight. The economic features of warfare—that it was wise to destroy an enemy's ability to feed itself—meant that the peasant classes were constant victims of violence and frequent captives. Captivity was such a regular feature of medieval warfare that men and women drew up charters detailing what to do if they were captured. One such charter, written on behalf on a minor knight, Osbert de Wanci, stipulated that if either he or his wife were captured, the monks of St. Mary's at Biddlesden were to send one of the brothers to help negotiate their release. 34

During the Early Middle Ages, female captives, especially those abducted by Vikings, were often taken or sold into slavery. The chroniclers of England, the Frankish kingdoms, and Celtic lands all regularly mention that Viking raiding targeted women for capture as slaves.<sup>35</sup> Some of these slaves were destined for slave markets as far away as the Arab world; most, however, were kept by the Vikings, either brought back to their homelands or kept as laborers in the lands they settled as the Vikings spread across Northern Europe.36

Most references to captives are generic—the women are part of a nameless many—but when the sources mention specific female captives, it is usually because these women were either ransomed or became the wives or female companions of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Strickland, War and Chivalry, 92, 263, 270-5, 297-8, 301-2.
<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 96-108.

<sup>36</sup> Patterson, 152-7.

their captors. These may have been the most common fates for high-born female captives, as the sources seem to speak of them in these contexts most often. In 939, for example, the Norse leader Óláfr Gothfrithsson captured and attempted to ransom the Mercian noblewoman Wulfrum after an attack on Tamworth, most likely because her status meant she was worth a significant amount of money. 37 Orderic Vitalis mentions that King Magnus III of Norway (1092-1113), not only had children by his "lawful wife," but also a son, the future King Sigurd, by an "English captive...of noble birth." This practice is also attributed to Rollo, the first duke of Normandy. The Gesta Normannorum Ducum reports that when Rollo captured the city of Bayeux and destroyed it, he took many prisoners, one of whom was a beautiful girl named Popa, daughter of a distinguished man. Shortly after he captured her, he bound her to him in the "Danish fashion," and had a son by her-William Longsword, a future duke of Normandy—and a daughter.39 Although we do not know the fate of King Magnus' "English captive woman," the Gesta does provide a little more information about Popa. Rollo at some point abandoned Popa for his Christian wife, but after his wife died without issue, Rollo resumed his relationship with her. In both discussions of Popa—both when Rollo first captures her and later when he resumes his relationship with her, the same phrase is used—copulavit sibi—and she is described as bound to Rollo in the "Danish fashion," both of which indicate that while the relationship may have had some formal aspects, she was most likely a concubine of some sort, and married in a way that was not recognized as legitimate by Church authorities or the ecclesiastical authors narrating the story. Given that in both of these cases the women bore their captors' sons, they may have been rather well treated, but

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Strickland, "Slaughter, Slavery, or Ransom?" 49.

<sup>38 &</sup>quot;De legali conubio Eustanum et Olauum genuit.... Segurd Anglica captiua sed nobilis ei peperit.... OV 5-220-1

OV, 5:220-1.

39 "Quam captam aliquatenus subuertit habitoribus eius interfectis. In qua quam dam nobilissimam puellam nomine Popam, filiam scilicet Berengerii illustris uiri, capiens non multo post more Danico sibi copulauit. Ex qua Guillelmum genuit filiam que nomine Gerloc ualde decoram." GND, 1:58-9.

as Rollo was quick to abandon Popa, this is unclear. Rollo's abandonment may have been merely out of necessity. Needing to make alliances with the Christian King of France, he converted and married the king's daughter. Given that his marriage to Popa was not recognized as a true marriage in the eyes of the Church, he was free to put her aside in favor of a more expedient match. In the end, he did return to her, however, indicating that despite marriage to another, he retained feelings towards her and that she may have remained a companion throughout his Christian marriage.

How the women felt about their captivity is also unknown, and cases were some sentimentality could be implied should not overshadow the reality. Captivity was a fact of life in the Middle Ages, but being ripped away from their family and homes would have been a violent and intrusive event nonetheless. The fact that some women were not sold into slavery and seem to have been accorded some formal status as a wife or concubine may have made the situation more bearable. It may also be that these women, despite the violence done to them, eventually transferred their cultural allegiance to that of the captor's in the same way modern-day hostages sometimes do when they suffer from hostage identification syndrome (the Stockholm Syndrome). In the short term, because their captors saved them from death or slavery, these women may have seen them as saviors. Over the long term as partners in a vastly unequal power relationship, like Stockholm Syndrome victims, they also may have created two distinct identities, their former identity separate but suppressed under an identity which is submissive to their captor's. 40

The fate of captive women who become the lovers or wives of their captors is explored in more literary sources, as well, and provides interesting insight into how

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Allen, 30-32. See Allen's footnotes for the relevant studies on Stockholm Syndrome. While Stockholm Syndrome is normally applied to hostage situations, as noted in Chapter One, medieval hostage situations did not mimic modern ones, which tend to be much more like medieval captive situations. Both involve abrupt seizure of the captive and strong elements of violence. Hence, the correlation here.

medieval authors—and potentially more broadly, medieval society—conceptualized and grappled with the fate of female captives. Layamon/Lawman's Brut, the early 13th century Anglo-Saxon adaptation of Wace's Roman de Brut discusses that fate of two women who become the wives of their captors. First, he builds upon Wace's description of the fate of the German princess Astrild. Astrild, "the loveliest woman in the world then," was one of three pretty girls King Humber of the Huns captured while in Germany. He took them and they "were stored on shipboard along with Humber's soldiers, / Who guarded Humber's best goods while he went off to battle." But when Humber died while trying to conquer England, the two kings who defeated him went to the ships and found the girls while taking Humber's treasure. One of these kings, Locrin, saw Astrild and immediately fell in love. He tells her, "I'll see to your welfare: / You're a lovely lady, and I'd like to have you / (With highest reverence) as my royal queen; / For as long as I live no other will I have." Despite Locrin's promises, however, he was already contracted to marry the Duke of Cornwall's daughter, and when the Duke heard that Locrin wanted to abandon his daughter, he forced Locrin to keep his promise and marry her. So Locrin married Gwendoline, the duke's daughter, and hid Astrild in a house he had made for her. Astrild lived in the house for seven years unbeknownst to anyone but Locrin, eventually bearing him a daughter named Abren. When the Duke of Cornwall finally died, Locrin abandoned Gwendoline for Astrild. But Gwendoline was a force to be reckoned with, and she raised an army, defeated and killed Locrin, captured Astrild and her daughter, and had them thrown into a river to drown. 42

Layamon's second story about a captive wife features an unnamed British

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> The story can be found in Wace, Wace's Roman de Brut: a history of the British: text and translation, trans. and intro. Judith Weiss (Exeter, 1999), 34-7. Wace's Brut is itself an adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, and the story can be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. and trans Neil Wright (Cambridge, 1985), 1:15-7.

42 Lawman, 29-33.

woman, captured at Porchester by the Roman Emperor Claudius' troops and handed over to him as booty. Clever, wise, and a virgin, she caught Claudius' eye, and he "loved her with very loving care," eventually having a young son by her. When he leaves England to return to Rome, the boy is left behind but the English captive went with him as his queen. 43 What is particularly interesting here is that this story of the captive wife is not found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia. 44 In Monmouth's version, Claudius makes peace by marrying his daughter to British king, but otherwise, no women feature in this story at all. Why Layamon feels the need to insert these romantic details is unclear. Layamon may have felt such details added drama to his story, but his choice of the captive wife suggests that such a motif might have powerful resonance with medieval audiences.

Layamon's wife of Claudius and Astrild are part of a long tradition of imagining and reimagining the fate of captive women, part of many depictions that captured some of the trials they faced. Although Layamon's captive wives have no basis in reality as historical figures, they suggest the anxieties and desires of Layamon's audience. At the most basic level, these women were booty, kept for the sexual use of their captors. But they could catch the eye of their captors, and possibly marry them, especially if they were noblewomen. In this way, Layamon's depictions of these women mask the violence of captivity and rape by overlaying a theme of love and care on the part of the captor. Both Claudius and Locrin are said to have been in love with their captives and to have promised to treat them well. Marriage, which seems to have followed captivity in these portrayals, and love appear to be legitimizing factors; since the captor says he loves his captive, the violence inherent in the act is overlooked. In this, the stories may be referencing medieval ecclesiastical

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid., 124-5.
 <sup>44</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1:43-4.

law that often suggested that rapists marry their victims as a means of avoiding war between families. 45 Moreover, violence and abuse are transformed into a romantic adventure in which true love is found and the voice of the women is lost: never once in these stories is it revealed what the captive women thought of their captors' declaration of love and proposal of marriage.

The captive's marriage, however, was very often not a formal one, and was more akin to concubinage. The case of Astrild in this way shares similarities to that of Popa and King Magnus's English captive woman. All three women were from noble families and were taken in some form of marriage. But when the men they were married to found themselves in positions that required better wives, 46 Astrild and Popa were quickly abandoned. Their marriages were temporary and expendable, and the women at the mercy of their captors. Yet at the same time these relationships were not without some measure of feeling and protection. Both Popa and Astrild appear to have remained in their former husbands' affections because both men took them back when it was possible to do so. They bore their husbands' children, who seem to have had not only a place in their fathers' affections, but also in the families' succession. Although Astrild's daughter Abren drowns, the author implies Abren posed some sort of threat to Gwendoline because Gwendoline went to the effort ofkilling Abren although Locrin was already dead. Popa's son became duke of Normandy, and the English captive woman's son became king of Norway.

Although Viking raids for slaves eventually ended and slavery died out as an

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<sup>45</sup> Gravdal, 6-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> According to Layamon, Astrild was given up for two reasons. First, the pre-contract that Locrin had with Gwendoline. The Duke of Cornwall threatened to go to war over the insult to himself, his family and his daughter. Second, the Duke suggests that they know nothing of her birth ("You've no idea what land it was she left when she came here, / For which king is her father, nor which queen her mother."). They only know of her fate through her own words; Locrin has no other proof that she comes from a family noble enough to produce a young woman worthy of being queen. The Duke basically suggests to Locrin that it is not worth it for Locrin to go to war over an unknown quantity when his own daughter Gwendoline is available.

institution in England, it continued as a profit making mechanism elsewhere in the British Isles, much to the dismay of English chroniclers. 47 As Matthew Strickland notes, the "wholesale killing of local inhabitants regardless of whether or not they were combatants appears to have been the hallmark of Scottish raiding," and only the economic benefit of selling slaves seems to have mitigated this trend. 48 Richard of Hexham tells of Scottish cruelty and the enslavement of non-combatant Englishmen during the Scottish invasion of 1138. They "slaughtered husbands in view of their wives, then carried the women off together with their spoils. The women, both widows and wives, were stripped, bound and then roped together by cords and thongs, and were driven off at arrow-point, goaded by spears.... These bestial men...when they were tired of abusing their victims, either kept them as slaves or sold them to other barbarians in exchange for cattle." Simeon of Durham also reported what he saw as unrepentant cruelty in King Malcolm Canmore of Scotland's 1070 invasion of northern England. Malcolm "commanded them [his men] no longer to spare any of the English nation, but either to slay them all or drive them away under the yoke of perpetual slavery." Warriors beheaded both men and women, tossed infants in the air and caught them on pikes, delighting in their violence. They also took many away as slaves: "Young men and girls, all who seemed fit for work, were bound together and driven away into slavery. When some of the girls dropped to the ground exhausted at the pace of the slave-drivers, they were left to die where they fell." Malcolm, unmoved, "merely ordered his slave-drivers to make haste." Even as late as William the Lion's invasion of England on behalf of Henry the Young King in 1173, chroniclers still report mass killings of men and women alike. 51 While the language

51 Roger of Howden, Gesta, 1:66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See Chapter 1 for Gillingham's discussion of why English chroniclers felt this way.

<sup>48</sup> Strickland, War and Chivalry, 304-5. He remarks further that "the killing of able-bodied men and the enslaving of women was a time-honored facet of Celtic warfare." 306.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, 3:152.
 <sup>50</sup> Simeon of Durham, Opera Omnia, ed. Thomas Arnold. (London, 1882-85), 2:191-2.

# Gladstone Animal Control responds to reports of squirrel attacks

fox4kc com

Posted 9:16 pm, July 1, 2015, by Megan Dillard

GLADSTONE, Mo. – An area park has been receiving some unusual reports of squirrel attacks this past week.

On Wednesday FOX 4 spoke with Gladstone Animal Control who told us the attacks happened Sunday and Monday along a jogging trail, in a more wooded part of Happy Rock Park, off Northeast Antioch Road and Northeast 76th Street.

Facebook posts started popping up about the odd encounters.

"This is a really isolated kind of case," said Justin Merky, Director of Gladstone Parks and Recreation.

Merky said crews came out Monday after getting an email from a woman saying her injuries sent her to the emergency room.

"In visiting with North Kansas City Hospital, we'd learned that there had been two other victims, the evening prior, so everything happened within a 12 hour period from what we understand," said Merky.

Crews came out to look for the squirrel and the research began.

Merky continued, "Whenever I got ahold of this, I automatically went to Google obviously and started looking into the matter because it's not something we've ever heard of."

The city said its investigation didn't yield any squirrel sightings, and since Monday, there haven't been any new reports. Hopefully, that brings some comfort for those who were attacked.

"We have been assured by our animal control that squirrels do not carry rabies," said Merky.

And even though Gladstone is taking it seriously, Merky chuckled, "If a squirrel usually makes the news, water skis behind a remote control boat behind a lake. This is way different than that and puts a little fear in you every time you look at a squirrel, what's going on."

The city said initially it thought about closing down part of the trail, but after it seemed to be just those three cases, they decided to keep it open, unless it happens again.

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# Psychic Capital: Tech and Silicon Valley Turn to Mystics for Advice

sfweekly.com

By Jeremy Lybarger Wednesday, Jul 15 2015

The names of the tech workers in this story have been changed.

Ten thousand miles from Silicon Valley, in a room near the Black Sea, Yegor Karpenchekov dreams of money. At night, while the rest of Odessa sleeps and cocaine smugglers drift in and out of the port under cover of darkness, Yegor logs onto FaceTime and talks to a 70-year-old woman in San Francisco. Her name is Sally Faubion, and five months ago she recruited Yegor from the freelancer marketplace UpWork to code her apps. She believes "divine intervention" brought them together; for Yegor, it was likely \$20 per hour and the promise of steady work.

Before hiring Yegor, Faubion asked for his birth date. "I never work with anyone unless I read their chart first," she told him.

Which is how Yegor learned that his new employer is a numerologist who makes her living reading birth charts over the phone. Faubion's website describes her as "one of those rare happy spirits the American dream was built around" — and she has the airbrushed headshots to prove it. Her roster of 1,700 clients includes employees from Apple and Genentech, all of whom want to know what their futures hold. Although Faubion doesn't consider herself a psychic, her talents include preternatural insight into strangers' destinies.

The apps Faubion has hired Yegor to make are not so much a sideline business as the spinning-off of her gifts into a lucrative new market: Search for "numerology" on iTunes and you'll turn up nearly 300 apps; search for "astrology" and it's more than 1,200. Sally Faubion Concepts — headquartered in a studio apartment in Lower Nob Hill — has already rolled out Forecast Wheel, whose prophetic roulette spits out fortunes such as "your financial and social status will improve when you marry"; Meaning of House Numbers, which reveals a house's prime selling or purchasing price; and Cosmic Mates, the crown jewel of the lot, which for \$3.99 teaches people the "secrets of [their] personality and destiny."

"I call myself the Dr. Phil of numerology because I'm so incredibly honest and forthright," Faubion says. "I help people, and if I didn't help people I would never stay with this. The money isn't that great. You have to hustle, and I don't like hustling."

For Yegor, living in a city made occasionally symphonic by the bombs of pro-Russian separatists, hustling is a fact of life. To quote an old Ukrainian proverb: "The devil always takes back his gifts" — so you'd better make bank while you can.

That proverb could be San Francisco's slogan. Ever since the Gold Rush a century and a half ago, the city has weathered legendary boom-and-bust cycles. The '90s dot-com bubble was perhaps the climax of the Bay Area's gaudy triumphalism, and its implosion 15 years ago still haunts San Francisco and Sand Hill Road. As recently as this month, Wells Fargo's chief

faraway places like Ukraine, where, 10,000 miles from San Francisco, a man named Yegor waits for the devil to take back his gifts.

## Comments (14)

I think the author of this article needs to do his research before posting anything. Life is always mystical and psychics, astrologers, and Wiccans has been used for centuries after centuries. I have used all services from all three realms and each one has helped me jump through circles and rings of fires. Lighted workers and healers comes from truth,love and light.

Posted by Koby on 07/20/2015 at 4:56 PM

Some possessions are real.

There are environmental causes, space based causes, and military causes for ghosts, and paranormal experiences. The military or law enforcement might beam signals into your computer devices, from satellites and radar/electronic warfare platforms, use bugs, and handhelds that minic paranormal problems but are all in fact man caused.

Look up "electronic harassment" for more info.

Mind control, signals jamming, electronic janming, homograms ie fake hauntings ie computer malfunctions/orbs/sounds/sensations in your environment that are odd or recurrent and some of which may be detectable via rf meters and show up in film and audio recording, outsiders spying on you are extremely common.

Another type of expert that is warranted in such cases is a technical surveillance countermeasures expert for privately investigating the matter. If you go the route of a paranormal society instead, expect them to spin it as super natural or man/environmental caused.

More info with patents and more: www.drrobertduncan.com www.obamasweapon.com

Posted by toddgiffen on 07/20/2015 at 12:02 AM

A computer program that took input from the client and gave with random advice would be just as effective.

Posted by Robert Anderson on 07/19/2015 at 2:53 PM

"You win this time, voodoo lady!"
Foster Farms Chicken

Posted by Too much TV on 07/18/2015 at 2:20 PM

OH my, witches can be tricky. The writer did not say anything that overtly insulted the Wicca

religion, and claiming he did is a red herring. Wicca was not the focus of the article. The psychics/ astrologers/etc. above read too much into the article (read what they wanted out of the article) much like their clients. Sounds like some commenters are projecting their own guilt by getting defensive.

BTW advertising your website in a comments section is poor form. And how come y'all couldn't predict how this article would be written? (i'm sorry, i'm sorry, bad joke.)

# Posted by HelpMeAmazingRandi on 07/18/2015 at 12:30 PM

Not all Psychics are "gypsies" or are "selling spells and cleansing"....and not many websites verify the abilities AND identities of their advisors. BUT ==> www.psychic.biz <== does. Its good to see regulations in place in SF for those who practice professionally. We have a connection to SF but our advisors are international and located around the globe.... I am sorry to see that Reverend Joey Talley has been misquoted, and I agree with Amber's post as well. And "mystics" have always been a part of everyday life, for centuries in every culture and religion, and have always been the "go-to" person when crisis personally or globally occurs. www.Psychic.biz - Connecting YOU to the Worlds Best Psychics

## Posted by Psychic.biz on 07/18/2015 at 2:57 AM

This author seems to have no true understanding of Wicca at all!!! Rev. Joey Talley is a blessed woman with a wonderful gift to help people. This article makes her sound like a man hater. So childless Jeremy. Just because a woman is strong and encourages other women to be strong, this does not make them a hater to all men. You obviously felt intimidated in her presence and felt the need to attack her in your article. Its a shame! Please readers dont dismiss Rev Joey Talley's abilities and true heart to help and heal. PS. Who in their right mind pisses off a true witch.

#### Posted by Victoria N. on 07/17/2015 at 10:05 PM

As Reverend Joey Talley herself, I tell you this article is full of lies and fabrications about me and mine, and very little truth. Why won't Jeremy print the truth? Is he mandated by his religion to persecute mine, as many are? Is he really too ignorant to know the difference between male(which is a gender, not a species) and the patriarchy? Misogynists typically change hating sexist exploitation and oppression into hating men, or even all males. Why did SF Weekly send a hater to interview me? How cruel! My tech clients were so honored to support this article, and are so horrified by this yellow journalism. These lies perpetuate fears and myths about Wiccas in a time when education is known to create peace through understanding. The insults from Jeremy are appalling and demonstrate me both his ignorance and laziness. I detailed most of the slander in a long letter to the editor. Now to my legal counsel.

## Posted by Reverend Joey Talley on 07/17/2015 at 7:09 PM

My feeling is that we all have a deeply emotional connection to a sense of a higher consciousness, creator or "god".... At crisis point in life, everyone prays - whether they've

been exposed to religion or ideas of a spiritual nature... in moments when logic can't help us, we instinctively turn to this higher power for comfort and support ... Intuitively we know there is more than what exists right in front of us.

Human empathy is intuitive - it is through empathy we feel for our friends and for strangers alike. That the news of suffering on the other side of the world brings tears to our eyes - we are all connected, and we are again beginning to embrace this idea.

Amber - Into the Soul | Psychic Readings http://intothesoul.com

# Posted by Amber - Into the Soul on 07/17/2015 at 6:24 PM

I am a professional psychic astrologer intuitive and I have clients in Tech and all types of businesses world wide who consult me. I have thousands of clients who I have consulted for for over 24 years. www.infinitynow.wordpress.comm www.taratarot.com

## Posted by Tara Greene on 07/17/2015 at 12:13 PM

For some small piece of S.F. Deja Vu, see the minor gem of a movie with Tony Curtis and Susan Strasberg ... 1978's Manitou, filmed party or at least set in the St. Francis Hospital. Back when you could rent a studio apt on Bush st. for \$280.00 per month.

## Posted by Now it's better on 07/16/2015 at 3:18 PM

I like the idea , expressed by the author towards the end of article , that the biblical prophesy 'the meek (techies) shall inherit the earth 'has been realised, here in S[ci] F[i] . I said or , at least, thought the same thing, some years ago. God does move in some 'seriously' mysterious ways, as is said.

#### Posted by Randolph Fleming on 07/16/2015 at 3:11 PM

Jeremy. Bonfilio never claimed to be able to read minds and in essence you muddy the waters with your own predetermined views. Second psychics have always been a part of successful business and important decisions in Global affairs. http://www.mediumjessebravo.com

## Posted by Celebritypsychic on 07/16/2015 at 8:20 AM

Basically 'techies' are just neo-yuppies, haunted by the guilt of a decade spent dancing on the blood and bones of the children of a lesser god. Come fire walk with me.

Posted by **God** is dead on 07/15/2015 at 9:45 PM Showing **1-14** of 14

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7/22/2015

economist cautioned San Franciscans to "put some money aside in the piggy bank." And David Sze, managing partner at the venture capital firm Greylock Partners, told Bloomberg TV, "I think there's not a lot of fear. There's just a lot of belief and not a lot of fear. And those are, you know, worrisome times, and can be dangerous if unchecked."

Doomsaying has become as unsatisfying a pastime as wondering when the drought will end.

Maybe it's no surprise, then, that many tech workers in San Francisco turn to psychics for a glimpse of the future. Or that psychics, in turn, are rebranding themselves as spiritual therapists, executive coaches, and corporate counselors. The trend is common enough to be spoofed on HBO's *Silicon Valley*, where the show's fictional tech CEO confers with a spiritual guru. Meanwhile, real-life tech execs are increasingly candid about their spiritual hygiene: Salesforce CEO Marc Benioff endorses yoga; LinkedIn CEO Jeff Weiner advocates mindful meditation; and the late Steve Jobs, a student of Buddhism, was mentored by a Zen priest.

The San Francisco Yellow Pages list 128 psychics and mediums in the city; there are 141 listings for astrologers (with some overlap between the categories). In the Bay Area at large, psychics are keen to cash in on tech's spiritual awakening.

Nicki Bonfilio is one of those psychics. "I have many clients from Salesforce, Facebook, Apple, Twitter, Zynga, Microsoft, and Cisco," she says. We're sitting in her office in the Mission. The room is small and luminous, with white shag carpet, and white furniture, and a view of Twin Peaks glazed with white light. The decor is multicultural, as though set-dressed by a producer uncertain of her audience: a Buddha, framed pictures of the Orient, a glass Anubis. Nobody wears shoes in here.

At 45, Bonfilio has the demeanor of someone recently deprogrammed from a cult. She's serene but formal, and lithe from years of serious yoga. Her white cotton shirt matches the furniture. She refers to herself as an intuitive rather than a psychic, suggesting that the latter evokes images of "a crystal ball and a palm in the window." Hers is no amateur storefront.

"I'm a seer, and I'm also clairaudient, which means I can hear things on a different level," she says. In other words, she can read your mind.

When Bonfilio was 5, she says, an apparition of St. Francis visited her in the backyard of her family's Mill Valley home. That kicked off a childhood procession of phantom colors and 3D shapes levitating in midair. When she was 13, she experienced something like "an explosion from the inside out" — a firework in the brain that uncorked her extrasensory gifts.

"It was like going from slight color to HD," Bonfilio says. "Everything was suddenly so vivid and clear."

Bonfilio hid her talents and went about charting a traditional adult life. After earning a degree in psychology, she fell into accounting, working mostly with restaurants in the Bay Area and occasionally as a corporate controller. Still, she couldn't quell her visions. After she warned a close friend of his potentially fatal tumor — a warning confirmed by an MRI — she decided to quit accounting and do intuitive counseling full time.

That was 15 years ago. Today, Bonfilio sees about 25 clients a week and has a calendar that's booked two months in advance. "The tech boom seems to have helped my business," she says. "It created more people who are here looking for answers in a different way."

Among those people are young startup CEOs seeking advice about which apps to launch first, or which to shop around to venture capitalists. Bonfilio claims to see product names switch on "like klieg lights" and says she knows if they'll be successful. "It's almost like I'm on a different neurological level," she says.

Bonfilio's clients ask questions clients from any industry might ask, only tinged with the exoticism of seed rounds and IPOs: "What does my trajectory look like over the next six to 12 to 18 months?" "Should I try to laterally move into another department where I'm not product manager but might be more on the platform side of Salesforce?""

One of Bonfilio's clients, Caroline Cross, compares their relationship to that of a patient and her psychiatrist, a common analogy that many psychics embrace. "You can tell her very little but she can tell you a lot about people and what they're thinking," Cross says. "She can read a situation from so many different angles."

Cross, who requested that her employer be identified only as "the largest SaaS CRM provider," began seeing Bonfilio in 2010. She and five co-workers, all women, would get readings once a year and compare notes. Bonfilio and Cross mostly discussed Cross' career trajectory at the large CRM provider.

"Nicki definitely kicked off that whole process of leveraging intuitive guidance," Cross tells me, noting that since 2010, many more co-workers across departments have started seeing Bonfilio.

While tech has been good for Bonfilio's business, its effect on San Francisco's energy has been more ambiguous. "There's a hum going on in this city," Bonfilio says. "I can hear different things that I've never heard before. Everything has changed because of tech. Nine out of 10 people walk around looking at their phones, and there's all this construction going on, all this traffic, all these startups. I have a feeling the city is not down with that mass of energy."

To deflect any dark juju during her sessions, Bonfilio holds a shard of obsidian she bought online. It acts as a kind of psychic firewall — the only tool she uses aside from a deck of oracle cards. "I think there's karmic soul recognition that draws people together," Bonfilio says, watching the rooftops of the Mission go jagged with afternoon shadows. "I don't think the soul is finite at all. Your body is finite, but the soul keeps going."

Much like the Internet.

Across town, in Lower Pac Heights, Joyce Van Horn is talking about death. We're in her home office, a room whose walls are the fatal blue of a Windows crash. Behind her, a bookshelf holds paperback copies of Owning Your Own Shadow, Exploring the Tarot, and Skymates, as well as a framed photo of her with Steven Forrest, the father of evolutionary

astrology and, according to Van Horn, a close confidant of Laurene Powell, Steve Jobs' wife.

"Death is trending," Van Horn tells me with the casual authority of a newscast, "but if we look at it we can have more pleasure, because the time is now. We need to play more. We need to love more. Let's be ridiculous sometimes. Carpe diem."

Van Horn used to be an actress and a disc jockey, and, at 63, still speaks with scene-chewing gusto. She calls herself "a wild child that turned into a wild woman," which could refer to anything from her early-onset telekinesis to her belief in fairies to her penchant for feather earrings. "I've had a real messy life," she says more than once.

Like Bonfilio, Van Horn grew up in the Bay Area — in a haunted house, no less — and started giving professional readings in 1984. She charged \$10 a session back then; today, her rate is \$150 per hour. She says that's a bargain for someone trained in evolutionary astrology. (Sally Faubion, by contrast, charges \$180 per hour for a private numerology session.)

"Most of us are born having forgotten the information from our past lifetimes," Van Horn says, "but there is information encoded in us that remembers the essence of who we were and what we were about." She helps people recover that information.

The majority of Van Horn's clients are from the tech industry. Besides in-person readings, she also does phone and Skype consultations, and twice a year hosts a retreat in Calistoga where 50 people gather for a weekend of astrology and mayhem in Wine Country.

In the past couple of years, Van Horn has branched out into private readings for startups. On a recent Friday, she found herself in the back room of one such company in SoMa, hunched over her computer and shivering as, one by one, people half her age asked about their careers, their love lives, their futures, and their souls.

"A lot of what I see in my tech clients is a longing to belong," Van Horn says, "The longing to do something. A lot of them are on Tinder and OKCupid," she adds, as if that says all you need to know about their psychological state. "People are hungry but not everybody knows what they're hungry for."

Even those who aren't single keep Van Horn in their contacts list. For the past 19 years, several women in tech — all in their 40s now, all married to tech husbands — have hired Van Horn to give an annual spring reading in a "fabulous house" in the Richmond District. The sessions average four hours, which, at a rate of \$150 per, means Van Horn nets \$600 plus travel expenses.

"There is this trickle-down effect from the ethers, or the divine, or whatever is outside of us into our consciousness," Van Horn says, wide-eyed and flushed. "There's something else trending which is this era of compassion and inclusivity and music and the healing aspect of a community."

Drugs are trending, too. Nootropics — dubbed "smart drugs" because of their cognitive

enhancements and alleged ubiquity in Silicon Valley — have inspired dozens of trend pieces; they're this year's answer to 2014's ayahuasca craze. But Van Horn's clients prefer old-fashioned MDMA.

"I have one client around 26, and he works his tail off, but at least once a month or every six weeks he and his soulmates get together for a weekend to take MDMA in a sacred space and use that to clear the decks, and connect, and relax." You can almost feel Van Horn italicize the words as she says them.

According to Michelle Jackson, a Van Horn client who works for a software startup near Union Square, MDMA is the cornerstone of "journey work." She twice spent an entire day at Van Horn's house tripping on MDMA, meditating, and letting herself be guided through "an intense therapy session."

Jackson started seeing Van Horn in 2007. She had just moved to San Francisco from Texas, an adventurous 25-year-old eager to escape her fundamentalist Baptist roots and memories of the Sunday school where she'd "pledged allegiance to the Bible along with the American flag." Although she wasn't looking for a tech job, she landed a gig at a startup that monetized blog ads.

"When I was 27, I had a panic attack at work," Jackson says. "There was just so much pressure and stress. And I realized that that job wasn't making me happy anymore, and I didn't know what I wanted to do. So I went to Joyce. I don't know why. I just needed a sign. I needed something."

Wary of traditional therapy with its doctor-patient protocols, Jackson plunged headlong into a confessional intimacy with Van Horn, calling her a "kind of life coach." Van Horn turned her on to Abraham Hicks, the name given to a collective consciousness from another dimension discovered by Esther and Jerry Hicks, a husband-and-wife team who now preside over a cottage industry of inspirational books, CDs, and DVDs. (In a cosmic coincidence, the Hickses also hail from Jackson's hometown of San Antonio.)

"Whenever I start to feel like I'm not doing okay and need some help, I listen to one of the Abraham Hicks CDs that Joyce let me borrow. I transferred them onto my phone so I can listen while I'm walking," Jackson says.

Her work with Van Horn has clarified something she's suspected since 2007: The tech industry rewards conformity. "It's like a cult," Jackson says. "When I walk downtown it feels like everybody is saying the same thing and talking about the same VCs." Her honeymoon phase with San Francisco is over, she says. Someday, she plans to saddle up and decamp to Wine Country, where the pace is slower and the sky alive.

It started with a bloody handprint. A young woman in Oakland — a tech worker, like her boyfriend — saw the grisly omen on the blinds of her bedroom window. Days later, similar handprints appeared on the wall, followed by bedraggled letters spelling out obscene words. Desperate and terrified, the couple turned to the only source they trusted: Google.

A quick search for "house clearing" led them to Reverend Joey Talley, a Wiccan witch in Marin County with more than four decades of experience and three master's degrees.

"It was a new condo building in Oakland, but there was a parking lot across the street, and I knew terrible crimes had been committed there," Talley tells me. "I could feel children suffering. I'm pretty sure there had been a murder at some point."

Talley built what she calls a "psychic seawall." It's akin to an exorcism, except more benevolent and with none of the Judeo-Christian trappings. According to her own tagline: "No problem is too big, too small, or too weird."

Nor, as Talley's tech clients can attest, too beyond her qualifications. Despite lacking a background in computer science or IT, Talley is occasionally called on to perform cyber security miracles. Her approach is more Etsy than McAfee.

"Most people want me to protect their computers from viruses and hacks," she says, "so I'll make charms for them. I like to use flora."

Jet, a black gemstone energy-blocker, is ideal for debugging office hardware, Talley says; bigger or more vulnerable computer networks often require "a rainbow of colors to divert excess energy." If all else fails, she can cast a protection spell on the entire company, office supplies included.

Talley's foray into tech is still fresh enough that she sometimes calls it the "techno industry." That hasn't dissuaded savvy clients in the market for spiritual counseling, hypnosis, dream therapy, moon rituals, house clearings, potion-brewing, and other niche services. Her speciality? "I really like dealing with demons," she says.

She recounts a recent episode involving a startup whose office alarm was infected by an "invasive species." After multiple electricians failed to rout whatever poltergeist was causing the alarm to shrill at odd intervals, the company contacted Reverend Talley.

"I don't know anything about electronics, but I got the spirit out," she says. It's hard to tell whether she's boasting or apologizing.

If it's surprising that companies should entrust critical office maintenance to a witch, it's nearly breathtaking that they also retain her for legal counsel. Talley says that when companies are threatened with litigation, she can cast spells to "divert" (one of her pet words) the plaintiff or the plaintiff's attorney. It's all child's play for her, no more taxing than donning the floppy hats that announce her professional uniform.

Talley's philosophy seems to be a melange of ecofeminism, occultism, and a 1-800 hotline. "You can call me 24/7; I'll pick up," she tells me. (That turned out to be false.) Her conversation is strewn with New Age platitudes that shear into harangues against the judicial system, the prison-industrial complex, and the male species. Occasionally, though, her aphorisms achieve the craftsmanship of folk sayings: "Witchcraft is the art of changing consciousness at will"; "People can't walk around with their minds open any more than they

can walk around with no clothes on"; "Auras are information." In those moments, it's almost possible to imagine her clients getting their money's worth.

For her regular phone clients, the transactions are essentially automated. "Investment questions are really simple and can often be answered with one card over the telephone," Talley says. She and the client put their feet flat on the floor and take deep breaths together over the phone. Then Talley deals her deck of tarot cards one at a time, enjoining the client to imagine his investment clearly. Once he has it in mind, Talley deals cards until Yahweh or Gaia or Ganesh, or the client's deity of choice, compels him to say "stop." Whatever card he landed on is the measure of his fate.

Talley has become something of a den mother to Bay Area women interested in Wicca. In the backyard of her Fairfax duplex, hemmed by a rustic board fence and lush greenery, she emcees monthly moon rituals during which she and a handful of female clients chant into a cauldron, fall in and out of trances, and eat a vegetarian potluck. Men aren't welcome. "I used to invite men but they were just there to get laid," Talley tells me. "They had no interest in goddess worship, and that's very annoying when you're trying to reach the divinity."

The exception is her husband, a frontman for local reggae and New Orleans funk bands. Joyce Van Horn, a friend and occasional client of Talley, claims that Mr. Talley is an angel investor, but Reverend Joey is mum about her husband's alleged riches. "We live in Marin County, and I got a sports car, and we have a great life," is what she says.

A great life in San Francisco's psychic industry is rare. The city is rife with fortunetellers — hole-in-the-wall shops where you can get your palm read or your aura cleaned for \$30. Such places cater to tourists and curiosity-seekers jonesing for a cheap thrill. Some aren't even listed on Yelp; like the city's more unsavory massage parlors, they seem to exist in their own illicit underworld.

A lot of them, Sally Faubion says of these psychics, "take advantage of old people and people who don't know any better."

You could chalk this up as a businesswoman's slur against her competitors, except Faubion has a point. In June, *The New York Times* reported on psychics in Manhattan who prey on people in crisis. In exchange for cash, psychics promise miracles they can never deliver: reunions with jilted lovers, career upgrades, sexual conquests. Sometimes they claim to cleanse customers' money — but clean them out instead.

"The psychic community is close knit, often including members of large families that trace their roots to Roma families, also known as Gypsies," the *Times* reported. "They compare notes ... There are rules. For example, a 'three-block rule' establishes turf boundaries ... Disputes are taken up by a tribunal known as a kris."

In 2003, San Francisco passed a law requiring psychics to register with the city, submit to fingerprinting, publicly post rate sheets, and pay a \$500 permit fee. The legislation sought to protect consumers from psychics who sold dubious services such as curse-breaking; it was the first law of its kind in a major American city. As the Los Angeles Times reported a week

after the law passed, there was an uproar among several psychics of Romany descent in San Francisco who felt the new ordinance persecuted them on religious and cultural grounds. (The SFPD noted it had received 60 consumer complaints about psychics in the city between mid-2001 and July 2003.)

The legislation was notable not only for its breadth — the umbrella term "fortunetelling" designated readings based on "cartomancy, psychometry, phrenology, spirits, tea leaves, tarot cards, scrying, coins, sticks, dice, sand, coffee grounds, crystal gazing ... mediumship, seership, prophecy, augury, astrology, palmistry, necromancy, mind reading, [and] telepathy" — but also for its liberality. The definition of fortuneteller under the San Francisco Municipal Code includes anyone "pretending to perform these actions," thus effectively licensing the sale of occult services even when those services are known to be bogus.

Sheldon Helms, vice chair of Bay Area Skeptics and an associate professor of psychology at Ohlone College in Fremont, dismisses the psychic industry but isn't surprised that it attracts tech clients. In an email to *SF Weekly*, Helms wrote that astrologers routinely fail to make testable predictions, while numerologists cherry-pick statements whose vagueness is broadly applicable. Clients do much of the interpretive work themselves, particularly around financial readings. "Psychologists have seen that belief in, and reliance upon, superstition and the paranormal increases in areas of our lives where there is randomness and uncertainty," Helms wrote. "In the past, we've used professional baseball players and their fans as poster children for the tendency to rely upon such superstitions. I suppose now, we'll be more likely to use investors."

While there is reason to be wary of palm readers with crystals in the window, Jessica Lanyadoo sees some of the shops as holdovers from San Francisco's earlier, more idealistic astrologer wave. "This city used to be the place where people came because they were interested in astrology or alternative forms of spirituality. I don't think that's true anymore," she says.

Lanyadoo came to San Francisco from Montreal in 1994. She was 19 at the time, and looking to set up shop in a city that could support a small astrology business. San Francisco's reputation as a haven for bohemians and misfits was legendary, and its spiritual pedigree was nothing if not alternative. After all, this was where Anton LaVey founded the Church of Satan and where astrologer Joan Quigley held an open invitation to the Reagan White House.

Lanyadoo found a cheap apartment in the Mission, a then-seedy neighborhood with drug deals and stabbings a near-weekly ritual in Dolores Park. Almost overnight, Lanyadoo tells me, everything changed. The dot-com bubble loosed a staggering amount of cash on the city, although Lanyadoo estimates it was just a fraction of the wealth in the current tech boom.

Newly minted companies hired Lanyadoo to do private readings in their offices, a practice that continues today. Many required her to sign a nondisclosure agreement (another practice that continues.) "I remember one reading I did at a tech company and every single reading was about how unhappy the employees were at that particular company, and they were all talking about when they could vest out," Lanyadoo says.

The tech industry wagers a classic Faustian bargain, Lanyadoo says: the promise of enormous wealth and freedom in exchange for time, brainpower, and loyalty. The rhetoric of the sharing economy, in particular, offers the illusion of community within what Lanyadoo deems a "monoculture." She says that tech companies, with their foosball tables and climbing walls, enable a prolonged adolescence that, in turn, pushes employees to seek spiritual fulfillment in drugs ... or Burning Man ... or SoulCycle ... or psychics.

"So many people move here from the middle of the country, and they have traditional American values, but entering into tech requires people to either amp up their spirituality or to disconnect it and turn away altogether," Lanyadoo says. "My clients don't want to disconnect."

The irony is that the same free-spirited culture that inspired tech to experiment with spirituality is also threatening that spirituality's existence in San Francisco. "I've read countless articles about how all the artists are moving out of the city, but I haven't read much about what's happening to the spiritual values of the Bay Area," Lanyadoo says. "It's had a crippling effect." She speaks from personal experience. In December, she was forced out of her apartment in the Mission and relocated to Oakland, where rents are comparatively — if just barely — cheaper. And during the reporting of this story, Joyce Van Horn was boxing up her house of 20 years, the victim of a no-fault eviction.

Neither Lanyadoo nor Van Horn blames tech workers for her reversal of fortune, but the tech companies themselves aren't without fault. "Look, you can call them dot-coms, you can call them startups, you can throw a bunch of soda in the fridge, it doesn't matter: These are corporations. Just a new form of that," Lanyadoo says. Although she acknowledges that the opportunities she's had "have everything to do with San Francisco," she's dismayed by the city's drift into stratospheric wealth.

For Sally Faubion, what's happened in San Francisco is the realization of an ancient prophecy. "The Bible says the meek shall inherit the earth, and what are all these tech people but nerds?" In her own research, Faubion has discovered that dozens of tech CEOs' birthdays fall into the 1-4-7 trilogy that in numerology denotes a tribe of renegades and workaholics.

"Think about it," Faubion says, ticking off the names, "Steve Jobs, Tim Cook, Travis Kalanick, Bill Gates, Larry Page, Sergey Brin, Paul Allen, Larry Ellison, Elon Musk, Sheryl Sandburg ... it goes on and on."

If the billionaire meek haven't inherited the earth yet, they've certainly inherited San Francisco, along with its spectacular crash-and-burn destiny. But what about the bohemians and misfits who comprise what used to be called San Francisco's soul but is now just its mood? Lanyadoo says their extinction will pass unnoticed by the city's new generation. "There's been a huge influx of people here recently, but have they lost anything? How do you lose something you never had? They moved here for the technology. They've lost nothing."

In the future, the misfits and the bohemians, the psychics and the astrologers, the numerologists and the white witches will build communities elsewhere. Maybe even in

# Texas alligator attack: Man killed in Orange County - CNN.com



- A man is killed in a Texas bayou by an alligator
- He jumped in water despite verbal and posted warnings, witnesses say

(CNN)A man who apparently mocked alligators, then jumped in the water -- despite warning signs -- is dead after being attacked in Texas.

Orange County Police were called to Burkart's Marina

near the Louisiana state line early Friday morning after reports that Tommie Woodward, 28, and an unidentified woman were swimming in a bayou and had been attacked by a large alligator.

Woodward's body was found several hours later. The woman was not injured.



An alligator lurks in the bayou off Burkart's Marina

Orange County Justice of the Peace Rodney
Price told CNN affiliate KFDM that Woodward
ignored verbal warnings and a posted "No
Swimming Alligators" sign and seemed to mock
the deadly creatures before going in the water.

"He removed his shirt, removed his billfold ... someone shouted a warning and he said 'blank the alligators' and jumped in to the water and almost immediately yelled for help," Price said.

The "No Swimming Alligators" sign was posted this week after a 10-foot alligator was spotted in the bayou waters.

## Witness heard 'An alligator's got him'

"Please do not go swimming, there's a bigger alligator out here. Just please stay out of the water," witness and marina employee Michelle Wright said she told Woodward.

She said the next thing she heard was the woman screaming, "An alligator's got him." Wright said she used a flashlight in the darkness to scan the water.

In an emotional interview with KFDM, Wright said, "I saw his body floating face down. And

then he's out there for a couple of seconds and then he's dragged back down. And then he comes back up still face down and then he gets pulled down again. And then he just disappears."

Wright, who said she knew the victim and his family, said it was a moment she would never forget. She described the events that started out as a late night swim as "heartbreaking."

Woodward had recently moved to the area from St. Louis with his twin brother and was working at a nearby shipyard.

# 'If the sun is down, stay out of the water'

Alligators are predatory and territorial. According to Texas Parks and Wildlife, the creature "will eat anything it can catch," and should be treated with caution.

"If the sun is down, stay out the water. That's when they're eating. That's when they're hunting," alligator expert Arlie Hammonds told the affiliate.

Although there have been numerous fatal alligator attacks in Florida, the Orange County attack may be the first of its kind in Texas.

CNN's Dave Alsup, Jeremy Grisham and Carma Hassan contributed to this report

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# The Biggest, Most Insane List Of Fair Foods You'll Ever Read

5 days ago

foodbeast.com

The Orange County Fair is celebrating its 125th birthday this year. Can you imagine 125 years of rides, games, booze and fried foods? We sure can.

As far back as we can remember, we'd love going to the fair. Between playing games, munching on fair food and going on rides, we'd look forward it every summer. Now as adults, it's great to see that the magic of the fair still exists.

Well, unless you're three deep-fried burgers into your trip and about to go on a ride. Maybe not as magical then.

In honor of the special birthday event, we compiled a list of **125** of the greatest foods and drinks you can find at the Orange County Fair. While the majority can be found there right now, some are legendary enough to be remembered fondly.

Enjoy!

# **Deep-Fried Birthday Cake**



OC-Fair-Foods-Fried-Birthday-Cake

Apple Fries

**Deep-Fried Pizza** 

Apple Fries

**Mexican Funnel Cake** 

Apple Fries

**Bacon Bombs** 

Bacon A-Fair

**Hotter Than The Outback Dressing** 

#### Australian Battered Potatoes

Nuts

Going Nuts

**Bacon Wrapped Jack Daniels** 

Bacon A-Fair



Chicken Charlie

**Deep Fried Pineapple** 

Chicken Charlie

Porkabello Kebabs

Bacon A-Fair

Krispy Kreme Chicken Sandwich

Chicken Charlie



OC-Fair-Foods-Shave-Ice

# Chicken Kebabs

Chicken Charlie

BBQ Chicken

BBQ Ribs

**Battered Potatoes** 

Australian Battered Potatoes

Fried Twinkies

Chicken Charlie



Chicken Charlie

Deep Fried Spam

Chicken Charlie's

**Chicken Fried Bacon** 

Bacon A-Fair

Waffle Dog



OC-Fair-Foods-Cookies

Chicken Charlie

**Deep Fried Frog Legs** 

Chicken Charlie



Alcohol

Everywhere

**Deep Fried Oreos** 

Chicken Charlie

Krispy Kreme Triple Decker Cheeseburger

Chicken Charlie

**Apple Rings** 



OC-Fair-Foods-Pulled-Pork-Sandwich

Chuckwagon

**Original Tasti Chips** 

Tasti Chips

Fresh Fruit

Farmer's Market

Fresh Bread

Farmer's Market

Chicken Strips and Fries

Chicken Charlie

Deep Fried Kool-Aid

Chicken Charlie

**Loaded Nachos** 

Noel's

Beef Kebabs

Main Mall



## **Chicken Nachos**

Baja Blues

## Fresh Pineapple



Main Mall

## **BBQ Ribs**

Livestock Lane

If you're interested in visiting the OC Fair this year, it's located at 88 Fair Drive, Costa Mesa, CA 92626.

More instructions about parking and specifics can be found here.



Peter Pham

Pete's





favorite foods include pizza, tacos and pretty much any kind of breakfast. He'll usually snap a photo or two while his food cools down.

OC-Fair-Foods-Kettle-Corn



OC-Fair-Cheese-Fries



OC-Fair-Foods-Clam-Chowder



OC-Fair-Foods-Brownie



OC-Fair-Foods-ICEE



OC-Fair-Foods-Waffle-Fries



OC-Fair-Foods-Jalapeno-Popper



OC-Fair-Foods-Orange-Julius



OC-Fair-Foods-Klondike-Bar



OC-Fair-Foods-BBQ-Feast



OC-Fair-Foods-Cupcakes



OC-Fair-Foods-Fruit-Smoothies



OC-Fair-Foods-Fresh-Fries



OC-Fair-Foods-Churros



OC-Fair-Foods-Lemonade



OC-Fair-Foods-Caramel-Corn



OC-Fair-Foods-Carne-Taco



OC-Fair-Bratwurst



OC-Fair-Foods-Fry-Brick



OC-Fair-Foods-Cinnamon-Roll



OC-Fair-Foods-Bacon-Doo



OC-Fair-Food-Zuchinni



## **Chocolate Covered Pork Rinds**

Bacon A-Fair

**Deep-Fried Coffee** 

Chicken Charlie

Popcorn

Carnival Section

Wasabi Bacon Bombs

Bacon A-Fair

**Pink's Hot Dogs** 

Pink's

**Bacon-Wrapped Pork Belly** 

Biggy's Meat Market

Cotton Candy

Carnival Section

Onion Rings



OC-Fair-Bacon-Bombs

OC-Fair-Foods-Mexican-Funnel-Cake

Tasti Chips

The Big Rib

Biggy's Meat Market

Western Sausage

Juicy's

**Deep Fried Avocados** 

Chicken Charlie

Cheddar Popcorn

Main Mall

# **Fried Veggies**



OC-Fair-Foods-Shrimp-Tacos



OC-Fair-Foods-Chicken-Waffles



OC-Fair-Foods-Garlic-Fries



OC-Fair-Foods-Jumbo-Dog



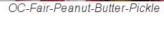
OC-Fair-Foods-Chocolate-Bacon



OC-Fair-Foods-125-Twinkie



OC-Fair-Foods-Tater-Tots





OC-Fair-Foods-Fried-S'mores-Oreo



OC-Fair-Foods-Chocolate-Strawberries



OC-Fair-Slim-Fast-Bar



OC-Fair-Foods-Churlatto



OC-Fair-Foods-Cinnamon-Roll-Sundae



OC-Fair-Foods-Chile-Relleno-Burger



OC-Fair-Foods-Pecan-Pie-Stick



OC-Fair-Foods-Cubano



OC-Fair-Foods-Pickle-Chips



OC-Fair-Grilled-Peppers



OC-Fair-Foods-DF-Cookie-Dough



OC-Fair-Foods Chic Stick

OC-Fair-Candy-Apples



OC-Fair-Foods-Caliente-Curly-Fries



OC-Fair-Funnel-Cake-Burger



OC-Fair-Drunken-Pickle-Poppers



OC-Fair-Foods-Chicken-Wings



OC-Fair-Foods-Koolickle



OC-Fair-Foods-Frosted-Flake-Chicken



OC-Fair-Foods-Twister-Nacho-Sticks



OC-Fair-Foods-Tasti-Shakers



OC-Fair-Foods-Pop-Donut



OC-Fair-Fireball-Donut



OC-Fair-Foods-Blooming-Onion



Chicken Charlie

**Deep Fried Cereals** 

Chicken Charlie

Maui Chicken in a Pineapple Bowl

Chicken Charlie

**Dill Pickles** 

Pickle O' Pete's



Cheese on a Stick

Centennial Way

**Funnel Cakes** 

Carnival Section

Dip n' Dots

Fair Square

Corn on the Cob

Carnival Section



OC-Fair-Foods-Bacon-Jack-Daniels

Pizza

Carnival Section

Shave Ice

Main Mall

Cookies

Festival of Products

**Roast Beef** 

Main Mall

**Pulled Pork Sandwiches** 

Family Fair Way



OC-Fair-Samoa-Donuts



OC-Fair-Foods-Fried-Corn



OC-Fair-Foods-Doritos



OC-Fair-Foods-Pickle-Corn-Dog



OC-Fair-Foods-White-Castle



OC-Fair-Foods-Curly-Fries



OC-Fair-Foods-Tasti-Chips-Jalapeno-Nachos



OC-Fair-Foods-Chicken-Skin



OC-Fair-Food-Turkey-Leg



OC-Fair-Foods-Naked-Shrimp



OC-Fair-Fried-Pineapples



OC-Fair-Food-Porkabello



OC-Fair-Foods-Krispy-Kreme-Chicken-Sandwich



OC-Fair-Foods-Chicken-Kabobs



OC-Fair-Foods-BBQ



OC-Fair-Foods-Austrailian-Potatoes



OC-Fair-Food-DF-Twinkie



OC-Fair-Krispy-Kreme-Sloppy-Joe



OC-Fair-Foods-Spam



OC-Fair-Food-Chicken-Fried-Bacon



OC-Fair-Foods-Waffle-Dog



OC-Fair-Foods-Frog-Legs



OC-Fair-Foods-Booze



OC-Fair-Food-DF-Oreos



Krispy-Kreme-Triple-Decker-Burger



OC-Fair-Foods-Apple-Rings



OC-Fair-Foods-Tasti-Chips



OC-Fair-Foods-Fruit



OC-Fair-Foods-Bread



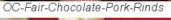
OC-Fair-Foods-Chicken-Strips-Fries



OC-Fair-Foods-Kool-Aid



**Falafel** Main Mall **Big Corn Dog** 





Carnival Section

**Tater Twists** 

Carnival Section

Kettle Corn

Carnival Section

Cheese Fries

Spud Shack

Clam Chowder



air-Wasabit-Bacon-Bombs

Country Meadows

**Brownies** 

Festival of Products

ICEE

Country Lane

Waffle Fries

Carnival Section

**Jalapeno Poppers** 

Midway Ave

## **Orange Julius**



OC-Fair-Foods-Noels-Nachos



OC-Fair-Foods-Beef-Kabobs



OC-Fair-Chicken-Nachos



OC-Fair-Foods-Pineapple





OC-Fair-Foods-BBQ-Ribs

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Country Lane

**Deep Fried Klondike Bar** 

Chicken Charlie

\$125 Chuckwagon BBQ Feast

Chuckwagon

Cupcakes

CB's Cupcakes

**Smoothies** 

Livestock Lane

Fries

South Lawn

Churros

Livestock Lane

Lemonade

Carnival Section



OC-Fair-Foods-Bacon-Pork-Belly



## **Caramel Corn**

Carnival Section

Tacos



Noel's

**Bratwurst** 

Park Plaza

Fry Brick

Carnival Section

Cinnamon Roll

Carnival Section



OC-Fair-Foods-Big-Rib



OC-Fair-Foods-Western-Dogs



Chicken Charlie

Shrimp Taco



OC-Fair-Food-Fried-Avocado

Noel's

Chicken and Waffles

Chicken Charlie

Garlic Fries

Carnival Section

## **Jumbo Hot Dog**

Carnival Section

## **Chocolate Covered Bacon**



Bacon A-Fair

\$125 Caviar Twinkie

Chicken Charlie

**Tater Tots** 

Carnival Section

Totally Fried Peanut Butter Pickle

Chicken Charlie



OC-Fair-Food-Fried-Veggies

## **Deep-Fried S'mores Oreo**

Chicken Charlie

**Chocolate Covered Strawberries** 

Main Carnival

Deep-Fried Slim Fast Bar

Chicken Charlie

The Churlato

Churlato

Cinnamon Roll Sundae

Country Fair Cinnamon Rolls

Chile Relleno Pretzel Burger

**Grant Burgers** 

Deep Fried Pecan Pie on a Stick

Fair Fix

Cubano Burger



OC-Fair-Food-Fried-Cereals

Tasti Chips

**Pickle Chips** 

Get Pickled



## **Grilled Peppers**

Main Mall

## **Deep Fried Cookie Dough**

Chicken Charlie

Big Chic on a Stick

Piggy's Meat Market

**Candy Apples** 



Carnival Section

**Caliente Curly Fry** 

Juicy's

Funnel Cake Burger

Juicy's

Drunken Pickle Poppers

Get Pickled





OC-Fair-Foods-Cheese-Stick

## **Buffalo Wings**

Country Meadows

Koolickle

Pickle 'O Pete's

Frosted Flake Chicken Fingers

Pickle 'O Pete's

Nachos On A Stick

Tater Twister

## Sour Cream & Onion Tasti Shakers

Tasti Chips



## Cherry Pop Rocks Donut

Texas Donuts

Fireball Donut

Texas Donuts

**Blooming Onion** 

Fresh Frys

Samoa Donut

OC-Fair-Foods-Funnel-Cake



Deep-Fried Corn on the Cobb

Chuckwagon

**Deep-Fried Doritos** 

Chicken Charlie

Pickle Corn Dog

Get Pickled

**Deep Fried White Castle Burgers** 



OC-Fair-Foods-Dippin-Dots

Chicken Charlie

**Curly Fries** 

Biggy's Meat Market

Tasti Chips with Nacho Cheese and Jalapeños

Tasti Chips

Deep Fried Chicken Skins

Chicken Charlie



**Bacon Wrapped Turkey Leg** 

Bacon A-Fair

Naked Shrimp Rice and Pineapple Bowl

# The book of GHOSTS: Eerie Faces & Messages Discovered in Ancient Medieval Manuscript | World Truth.TV

worldtruth.tv

Thursday 16th July 2015, 11:50:10 pm

## The book of GHOSTS: Eerie Faces & Messages Discovered in Ancient Medieval Manuscript

posted by Eddie

Stunned researchers have found one of the UK's most important manuscripts is full of ghosts.

Dating from 1250, The Black Book of Carmarthen is the earliest surviving medieval manuscript written solely in Welsh, and contains some of the earliest references to Arthur and Merlin.

Now, researchers have found a series of hidden faces and message in it.



The Black Book of Carmarthen is the earliest surviving medieval manuscript written solely in Welsh, and contains some of the earliest references to Arthur and Merlin.

The book is a collection of 9th-12th century poetry along both religious and secular lines, and draws on the traditions of the Welsh folk-heroes and legends of the Dark Ages.

Williams and Professor Paul Russell from



ImageProxy (5)

Cambridge's Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic (ASNC), believe that a 16th century owner of the book, probably a man named Jaspar Gryffyth, erased centuries' worth of additional verse, doodles and marginalia which had been added to the manuscript as it

changed hands throughout the years.

Using a combination of ultraviolet light and photo editing software, the 16th century owner's penchant for erasure has been partly reversed to reveal snatches of poetry.

Currently, the texts are very fragmentary and in need of much more analysis, although they researchers say they seem to be the continuation of a poem on the preceding page with a new poem added at the foot of the page.

'The drawings and verse that we're in the process of recovering demonstrate the value of giving these books another look,' Williams said.

'The margins of manuscripts often contain medieval and early modern reactions to the text, and these can cast light on what our ancestors thought about what they were reading.

'The Black Book was particularly heavily annotated before the end of the 16th century, and the recovery of erasure has much to tell us about what was already there and can change our understanding of it.'



ImageProxy (6)

Williams and Russell will present a lecture at The National Library of Wales today, part of a larger exhibition on the life and work of Sir John Price, one-time owner of the Black Book.

There, they will detail some of their findings, stressing the importance of continued research on the manuscript.

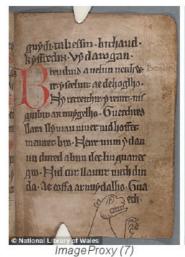
'What we have discovered may only be the tip of the iceberg in terms of what can be discovered as imaging techniques are enhanced,' said Russell.

'The manuscript is extremely valuable and incredibly important – yet there may still be so much we don't know about it.'

Despite its value today, the Black Book of Carmarthen (so called because of the colour of its binding) was not an elaborate production, but rather the work of a single scribe who was probably collecting and recording over a long period of his life.

This is readily visible on the manuscript pages themselves; the first pages feature a large textura script copied on alternating ruled lines, while in other parts of the manuscript –

perhaps when vellum was scarce – the hand is very much smaller and the lines per page tight and many.





An example of the latter is the earliest poem concerning the adventures of the legendary Arthur, which sees the famed hero seeking entrance to an unidentified court and expounding the virtues of his men in order to gain admittance.

Other heroes are praised and lamented in a lengthy text known as Englynion y Beddau, the Stanzas of the Graves, in which a narrator presents geographic lore by claiming to know the burial places of upwards of eighty warriors.

Arthur makes an appearance here as well, but only insofar as to say that he cannot be found: anoeth bid bet y arthur, 'the grave of Arthur is a wonder'.

Other famous figures also appear throughout, including Myrddin, perhaps more familiarly known by the English 'Merlin'.

There are two prophetic poems attributed to him during his 'wild man' phase located in the middle of the manuscript, but additionally the very first poem of the book is presented as a dialogue between him and the celebrated Welsh poet Taliesin.

Since the creation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae in the 12th century there has been a connection between Carmarthen and Merlin, and it may be no accident that the Black Book opens with this text.

#### Source:

## dailymail.co.uk

/\* Copyright 2014 Evernote Corporation. All rights reserved. \*/.en-markup-crop-options { top: 18px !important; left: 50% !important; margin-left: -100px !important; width: 200px !important; border: 2px rgba(255,255,255,38) solid !important; border-radius: 4px !important; } .en-markup-crop-options div div:first-of-type { margin-left: 0px !important; }

## The Double Casket of Thomas & Mary Souder

thechirurgeonsapprentice.com

## Jun4 by The Chirurgeon's Apprentice



I remember rummaging through an old trunk in my grandmother's house when I was a child and coming across what seemed to me at the time a very unusual photograph. It was a monochromatic image of a beautiful, young woman lying in a white casket (not dissimilar to the photo on the left).

Curious, I plucked the photo from the trunk and went to find my grandma, who was parked at the kitchen table sorting through the piles of mail that inevitably found its way into her house everyday.

She told me that the woman in the casket was a distant relative of mine named Lena, who had died tragically at the age of 17. "You know, people used to take photos of the dead back then," she said, taking the picture from me and studying it closely as if she had never seen it before. "Imagine that," she remarked before placing the photo on the kitchen table and turning her attention back to the endless heaps of mail sitting on the table.

To a child, the image was haunting, and I never quite forgot it. It wasn't till later in life, however, that I understood the historical significance behind the photo.



My grandmother was right (something she relishes hearing even to this day). Postmortem photos began to emerge shortly after commercial photography itself became available in 1839, and carried on being popular into the early 20th century. This was a time when people in Western Europe and North America had an intimate relationship with the dead, so it was inevitable that the recently deceased would feature prominently in Victorian family albums. The fact that my grandma only has one postmortem photo in her possession is now more unusual to me than the image itself.

Postmortem photos from the Victorian period varied considerably in presentation. The dead were not always

photographed in their caskets, as you might expect. Often, they were propped up in chairs, occasionally alongside the living. This was especially common when the deceased was a child, as in this example above.

Sometimes, the dead's cheeks were coloured to mask the telltale signs of decomposition, or the eyes drawn over to look as if they were open. R. B. Whittaker in New York described the

story.html#page=2

Reply



34. Morguie says:

June 11, 2014 at 11:37 PM

An earlier comment mentioned a book, "At The Hour Of Our Death," which is a thoroughly compiled history of the evolution of society's treatment of the concept and handling of death. A very good source for understanding customs and an insightful study on mankind's reluctance to accept the ultimate defeat of his own demise and mortality.

In our present-day world of rules, laws, and strict regulation (here in USA) such a double-casket accommodation is illegal, generally. Also, cremating commingled remains violates the law, carrying severe penalties and sanctions, including imprisonment.

Aside from photographs, there were other memento mori, memorial keepsakes. which were common in the Victorian era and beyond, such as hair wreaths and mourning cloth; there was a protocol for mourning, as well.

As a funeral director and embalmer, I find the history of American funeral customs to be quite fascinating.

Reply



deskrobot says:

June 27, 2014 at 8:23 PM

I'd be interested to know whether commingling ashes created through separate cremations years apart is illegal-particularly in New York State. Is that a question a local funeral director might answer?

Reply



Morguie says: June 28, 2014 at 12:23 AM

It is not illegal.

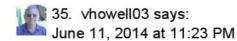


Morguie says:

June 28, 2014 at 12:58 AM

\*\*As long as the person with the right to control the disposition (whomever the cremated remains are held by) has them in their possession they may do whatever they wish in regard to commingling the remains. You may need to check with the state's funeral board authority if you plan to transfer the right to control to another person, or if you are thinking of eventually placing them in a permanent location, such as a cemetery — that should be done NOW, if that's what you are planning, BEFORE you commingle. ALSO: please do not scatter the ashes on public property, beaches, or clandestinely on

#### amusement park properties, most especially on rides.



I agree with those who have commented on how well this is written. Good job.

### Reply



36. whoselaine says: June 11, 2014 at 5:59 PM

#### Well written

## Reply



37. elainecanham says: June 11, 2014 at 11:30 AM

In the picture of the woman holding the baby, I thought it was the woman that had died. I have a picture of my great grandfather standing by his wife's grave, gesturing to the stone to show that this was where he was going to be buried. My mother hates it, she thinks it's far too creepy.

## Reply



38. abhwheeler says: June 11, 2014 at 2:40 AM

Reblogged this on abhwheeler.

## Reply



39. julieallyn says: June 11, 2014 at 1:13 AM

One of the most interesting and well-written articles I've read in some time. The practice of photographing the dead reminds me of the 2001 Nicole Kidman film The Others.

A co-worker lost a baby during childbirth and she put a photograph of herself holding the child in her scrapbook which at the time I thought seemed a little unusual. Not being judgmental — just that I'd not ever seen anything like that before.

Kudos on a uniquely interesting piece.

### Reply



40. ladytatianna says: June 10, 2014 at 10:58 PM

We have a similar picture of a deceased baby in our family album...it looks like the baby is asleep......It took me a while to figure the story out.....great post.

#### Reply



41. appslotus says: June 10, 2014 at 9:20 PM

Reblogged this on Apps Lotus's Blog.

#### Reply



42. josehkhim says: June 10, 2014 at 6:19 PM

Reblogged this on josehkhim's Blog and commented: Double casket...!!!

#### Reply



臧 43. Barb Drummond says: June 10, 2014 at 5:01 PM

Amazing. How many men did it take to carry the coffin, I wonder?

## Reply



44. settingtheworld says: June 10, 2014 at 2:58 PM

Fascinating! The child with painted eyes was so creepy. I am wondering if parents found it easier to see their deceased children with open eyes, or sat on their knee?

## Reply



45. alphawoman says: June 10, 2014 at 2:57 PM

I believe one of the most famous and most sought after is the photo taken of Jesse James who was displayed in his coffin after he was shot in the back. Fascinating subject matter.

#### Reply



46. Jenny says:

June 10, 2014 at 1:37 PM

Wow, what an excellently spooky, sad post. Congratulations on being pressed!

#### Reply



47. franhunne4u says:

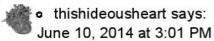
June 10, 2014 at 1:28 PM

Why can't we today in Western societies accept all aspects of life even the sad ones? Why do we feel those photos to be creepy? (Well, maybe apart from those pictures where the deads are made up to appear less so.)

Are we so afraid of negative feelings?

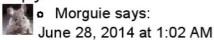
I loved your post – it awoke in me the urge to speak out for more public acceptance of death being a daily occurrence.

## Reply



Have you read "The Hour of Our Death" by Philippe Ariès?

## Reply



I agree. When I was a small child it wasn't understood by myself. Maturity changes everything when you realize the value of this memorialization. I am regretful that I never thought to preserve an audio keepsake of my father's voice before he died. It's a beautiful form of preserving a piece of them for family generations to come.

#### Reply



48. 'Dictasays says: June 10, 2014 at 1:08 PM

Reblogged this on 'DICTA SAYS.... and commented:

This is both a beautiful and disturbing read. Clearly, I've known things I haven't and it's not located on the evening paper. Thanks 'The Chirurgeon's Apprentice' for this lovely piece.

#### Reply



49. thelmajam01 says: June 10, 2014 at 1:01 PM

good story.

## Reply



50. seriouslysoap says: June 10, 2014 at 12:55 PM

Modern Western society's fear/distant reverence of the dead never fails to surprise me. My family is Indian, and we have pictures of our recent dead and videos of their funerals, mostly so that those of us who are in the States can see our dead kin one more time. The first picture you shared reminded me of a funeral picture of one of my mom's cousins who died young. The posed pictures are definitely eerie, but I love the 19th century's connection with the dead. Great job on writing such an interesting piece!

#### Reply



👊 💋 51. Mythoughts76 says: June 10, 2014 at 12:41 PM Thanks for the photos. The name Souder runs in my husband's family.

## Reply



52. jg3rl says:

June 10, 2014 at 12:16 PM

Reblogged this on joy's blog.

#### Reply



53. Iruthnum says:

June 10, 2014 at 12:00 PM

Wow this is such a fascinating post. Great pictures – it's interesting to see how different cultures deal with death. The double casket it so haunting but beautiful at the same time.

## Reply



📭 54. jari65 says:

June 10, 2014 at 11:52 AM

Reblogged this on Jari65 Blog.

### Reply



🛙 55. Barbara Rath says:

June 10, 2014 at 11:42 AM

This is an interesting research article based on such a personal discovery. Thank you for the work you did to pull it together and for sharing it with us. I have boxes full of black and white photos to go through; I'm going to remember this article and be more aware of what I might be seeing. Thank you.

## Reply



56. amriechia says:

June 10, 2014 at 11:10 AM

Reblogged this on Child Of Woe and commented: Interesting read about memento mori.

#### Reply



🌉 57. Therese Lu says:

June 10, 2014 at 10:34 AM

This was very informative. Thank you for posting this.

### Reply



58. sally92013 says:

June 10, 2014 at 9:04 AM

Reblogged this on More Aah than F\*\*\* and commented:

Re-blogged this on More Aah Than F\*\*\* - I just read about a double cremation this week in uk. A first for the crematorium! Fantasic post - thank you.

Reply



The Chirurgeon's Apprentice says: June 10, 2014 at 9:33 AM

Thanks Sally! How interesting - do you happen to have a link to that article about the double cremation?

Reply



sally92013 says: June 10, 2014 at 12:54 PM

This is it here http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/devoted-couple-firstcremated-together-3610461 hope this is of use to you,



59. Lucy Locket says: June 10, 2014 at 8:52 AM

Fascinating, thanks for sharing it.

## Reply



👩 60. Godless Cranium says: June 10, 2014 at 5:45 AM

That's fascinating and a bit creepy all at the same time. Great post! I thoroughly enjoyed

#### Reply



61. Laura Beth Ward says:

June 10, 2014 at 5:45 AM

craziness!!!!! Awesome writing. so much emotion !!!!!! you might like this: sexy poems and sweet words. xx

http://www.elephantjournal.com/2014/06/lighten-up-this-life-is-a-game-wanting-to-beplayed-laura-ward/

http://www.elephantjournal.com/2014/06/why-laura-ward-poem/

#### Reply



62. herschelian says: June 10, 2014 at 4:44 AM

Maybe undertakers kept a few double coffins in stock for just such a situation. The whole attitude to death and mourning has changed completely in the past 100 years. I have an excellent book (which you may know/have) 'Necropolis; London and Its Dead' by Catherine Arnold from which I learned of the huge industry that surrounded death and mourning.

I live in Beijing now, so you've inspired me to find out about the Chinese way of death.

## Reply



63. Jwolfe says:

June 10, 2014 at 4:24 AM

I also stumbled onto postmortem photography at my Grandmother and Grandfather's house. My grandfather was a WWII Veteran and worked cleanup at a concentration camp in Germany. I found a bunch of photos of bodies stacked on top of one another and lost it. Since then I have always found postmortem photography interesting (10 year old me is freaking out right now). This is a great post! Thank you for sharing this!

#### Reply



64. Jwolfe says:

June 10. 2014 at 4:18 AM

Reblogged this on Words With Cats and commented: This blew me away!

#### Reply



65. Ted Luoma says:

June 10, 2014 at 3:56 AM

I think the creepiest part of your article is when people painted dead people's eyelids. That picture of that child "staring" is creepy.

## Reply



66. memoiranonymous says:

June 10, 2014 at 3:21 AM

. :-) thank you for such an interesting read

#### Reply



67. Sara Niles says:

June 10, 2014 at 2:30 AM

Reblogged this on IMPACT Books & Art and commented: Unusual cultural habit

#### Reply



68. glenn2point0 says: June 10, 2014 at 2:22 AM

I saw a documentary a while ago where this process of photographing the dead in life like poses was discussed.

#### Reply



69. Stephen says:

June 10, 2014 at 2:14 AM

A beautifully written post, and very interesting. Thank you for sharing

## Reply



70. failuretobreastfeed says: June 10, 2014 at 1:22 AM

I found this to be so disturbing and creepy but I couldn't click away.

## Reply



71. mydeadlives says: June 10, 2014 at 1:22 AM

Amazing! Love this photo

## Reply



72. recentcoinz says: June 9, 2014 at 11:01 PM

For quite some time, many people were ONLY photographed after death. Photography was difficult, expensive, and quite a large pain in the rear. Just imagine trying to sit perfectly motionless for half an hour so that the photographer could get a proper exposure. A blink, a twitch, a sneeze and you have to start all over again. Photographers actually used iron stands to position people and keep them still so that they could capture the image. The earliest photos cost about a weeks wages for a single small image.

#### Reply



'Dictasays says: June 10, 2014 at 1:10 PM

Wow.



Reply

73. awax1217 says: June 9, 2014 at 10:45 PM

They also used death masks. We are a strange lot when death is mentioned and tossed about.

#### Reply



74. whenlifeisgood says: June 9, 2014 at 10:44 PM

What an interesting article. I have never seen this earlier.

## Reply



🧮 75. wakingofthebear says: June 9, 2014 at 10:43 PM

Congratulations on being Freshly Pressed.

#### Reply



76. larry trasciatti says: June 9, 2014 at 10:01 PM

There are so many pictures like this on pinterest too. It's quite especially interesting

#### Reply



77. Ben says: June 9, 2014 at 9:33 PM

A bit creepy, but interesting none the less.

## Reply



78. Fighting BED says: June 9, 2014 at 8:51 PM

It's nit something I have seen before but it is interesting and yet so tragic as you say, for a double tragedy. A glimpse into the past. Thank you for sharing.

#### Reply



79. grancanariastyle says: June 9, 2014 at 8:47 PM

A very interesting article! In my family photos collection there are photos of only one deceased relative, but they were taken not long ago - in the 1970's, I think.

#### Reply



80. Charlene Nicoletto says: June 6, 2014 at 6:42 PM

Hi there.

I love your FB posts, and your email updates! I hope you get this messages, sometimes subscription addresses aren't monitored.

Here is something in local news, but is from Texas, but it is terribly sad.

http://wqad.com/2014/06/06/newlyweds-killed-when-their-separate-vehicles-crashhead-on/

Reason for a double-casket? I'd say so.

Keep doing what you do!

#### Charlene

Date: Wed, 4 Jun 2014 15:15:05 +0000 To: charlenemn@outlook.com

## Reply



81. John Holton says:
June 5. 2014 at 7:07 PM

Our parish back in Chicago was founded by people who had come to the US from Lithuania in the early part of the last century. When someone died, it was customary to have a picture taken that showed the deceased in the casket, the family and friends, and the priest who said the funeral posed in front of the church. The family would then have the picture printed on postcards to send to their relatives in the Old Country. It was an inexpensive way to let the relatives know that Uncle Vytus had passed. Sounds morbid, but in those days, it's what they did.

### Reply



82. Double Caskets and Post-Mortem Portraits | I Am the Utterance of My Name says:

June 5, 2014 at 3:06 AM

[...] http://thechirurgeonsapprentice.com/2014/06/04/the-double-casket-of-thomas-mary-souder/ [...]

## Reply



83. aylaeh says:

June 5, 2014 at 2:59 AM

What a haunting photo of that mother and child... The mother looks so sad and distressed.

#### Reply



84. Sam I Am says:

June 5, 2014 at 12:41 AM

I believe the Siamese twins were buried together, as well.

## Reply



85. numericalresearch says:

June 5, 2014 at 12:26 AM

Interesting and touching. I'm curious, though, in the Souder picture... he looks recently deceased, while she looks almost skeletal. Why would that be if they died within days of each other?

## Reply

latter services as "Fast Asleep and Wide Awake" in an advertisement card from 1860.



Other times, the corpse did not appear in the photo at all. Rather, it showed the gravesite with mourners standing around a tombstone. Yet no matter how different each photo was from another, death was always at the heart of these images.

By far one of the most unusual postmortem photos I've come across is that of Thomas & Mary Souder (below), taken at the time

of their deaths in July, 1921. The couple died within 48 hours of each other from "the flux," known today as dysentery—an intestinal inflammation that causes severe diarrhea that leads to rapid loss of fluids, dehydration and eventually death.



There are two forms of dysentery. One is caused by a bacterium, the other, an amoeba. The former is the most common in Western Europe and the United States; and is typically spread through contaminated food and water. Many people succumbed to the flux in the 19th and early 20th centuries, especially during wartime when access to clean water was severely restricted.

Thomas and Mary were in their late 70s and early 80s when they contracted the disease, and so their untimely demise is not shocking,

especially when we consider this occurred before the discovery of penicillin (1928). What is surprising, though, is the double casket in which they were buried. For me, it raises many questions: was the casket commissioned while the two were dying or after both had passed away? And if the latter, how long had the Souders been dead before this photo was taken?

The Fort Worth Star Telegram in Hurst, Texas reported the deaths of the Souders on 16 July 1921:

Even death failed to separate Jefferson Souder...and Mrs. Mary E. Souder...his wife for more than half a century. Side by side, they will be laid to rest in the same casket in the little cemetery at Hurst Sunday afternoon after the span of more than an average lifetime, during with they were never separated. Only a few days intervened between their deaths. Mrs. Souder passed away at the old home near Hurst Wednesday. Her husband's death followed Friday afternoon.



The Chirurgeon's Apprentice says: June 5, 2014 at 7:56 AM

I think we are beginning to see signs of decomposition in this photo. Remember, Mary Souder died first, and it's possible that the disease itself had taken a severe toll on her before she died.



Reply 86. Ann L. Etheridge says: June 4, 2014 at 5:39 PM

I have a large collection of 19th and early 20th Century mourning item and images. You may enjoy them,

https://www.flickr.com/photos/60861613@N00/sets/72157625329574429/ andhttps://www.flickr.com/photos/60861613@N00/sets/72157624187710531/.

Reply



The Chirurgeon's Apprentice says: June 5, 2014 at 7:56 AM

Thanks for this! Really fascinating!

Reply 87. Fiz says:

June 4, 2014 at 4:23 PM

That is a beautiful piece of writing, Lindsey. Thank you for posting it.

# Reply

/\* Copyright 2014 Evernote Corporation. All rights reserved. \*/.en-markup-crop-options { top: 18px !important; left: 50% !important; margin-left: -100px !important; width: 200px !important; border: 2px rgba(255,255,255,38) solid !important; border-radius: 4px !important; } .en-markup-crop-options div div:first-of-type { margin-left: 0px !important; }



The simple stone that marks their graves in Arwine Cemetery today gives no hint at the extraordinary casket that lies beneath the ground.

Sadly, this is not the only time two people have been buried together. In 2008, Ben and Arron Peak, two brothers who died tragically in a drunk driving accident, were buried in a double casket painted with the colours and logo of Manchester United, the boys' favourite football team. Wilfred and Ann Fallows—husband and wife—were also buried this way after they died in a head-on collision in 2012. Most recently, Kelsey and Kendall Adams—two young children who were brutally murdered in New Orleans last year—were laid side-by-side and buried together.

So, as intrigued as I was by the Souders' postmortem photo, I, for one, am glad that the double casket does not appear more frequently in my research. For when it does, it almost always involves a tragic tale filled with sorrow and unthinkable grief.

This entry was posted in Casebooks and tagged coffins, dead, Death, double casket, history, postmortem photos, victorians.

# 100 comments on "The Double Casket of Thomas & Mary Souder"

- 1. Markierungen 02/09/2015 Snippets says: February 9, 2015 at 4:37 AM
- [...] The Double Casket of Thomas & Mary Souder « The Chirurgeon's Apprentice [...]

# Reply



2. No so Merry says: October 4, 2014 at 4:55 PM

Ahh~ but Lindsey; your last line rings partial: " it almost always involves a tragic tale filled with sorrow and unthinkable grief."

For me- it speaks of incredible LOVE... I too, have taken pics of my loved ones in their final beds. When my family threw a childish, selfish FIT when I wanted a photo of my mother... I gave in to THEIR desires to never have to think of her again. They don't mention her to this day, and when I do- for i find her memory beautiful- they actually get MAD. I will never forgive myself for denying myself a reminder of the last glimpse i ever had at my beautiful mother. They didn't like me taking a pic of my father in his casket, either- but I had realized by then that their selfish nature would allow them to forget it entirely. Sometimes I wonder if my predisposition to record their last moment above the ground is a way to appreciate my own, which will forever be un-noticed and quickly forgotten. The very memory, disposed. I for one, would NOT allow that to happen to the people I LOVED.

## Reply



Several years ago I went to Zanzibar and met a sad woman who showed me a whole album of her husband – all taken after he was dead and lying in a casket. It was a bit surprising to me, but she treasured the pictures.

# Reply



4. Dr. Dee says:

September 21, 2014 at 4:14 PM

I now understand why my mom has various pictures of the deceased in our family. .. All in caskets...

# Reply



5. Armando says:

August 23, 2014 at 7:45 PM

I read a lot of interesting articles here. Probably you spend a lot of time writing, i know how to save you a lot of time, there is an online tool that creates high quality, SEO friendly posts in seconds, just type in google – laranitas free content source

# Reply



6. Featured E-Magazine says:

August 14, 2014 at 1:08 AM

Nice article, I reposted it.

#### Reply



7. Featured E-Magazine says:

August 13, 2014 at 12:56 PM

Reblogged this on Featured E-Magazine and commented: Interesting post:

# Reply



8. meredithea says:

July 21, 2014 at 11:55 PM

The Souder family were one of the founding families in Hurst, TX. They were quite well-to-do, and so could afford the double casket. (In fact, Hurst had Souders as mayors all through my mom's childhood and most if mine!)

# Reply

9. Amorette Allison says:

July 9, 2014 at 9:08 PM

Two reasons for post mortem photography have been mentioned. Cost and difficulty in having to sit still for the photos.

Earlier post mortem tend to be obviously dead, then came the weird phase of posing corpse to appear living. Some of these are so realistic, it's hard to tell if they are post mortem or not.

Then we moved on to casket photos. Some caskets were designed with drop sides to make the photos easier to take.

In an era when 'snapshots' didn't exist and child mortality was sky high, they are understandable. Still, some of them, like an obviously dead mother with a living child on her knee or the corpse of a baby made up to look like an angel, are weird.

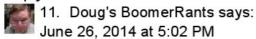
A lot of folks collect post mortem and there are specialities within the field.

# Reply

10. Nea says: June 27, 2014 at 9:04 AM

It looks like a common practice even today. A lot of photographers are engaged in funeral photography or photographing still born babies. As morbid as it sounds, some families are openly inviting this concept. It is their way of dealing with the loss. Beautiful post. Thanks for sharing.

# Reply



Like a couple others who have posted in here, I too have worked in the funeral industry for many years and I have grown very appalled at the "fear" exhibited by Western beliefs in handling the dead. Honestly, it's Hollywood that dictates that fear. We feel that as soon as Aunt Edna takes her last breath she becomes an immediate victim of gross decomposition.. better call the funeral home, quick! Ewwww...

If only people knew how invasive embalming is, or the great lengths embalmers use to restore a deceased for proper casket display (using anything and everything laying around). But we don't want to know these things.

I saw families even in this day and age taking casket photos of their deceased loved ones at wakes and private viewings. There have even been situations where special permits from the state have allowed for couples or mother/baby being cremated at the same time.

People really should take a more active and informed role about what happens to their loved ones after their death.

## Reply



Tommy Elliott Lfd says:
 October 4, 2014 at 3:10 PM

don't know what you use to do to embalm but I never grab anything and everything laying around to restore a deceased. I use embalming chemicals and things provided by the chemical and casket companies. And depending on the

death some deceased start severely decomposing within hours. Embalming doesn't have to be that invasive with many times 1 incision being all that is necessary.

# Reply



12. minnealaskan says: June 23, 2014 at 2:21 PM

Very interesting, provokes so many thoughts and curiosity.

## Reply



13. Duckhomie says: June 22, 2014 at 3:58 AM

Wow...

# Reply



14. misfit120 says: June 22, 2014 at 12:36 AM

A very interesting read. When I (Misfit's other 1/2) lived in Norfolk, Va. my landady was showing me her old Italian family pictures & all of sudden there was a man "laid" out"... turned out it was her father in Italy in the late 40's. Never have gotten that image out of my head.

# Reply



15. lilhousewifey says: June 21, 2014 at 6:04 PM

A very interesting read. Thankyou

# Reply



强 16. all things messy says: June 17, 2014 at 3:31 PM

Not just informative, but sadly intriguing. Great writing, thanks!

# Reply



17. LightforLifeInspirations says: June 17, 2014 at 1:18 AM

Its weird when you see these photos and you think the person is asleep and then realise they are dead... changes the whole perspective – found some of these photos on Flickr.... Interesting read thanks!

#### Reply



18. The House Mouse says: June 16, 2014 at 9:23 PM

This is a great article. Homes use to have "death rooms" as well, which we now call living rooms. Creepy good stuff. Stay Cheesy!

# Reply



luc graves says:
 December 30, 2014 at 9:01 AM

Death rooms did not become living rooms of todays.lol! What an imagination

# Reply



19. dcxdan says: June 16, 2014 at 9:04 PM

An interesting tour of past photographic practices. Thanks for sharing.

# Reply



20. tycotalkers263 says: June 15, 2014 at 2:06 PM

Wow, I am amazed! VERY interesting piece And very well written.

# Reply



21. Mytwosentences says: June 14, 2014 at 9:01 PM

# Eye opening

# Reply

22. Weekend Reading | History Kicks Ass! says: June 14, 2014 at 1:01 PM

[...] A look at the history behind 19th century and early 20th century 'casket photos': The Double Casket of Thomas & Mary Souder via Dr. Lindsey Fitzharris' blog The Surgeon's [...]

# Reply



23. inspirewithinyou says: June 14, 2014 at 1:47 AM

Reblogged this on inspirewithinyou and commented: This is very fascinating and hits a few good points. I really like this

## Reply



24. sheiladerosa says: June 13, 2014 at 6:15 PM

A very interesting post. Thank you.

#### Reply



For many years as a youth my relatives thought nothing of photographing our deceased relatives but for some reason I found it mortifying. In my mind and heart I found it cruel, I would rather remember my fallen relatives as they lived. In my adulthood I still feel the same. I just find it eerily creepy and morbid. Let's face it, it's death, it is what it is. I would rather bug my family and friends snapping photos of them while they are still with me rather than after. It's just me.

# Reply



26. jessickaa says:

June 13, 2014 at 4:14 PM

Really interesting .. thank you for taking time to write this :)

# Reply



27. fivepaintedlane says:

June 13, 2014 at 3:27 PM

It is interesting what was the norm one hundred years ago would be unthinkable today. This is a morbid subject matter, yet I read every word. I am glad I didn't read this before bed. Thanks, ....I think.

# Reply



28. Baghdad Invest says:

June 13, 2014 at 1:36 PM

Interesting to be buried in the same casket. Cute for them.

## Reply



29. breakingdownandbuildingup says:

June 13, 2014 at 1:00 AM

Me to hubby after being moved by this post: If we die in a horrible accident, do you want to be buried in a double casket?

Hubby: H\*\*\* no

Well alright then ... :P

#### Reply



30. ksthompsonauthor says:

June 12, 2014 at 10:29 PM

I was just thinking today about old black and white photos. Regardless of the subject matter, all of them seem to evoke interesting emotions.

There is a book on my list called "Miss Peregrins Home for Peculiar Children" by

Ransom Riggs. You may find it interesting.

# Reply



31. 67locationdebennealsace says: June 12, 2014 at 5:04 PM

Hey what's good ? You have a good blog! Crazy Thomas!!

#### Julien

Location de benne 67 :

http://www.locationdebenne67.fr.nf

# Reply



32. ghostbusterbev says: June 12, 2014 at 4:17 PM

Great article! I had no idea "double caskets" existed...I have seen double containers for ashes though and have heard about two people being buried in the same casket (parent and child. I love the photos!

# Reply



33. Tom S. says:

June 12, 2014 at 1:46 AM

I just remembered that I have photographs of my grandfather's tombstone an gravesite taken at the time of his burial in 1940, Cleveland, Ohio.

#### Lindsey,

Question: any information on two persons' cremains being place in one large urn/container, for the couple to be together for all eternity?

# Reply



Queenvoney says:

June 12, 2014 at 10:33 PM

Speaking of two persons' cremains, that is what will happen with Ruby Dee, who passed away yesterday, remains and her late husband Ossie Davis who passed away about 10 years ago. Now she will be cremated and placed in the urn with him.

"Whoever goes first will wait for the other," they wrote. "When we are united at last, we want the family to say goodbye and seal the urn forever. Then on the side, in letters not too bold but not too modest either, we want the following inscription: 'Ruby and Ossie — In This Thing Together.' ""

Here is the a link to story in the LA times. http://www.latimes.com/local/obituaries/la-me-ruby-dee-20140613-

# The Ghost of Mussolini Haunts a Former Marshland

blogs.nytimes.com

By Silvia Marchetti February 21, 2013 11:36 am February 21, 2013 11:36 am



Benito Mussolini with farmers, taking part in the first threshing of the wheat in Latina. Credit Roger Viollet/Getty Images

Many villagers and farmers in the Italian coastal town of Latina swear they often hear the rumbling of Benito Mussolini's old, red Guzzi 500 motorcycle. Some even say they have been lucky enough to see him — a ghost in a leather hood and goggles — riding under the rain along the ancient Roman Via Appia. While Mussolini figuratively haunts Italy, which had to endure his Fascist rule, in Latina he's literally a phantom.

These visits by Mussolini would likely have remained a local legend but they have gotten wider attention thanks to a

recent best-selling novel by Antonio Pennacchi called "Palude" ("Marshland"), which focuses on the area. Tourists now come to the region to take in the sights, and with any luck, some sightings too.

Latina, which lies halfway between Rome and Naples along the Latium coast, is the capital of a region that has some of the most fertile land in Europe, an asset it partly owes to the Fascist era. It was settled in 1932 by thousands of families that Mussolini transferred from northern Italy to redevelop the surrounding area and found new towns. Mr. Pennacchi, the descendent of one such family, won several awards for his depiction of his hometown and its history. His novel details the history of the region, formerly called the "Pontine Marshes," which was for centuries malaria-infested swampland until the regime, assisted as well by World War I refugees it pressed into service, drained and converted it for agricultural use. The reconstruction was such a success that locals believe that it is why the ghost of Mussolini appears here, to survey one of the few good things he did in his life.

"Mussolini adored Latina. He regularly came here to check on the construction works, have lunch and visit his many lovers," Mr. Pennacchi wrote in "Palude."

The ghost draws dozens of tourists every month, more during the summer, and Mr. Pennacchi, who keeps an old farmhouse here, serves as an unofficial guide. He often takes guests and reporters on rides to the novel's many sites, and, using a megaphone, he tells stories and narrates historical events. Latina is a must-see stop, particularly the government house in the central square that has a marble balcony where Mussolini delivered the city's inaugural speech.



Antonio Pennacchi Credit Silvia Marchetti

The day I visited Mr. Pennacchi, he took me first to the "Mussolini Canal" right beyond his house, built by the colonists and later stage to a World War II bloodbath with the Allies fighting on one bank and the Germans on the other. "This canal gave birth to the entire area. This is why it was named in honor of Mussolini," he explained. Lined with canes, it cuts a narrow, snake-like passage in the lush countryside up to the sea, but swells when it rains.

The next stop was where Mussolini's ghost is said appear. Mr. Pennacchi himself believes that the ghost exists. Once, during his childhood, while playing close to the Appia road, he and his cousin both saw Mussolini darting along on his red motorbike. "This story is not a legend, nor a simple ghost tale. It's a founding myth. Mussolini was and still is for most people here a myth, the founder of their hometown."

We went in pursuit of it in the Acque Medie channel, which forms a tiny lake beneath the Appia route where people go fishing. When we got there it was twilight but the sky was clear. I didn't hear a motorbike in the background nor did I spot anything strange. Yet the place was spooky. It was worth visiting just for the thrill of it.

#### If You Go

The Pontine area holds many myths. It's the mythological coast where Aeneas landed from burning Troy, and Odysseus was bewitched by the sorceress Circe. The enchantress's profile is sculpted on the mountain dominating Latina's bay. It has the shape of a sleeping woman and hides underground prehistoric caves. Mount Circe overlooks the miles-long sand dunes of the protected Mediterranean bush with its cozy beach bars, the Fogliano Lake natural reserve and the three breathtaking Pontine islands: Ponza, Palmarola and Zannone, popular diving paradises.

The best view of the bay is from the beach hotel Miramare (hotelmiramarelatina.it; 50 euros, or \$65, per person), featuring a patio for breathtaking sunset cocktails. The restaurant L'Isola dei Sapori (39-0773- 645646), hidden in a palm garden, serves excellent fish dishes and pizza at good prizes.

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# The heads of these 5 people were stolen from their graves strangeremains.com

By strangeremains on July 23, 2015



An iconic scene of the shadow of Count Orlok climbing up a staircase. Image from Wikipedia.

The graves of famous people have been plundered for hundreds of years. Bodies and body parts have been stolen by guards trusted to keep corpses safe, scientists determined to study them, and even admirers with good intentions (i.e. Thomas Paine).

Skulls are usually the part of the body that is the most sought after because of its scientific value or appeal as a trophy. Recently grave robbers looted the burial plot of the man who directed Nosferatu in 1922.

On July 13th, workers at the Stahnsdorf cemetery discovered that the Murnau family plot had been disturbed. After a closer look at the grave they found that the head of famous director Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau had been stolen from his metal coffin (Smith 2015).

Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (1888-1931) is the director of the legendary black and white vampire film Nosferatu (1922). He directed Sunrise (1927), which one several Oscars at the first Academy Awards in 1929, as well 20 other films. (Smith 2015 and Mejia 2015).

Murnau died in a car crash in California in 1931 when he was just 42-years-old and his body was buried in his family's plot in a German cemetery (Smith 2015).

Officials at the Stahnsdorf cemetery believe that the skull was stolen some time between July 4th and 12th. When the crime was reported a criminal investigation was started and evidence was collected. Investigators believe that Murnau's skull may have been taken during an occult ritual because of the presence of wax drippings in and around the grave (Smith 2015).

The cemetery is considering either sealing the grave or moving the family plot altogether (Smith 2015). Hopefully his head will be recovered and his body can be reburied.

Below are few examples of heads that have stolen over the centuries. Some have happy endings, others not-so-much.

#### Mata Hari

Mata Hari (1876-1917), born Margaretha Zelle, was born in the Leeuwarden, Netherlands. Margaretha was raised in a middle class family, had a tumultuous childhood, and was married and divorced by the time she was 25. In 1903 Margaretha started performing in Paris under the stage name Mata Hari in dance halls and nude reviews (WWI spy 2001). She



Postcard of Mata Hari in Paris. Image from Wikipedia.

became famous for provocative dancing and barely-there costumes, but her career declined over the next decade and she performed her last show in 1915.

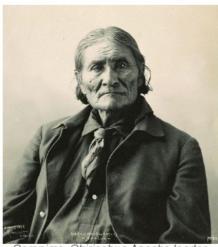
Mata Hari was just as famous for her love life as her stage career. She was an infamous courtesan who dated businessmen, politicians, and high-ranking officers. It was the latter that was her biggest weakness and probably her downfall.

In 1917, the French arrested her for being a German spy in her Paris hotel room. Mati Hari was tried, convicted, and executed by firing squad on October 15, 1917 when she was 41-years-old. She refused to wear a blindfold and was killed by eleven shots from a 12-man squad (WWI spy 2001).

In recent years the French government has considered re-opening the case because she may have been convicted on "trumped up charges" (Schofield 2001). In 1999 a historian British intelligence papers, declassified in 1999, described how they could not find any evidence that Mata Hari worked as a secret agent (WWI spy 2001).

When no one claimed Mata Hari's corpse it was donated to the Museum of Anatomy in Paris. Her body was dissected and her head removed and preserved in wax. Mata Hari's head became part of the museum's display of infamous criminals that were executed in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. When the French Minister of Education threated to close the museum in 2000, the museum director decided to give the minister an inventory of the museum's collections. However, when he reviewed the list he found that Mata Hari's head was missing. Officials at the Museum of Anatomy don't know when the head was taken or by who (Hoffman 2000).

# Geronimo



Geronimo, Chiricahua Apache leader. Photograph by Frank A. Rinehart, 1898. Image from Wikipedia.

Geronimo is a nickname that was given to an Apache warrior named *Goyahkl*, a Chiricahua word meaning He Who Yawns. Goyahkl was born in Arizona on June 16th, 1829 near the Gila River, along what is now the Arizona and New Mexico border (King 2012). He was one of the most famous American Indian leaders of the 19th century.

In 1858, Geronimo left his tribe to go on a trading trip and when he returned he found that Mexican soldiers had slaughtered his people, including his mother, wife, and three children. He vowed revenge and participated in a series of revenge attacks against the Mexicans. He got the name Geronimo when one of the men he attacked cried out to Saint Jerome, which is Geronimo in Spanish (King 2012).

For almost 30 years he attacked both Mexican and U.S.

troops, and raided both Mexican and American Settlers. When American settlers asked the military to intervene in 1874, the Apaches were forced onto a reservation in Arizona (King 2012). Geronimo and some of his men escaped and were pursued by U.S. troops. He surrendered in 1886 and spent the rest of his life in U.S captivity. In 1901 he marched in Teddy Roosevelt's inauguration parade and appeared at the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904. In 1909 he died from pneumonia and was buried in Ft. Sill, OK (McKinley 2009).

Allegedly in 1918 six members of Yale's Skull and Bones society, a not-so-secret society at Yale University, robbed Geronimo's grave. These members, which included Prescott Bush, father of President George H.W. Bush and grandfather of George W. Bush, were stationed at Ft. Sill while serving as army volunteers. They supposedly took Geronimo's skull, 2 bones, and bridle back to the society's clubhouse, known as the tomb. The society officially denies this rumor and local historians say there is no evidence that Geronimo's grave was disturbed in 1918 (McKinley 2009)

In 2009 Geronimo's descendants filed a lawsuit against Skull and Bones and Yale on the 100th anniversary of his death. In 2010 a judge dismissed the case because the plaintiffs cited a law that only applies to Native American cultural items that were excavated or discovered after 1990.

## Beethoven



Deathmask of Beethoven by Josef Dannhauser. Image from Wikipedia.

Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) is a legendary Classical composer who was born in Bonn, the capital of Cologne. His best known works include nine symphonies, five piano concertos, and one violin concerto. He suffered a host of health problems including abdominal pain, eye infections, and hearing loss (Lovejoy 2013). He stared to lose his hearing around 1796 and was almost deaf by 1810.

Although his body was autopsied after his death on March 26, 1827, doctors were never able to confirm the cause of death. Beethoven's grave was exhumed in 1863 so it could be renovated. At this time anatomists, like Dr. Romeo Seligmann, and sculptors examined the bones (Lovejoy 2013). Historians believe that Gerhard von Breuning, who befriended Beethoven as a teenager, took this opportunity to steal fragments from the back of Beethoven's skull (pictured here). It was Breuning's job to transport

the bones to and from each scientist and artist. Breuning gave the skull fragments to Seligmann, and the Seligmann family passed them down from family member to family member (Lovejoy 2013).

Then in 1990 a California man by the name of Paul Kauffman inherited the skull fragments after his uncle died. He had heard family rumors that the bones might belong to Beethoven so he submitted them to DNA testing. DNA samples were taken from the skull fragments and Beethoven's hair. In 2005 the DNA results were publicized and the analysis showed that the DNA from the bone fragments partially agreed with the samples from the hair (Lovejoy 2013).

Beethoven wasn't the only composer to have his skull swiped. The heads of both Mozart and Haydn suffered the same fate.

## René Descartes



Portrait of Rene Descartes. Image from Wikipedia.

René Descartes (1596-1650) was a French philosopher and mathematician. He's known as the father of modern philosophy and his celebrated for his work on mind-body dualism and analytical geometry. He coined the philosophical statement, "Cogito ergo sum" (I think, therefore I am.), and his philosophical writings are still taught in universities today.

In 1649 Queen Christina of Sweden invited Descartes to join her court and give her philosophy lessons. He died of pneumonia in 1650 and was buried in a Catholic cemetery in Stockholm (Lovejoy 2013).

Descartes' body was exhumed in 1666 and returned to Paris and buried at the Church of Sainte-Genevieve-du Mont. As the revolutionary rebels started to attack the church in 1792

Descartes' bones were supposedly hidden at the Museum of French Monuments in an Egyptian sarcophagus (Lovejoy 2013). After the museum closed in 1819 city officials decided to rebury him at the Abbey of Saint Germain des Près. When they opened the sarcophagus they discovered that the skull was gone along with most of the other bones, but the body was buried anyway (Lovejoy 2013).

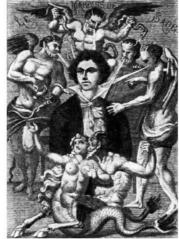
A Swedish scientist named Jacob Berzelius attended Descartes' third burial and had heard about his missing bones. In 1821 Berzelius read about an auction in newspaper that had sold the "skull of the famous Cartesius (Lovejoy 2013)." Berzelius found the owner and offered to buy it from him for what he paid for it at the auction. The owner accepted the offer and handed the skull Berzelius (Lovejoy 2013).

Because the skull had been signed by previous owners (pictured here), historians were able to piece together what happened. It turns out that Descartes' skull never made it back to France in 1666. A Swedish soldier named Isaak Plantsom, who was hired to guard the bones on the trip from Stockholm to Paris, beheaded Descartes' corpse at some point (Lovejoy 2013).

The head is currently in the collection at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris.

# Marquis de Sade

The Marquis de Sade (1740-1814) was French aristocrat, politician, and writer infamous for his sexual exploits and crimes. His erotic writings and novels endorsed amoral sexual freedom that involved things like violence and bestiality. Sade also had political interests. In



Depiction of the Marquis de Sade by H. Biberstein in L'Œuvre du marquis de Sade, Guillaume Apollinaire (Edit.), 1912. Image from Wikipedia.

1792 he became the secretary of the Revolutionary Section of Les Piques in Paris. He also gave speeches in favor of the Revolution.

Marquis de Sade also spent more than 30 years either in jail or asylums and almost fell prey to the guillotine. The last years of his life were spent at an asylum in Charenton, France, where he was under the care of Dr. L.J. Ramon (Lovejoy 2015).

In his will Sade asked to be buried at his estate at Malmaison. However, Ramon didn't honor this requested and buried the Marquis at the Charenton Asylum. This was likely for selfish reasons because a few years later Ramon dug Sade's grave and took his skull for his phrenology collection (Lovejoy 2013).

Ramon analyzed the bumps and ridges on the skull and found that the skull belonged to "goodwill . . . no ferocity . . . no aggressive Bibliothèque des Curieux, Paris, drives . . . no excess in erotic impulses." And that "in every way similar to that of a father of the church." Granted phrenology is junk

science, but he had to know his patient's history, right? Either Ramon had a sense of humor or an idiot (Lovejoy 2013 and Lovejoy 2015).

Ramon ended up giving Sade's skull to a famous phrenologist, Johann Spurzheim. Spurzheim kept the skull until his death but afterwards it vanished. Thibault de Sade, a descendant of the Marquis, said he found a cast made of the elusive skull at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, the same places that Descartes' skull is housed (Lovejoy 2012).

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# The legacy of implanted Satanic abuse 'memories' is still causing damage today

20150713 theconversation.com

July 13, 2015 1.24am EDT Christopher French

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Carol Felstead (later Myers)

Unhappy memories of a past that never was.

When 21-year-old nurse Carol Felstead went to her doctor complaining of repeated headaches, she wasn't just prescribed painkillers. Instead, she was referred for psychotherapy that would ultimately involve hypnosis to "recover" so-called repressed memories of childhood sexual abuse. Carol subsequently came to believe that her parents were the leaders of a Satanic cult and that her mother murdered

another of her children, sat Carol on top of the body and then set fire to the family home.

But these allegations were untrue and the memories they were based upon were incorrect. Today, almost 30 years on, "recovered memory therapy" has been discredited by the scientific and academic community and is known to implant false memories, apparent memories for events that never actually happened.

Experimental psychologists have repeatedly demonstrated the ease with which false memories can be implanted in a sizeable proportion of the population under well-controlled laboratory conditions. But it is also undoubtedly the case that such false memories can arise spontaneously as well as in the context of psychotherapy.

Although we are typically not consciously aware of it, we often have to judge whether an apparent memory is real. Is it based upon mental events that were purely internally generated (for example, by imagination or a dream) or based upon events which really took place in the external world?

#### Implanting false memories

One of the techniques that has been shown to result in false memories is asking people to imagine events that never actually took place. It appears that, eventually and especially in

people with good imaginations, the memory of the imagined event is misinterpreted as a memory for a real event. The use of hypnotic regression is a particularly powerful means to implant false memories.

The correct chronology in Carol Felstead's case is as follows: there was another daughter who was ill from birth and she died in hospital in 1962 from problems associated with a defective heart. The house fire was a tragic accident that occurred in 1963 and made the front page news of the local newspaper. But Carol was born in 1964. These events happened before she was alive. Carol later falsely claimed to have given birth to six babies who were meant to have been conceived and ritually sacrificed by the Satanic cult. Her medical records show that Carol was never pregnant.



Author provided

Carol cut off contact with her family, changed her name to Carole Myers, and died in 2005, aged 41, in circumstances that are still unexplained. Prior to receiving psychotherapy, she was a bright and intelligent young woman with her life ahead of her. Her story highlights the inherent dangers associated with unproven psychotherapeutic techniques which seek to recover putative repressed memories of childhood trauma, in particular childhood sexual abuse.

The latter is an abhorrent crime that can have devastating consequences for victims. Yet, while we must not lose sight of this, it is also important to remember that no one benefits from false

allegations. Victims of childhood sexual abuse have difficulty forgetting — not remembering — what happened. False memory also has serious consequences and can lead to family breakdown and miscarriages of justice.

False memories aren't limited to cases of alleged childhood abuse. The field of anomalistic psychology attempts to propose and, where possible, empirically test explanations for bizarre experiences based purely upon accepted psychological principles. Based upon my own anomalistic psychology research and that of others, there is little doubt in my mind that sincerely held bizarre memories of past lives and alien abductions are best explained as being false memories. Such memories can sometimes be distressing for those that hold them but rarely cause distress for others.

Unfortunately, this is not true of Satanic abuse claims. For many people, it is all too easy to believe, even in the absence of convincing evidence, that memories of childhood sexual abuse may be repressed and then recovered during psychotherapy. This is partly because it is sadly true that such abuse is a lot more common than was once accepted.

But it is also because Freud's pseudoscientific influence lingers on. The psychoanalytic notion of repression is that when something extremely traumatic happens an automatic involuntary defence mechanism kicks in that pushes the memory for the trauma into an inaccessible part of the mind. But this is simply not supported by the empirical evidence.

# **Helping victims**

The only definitive way to tell false memories from real ones is by reference to independent external evidence. Subjectively, false memories can be every bit as detailed and compelling as real ones. The best that can be hoped for is that, by appealing to external evidence, one can convince the victim that their memories do not reflect reality thus converting them into what psychologists refer to as "non-believed memories".

In the case of Carol Felstead, it would have been a very easy matter to have checked her claims with the documented historical record and to have established that they were delusions. Instead, those that treated her uncritically accepted her account and fuelled those delusions.

Allegations of childhood abuse should always listened to and examined carefully. But we must treat stories based on "recovered memories" with the level of scepticism they deserve.

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# The Military Will Test a New Terrifyingly Loud Noise Gun

defenseone.com



July 28, 2015 By Patrick Tucker

The Joint Non-Lethal Weapons Program is developing lasers that create a screaming ball of plasma on

their target.

Imagine walking through a field on a cloudless day when you suddenly hear the 130-decibel roar of a fighter jet. But you can't spot the jet, or even tell which direction the sound is coming from. Rather, it seems to originate from the thin air in front of your face, like a shout from an angry, Old-Testament God. No, you aren't hallucinating. And you aren't Moses. You're experiencing a new type of military weapon intended not to kill but to startle an enemy into retreat. It's called the Laser-Induced Plasma Effect, or LIPE, a weapon that the U.S. military hopes to begin testing in coming months.

LIPE is the brainchild of the Joint Non-Lethal Weapons Program, a group tasked with inventing better options for crowd control and checkpoint security. The noise comes from a unique manipulation of matter and energy to produce loud sounds at specific target locations, sort of like an incredibly precise missile of noise. Here's how it works:

Matter comes in four states: solid, liquid, gas, and what's called plasma, the one least familiar to most people, though it's actually the most common state of matter in the universe. You can think of it as gas plus. In the plasma state, high doses of energy have pulled electrons from their atomic nuclei, creating ions. A bunch of these hanging out is a state of matter that isn't a liquid or solid and doesn't behave exactly like a gas either, but rather has magnetic and electric properties and can take the form of light (think neon lights, or the Sun).

LIPE's lasers fire extremely short bursts (around a nanosecond, or a billionth of a second) of directed high energy at a target. That target could be on a person, a windshield, or merely a single point in space. The energy, relatively harmless at the LIPE levels, separates electrons and nuclei at the target area to create a blue ball of plasma. Additional pulses of directed laser energy manipulate the ball to make a noise that seems to come from nowhere.

"We've demonstrated it in the lab at very short ranges. But we haven't been able to demonstrate it at even 100 meters. That's ... the next step," said David Law, the technology division chief at JNLWD.

The total cost will be about \$3 million, paid out in two \$1.5-million small-business-innovation-research contracts to Physical Optics Corp., which is working on the lighting effects, and a Tucson-based company called GEOST, which is working on the sound.

All of that may sound cutting-edge (in addition to loud), but LIPE is not the military's first attempt to harness the unique properties of plasma matter to achieve strange effects. In 2002, a JNLWD program called the Pulsed Energy Projectile sought to create a sound effect that could "literally knock rioters off their feet" New Scientist reported a decade ago. It was supposed to be released in 2007;Instead, the project vanished. In 2004, the Navy tested plasma's capabilities as a missile deflector in an initiative called Plasma Point Defense, another project with goals well beyond what the technology at the time could deliver.

Such early plasma weapons were heavy — many weighed more than 500 pounds — and required enormous power to deliver very limited effects. That slowly began to change.

In 2005, a company called Stellar Photonics was working on a precision sound weapon for JNLWD under a \$2.7 million contract that was part of a program called Plasma Acoustic Sound System, or PASS. By 2009, JNWLD was testing it, with some success. A lot had changed. "What we do with these prototypes to date is power them off of just a regular car battery. They don't take a lot of energy, but there is ... very high peak power, which is what makes this thing work," said Law.

The short-term goal for PASS was a loud sound effect at a range of 100 meters, very similar to LIPE. What LIPE promises is far more volume. "Current plasmas maybe achieve 90 to 100 dB ... we are trying to get to be around 130 dB or a little more," Law said. He likened the difference to a lawn mower versus a fighter jet. "Every dB is a factor of 10 times the loudness... We've been working this in bits and pieces since 2009, but it really has been just over the past couple years that the laser technology has matured enough to be able to potentially get this kind of sound out," said Law.

Will it work out this time? The world will know soon enough. Law's goal is to test at 100 meters in coming months and evaluate the program in its entirety by next May.

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# The mystery behind 'blood-red' moat in Lloyd Park revealed

Monday 6 July 2015

guardianseries.co.uk



Barnaby Davis, Reporter covering Waltham Forest. Call me on 07824 530 130

Monday 6 July 2015News

A 'blood-red' colour that appeared in a pond and sparked concern among park-goers has been identified as a non-toxic bacteria.

The mystery behind 'blood-red' moat in Lloyd Park revealed

The moat transformed overnight on Thursday in Lloyd Park,

Walthamstow and Waltham Forest council have said they are 'seeking solutions' to the problem which is also causing an intense methane smell.

In a leaflet entitled 'Why has the moat turned pink?' placed around the water's edge a council spokesperson says the conditions of the shady, non flowing water has meant the bacterium has been able to flourish.

The flyer reads: "We are seeking solutions for dealing with the bacteria and the bloom of green algae, which is also very apparent in the moat at the moment, however none of the solutions are inexpensive or quick to implement."

The naturally occurring bacterial bloom had alarmed one resident who thought the new colour was blood-like and alerted the park wardens.

A council spokeswoman issued a warning to park users who overfeed the ducks, linking excess methane gas produced by the birds, to the bacteria bloom.

She said: "We get methane gas in this area because people feed large amounts of food to the ducks, which sinks to the bottom and along with all their poo rots down.

"When geese feed, pulling up the weeds, the gases from this rotting process are released.

"We don't wish to prevent people from feeding the ducks, as many people love doing this, but we do ask that you feed them responsibly."



East London and West Essex Guardian Series:

# Blood red colour in Lloyd Park moat.

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# By Rosie Mercer Crimewatch Roadshow

- 2 July 2015
- From the section Magazine



Lisa Frankland's Vauxhall Corsa

A bizarre crime wave is sweeping one part of England - thieves are stripping down Vauxhall cars as their owners sleep. Hundreds of owners have fallen victim - but why?

One morning Lisa
Frankland woke to
discover the front of her
Vauxhall Corsa had

## vanished.

A neighbour knocked on her door and told her she should take a look. The bonnet, the bumper, the front lights and radiator had all been stolen.

"I just wasn't expecting it," says Frankland, 43, a midwife. "I didn't expect to go out and find the front of the car missing."

The day she discovered the theft, she had to cancel her shift at work 40 minutes drive away and the damage cost £5,000 to repair.



But though this crime was odd, it was far from rare. In and around Bedfordshire, where Frankland lives, owners of Vauxhalls have been waking to find their cars taken to pieces overnight.

Bedfordshire Police say there have been more 500

Lisa Frankland's Vauxhall Corsa Crimewatch Roadshow: How the crime is committed The thefts cost Lisa Frankland £5,000 in repairs Scene-of-crime officer Katy Stewart looks for clues on a Vauxhall

offences in which components have been stolen from Vauxhall

Astras and Corsas since August 2013.

The investigation into "Vauxhall cannibals" was carried out for broadcast on **Crimewatch Roadshow**, presented by Rav Wilding, which is broadcast at 09:15 BST every weekday morning on BBC One until 3 July

The thieves take body parts in varying quantities. Sometimes only the bumper and the number plate might be stolen. In other cases, the cars are stripped right down to the chassis.

In 150 cases the damage was too extensive for repairs to be economically viable.

At first, the thefts were sporadic, but recently they have picked up in pace. Since April 2015, five to 10 of these crimes have been recorded every week.

"I work out of Luton, Dunstable, area of Bedfordshire and we're seeing maybe one a day," says Katy Stewart, a scenes of crime officer with the force. Police say they are also aware of incidents in the neighbouring county of Northamptonshire.



Lisa Frankland's Vauxhall Corsa Crimewatch Roadshow: How the crime is committed The thefts cost Lisa Frankland £5,000 in repairs Scene-of-crime officer Katy Stewart looks for clues on a Vauxhall

The culprits generally choose cars in residential locations or at garage forecourts. The Vauxhalls are typically targeted between 02:00 and 04:00.

CCTV footage taken in April shows two men on a residential street casually and methodically stripping the front of a Corsa. When a neighbour's cat sets off a security light, the pair

"The limiting factor in this is how much they can physically carry away from the location," says Ch Insp Ian Middleton, who is leading the investigation.

The distinctiveness of the thefts raises the question of why exactly so many cars of one particular manufacturer have been targeted in this area.

carry on, apparently unperturbed.

It may be relevant that General Motors' Vauxhall plant is in Luton, where vehicles have been made since 1905

"As a consequence of that it's got a huge brand loyalty locally," says Middleton.

"There is a disproportionately high number of Vauxhalls owned within the
Bedfordshire area."

Officers suspect the components are being sold on to the body repair market. Typically, they are the kind of parts would need to be replaced in the event of an accident.



The thefts cost Lisa Frankland £5,000 in repairs

The value of those stolen so far runs to tens of thousands of pounds, and detectives believe the thieves are making big profits. The sheer number of thefts suggests that a large and organised criminal network is responsible.

Anyone who thinks they will be getting a bargain by

buying non-verified motor components is warned it could backfire.

"You might think you're getting a good deal and a cheap offer but bear in mind these people are unscrupulous and they won't hesitate to come back and revisit the places they've been sold to and you may well find yourself the next victim," says Middleton. He urged anyone who knows who is responsible for the thefts to come forward.

While the thefts appear odd, Middleton says it can be distressing for victims to find their cars stripped down and later written off.

Others who have found themselves targeted are simply baffled.

"Everyone said you must be really angry, really upset," says Frankland. "I was just shocked, really - I couldn't understand why they would do that."

Anyone with information is urged to call police on 101, or contact Crimestoppers anonymously on 0800 555 1110800 555 111 FREE.



Lisa Frankland's Vauxhall Corsa Crimewatch Roadshow: How the crime is committed The thefts cost Lisa Frankland £5,000 in repairs Scene-of-crime officer Katy Stewart looks for clues on a Vauxhall

The investigation into Vauxhall cannibals was shown on BBC One's Crimewatch Roadshow, on 1 July - you can catch up on BBC iPlayer

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Scene-of-crime officer Katy Stewart looks for clues on a Vauxhall

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# The Origin of the Tale that Gavrilo Princip Was Eating a Sandwich When He Assassinated Franz Ferdinand

smithsonianmag.com

The Origin of the Tale that Gavrilo Princip Was Eating a Sandwich When He Assassinated Franz Ferdinand

Was it really a lunch-hour coincidence that led to the death of the Archduke in Sarajevo in 1914—and, by extension, World War I?



By Mike Dash smithsonian.com September 15, 2011

It was the great flash point of the 20th century, an act that set off a chain reaction of calamity: two World Wars, 80 million deaths, the Russian Revolution, the rise of Hitler, the atomic bomb. Yet it might never have happened—we're now told— had Gavrilo Princip not got hungry for a sandwich.

We're talking the assassination of Archduke

Franz Ferdinand, of course—the murder that set the crumbling Austro-Hungarian Empire on a collision course with Serbia, and Europe down the slippery slope that led to the outbreak of the First World War a month after Princip pulled the trigger on June 28, 1914. More specifically, though, we're talking the version of events that's being taught in many schools today. It's an account that, while respectful of the significance of Franz Ferdinand's death, hooks pupils' attention by stressing a tiny, awe-inspiring detail: that if Princip had not stopped to eat a sandwich where he did, he would never have been in the right place to spot his target. No sandwich, no shooting. No shooting, no war.

It's a compelling story, and one that is told in serious books and on multiple websites. For the most part, it goes something like this:

Moritz Schiller's delicatessen on Franz Joseph Street, Sarajevo, shortly after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. The "X" marks the spot where Princip stood to fire into the Archduke's open limo.

It is the summer of 1914, and Bosnia has just become part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. A handful of young Bosnian-born Serbs decide to strike a blow for the integration of their people into a Greater Serbia by assassinating the heir to the Austrian throne. Their opportunity comes when it is announced that Franz Ferdinand will be making a state visit to the provincial capital, Sarajevo.

Armed with bombs and pistols supplied by Serbian military intelligence, seven conspirators position themselves at intervals along the archduke's route. The first



Soldiers arrest Gavrilo Prinzip, assassin of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. (Bettmann/CORBIS) (Bettmann/CORBIS) Archduke Ferdinand and his wife Sophie one hour before they would be shot a killed by Serb nationalist Gavrilo Princip as they drove through the streets of Sarajevo. (Bettmann/CORBIS) (Bettmann/CORBIS) n illustration in Le Paris Journal depicts the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinard and his wife in Sarajevo, 1914. (Leonard de Selva/Corbis) (Leonard de Selva/Corbis) The uniform of Franz Ferdinand drenched in blood. (dpa/Corbis) (dpa/Corbis) Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand lies in an open coffin beside his wife Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenburg, after their assassination. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS) (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS) Gavrilo Princip around age 16. (Wikicommons)

to strike is Nedeljko Cabrinovic, who lobs a hand grenade toward Franz Ferdinand's open touring car. But the grenade is an old one, with a 10-second fuse. It bounces off the limo and into the road, where it explodes under the next vehicle in the motorcade. Although several officers in that car are hurt, Franz Ferdinand remains capture, Cabrinovic drains a vial of cyanide and nearby river-but his suicide bid fails. The date, and the river is just four inches deep.

The bombing throws the rest of the day's plans into disarray. The motorcade is abandoned. Franz Ferdinand is hurried off to the town hall, where he is due to meet with state officials. Disconsolate, the remaining assassins disperse, their chance apparently gone. One of them, Gavrilo Princip, heads for Moritz Schiller's delicatessen, on Franz Joseph Street. It's one of Sarajevo's smartest shopping destinations, just a few yards from the bustling through road known as Appel Quay.

As Princip queues to buy a sandwich, Franz Ferdinand is leaving the town hall. When the heir gets back into his limousine, though, he decides on a change of plan—he'll call at the hospital to visit the men injured in the grenade blast.

There's just one problem: the archduke's chauffeur, a stranger to Sarajevo, gets lost. He swings off Appel Quay and into crowded Franz Joseph Street, then drifts to a stop right in front of Schiller's.

Princip looks up from his lunch to find his target sitting just a few feet away. He pulls his gun. Two shots ring out, and the first kills Franz Ferdinand's wife, Sophie. The second hits the heir in the neck, severing his jugular vein.

The archduke slumps back, mortally wounded. His security men hustle Princip away. Inside Schiller's deli, the most important sandwich in the history of the world lies half-eaten on a table.













As I say, the story of Gavrilo Princip's sandwich seems to be everywhere today—run an internet search for the phrase and you'll see what I mean.

There's the teacher who has asked his class, for extra credit, to find out what sort of sandwich the killer ordered. (Consensus answer: cheese.) There's the linguist's deconstruction. There's the art project—famous assassins' faces paired with their victims' on opposite sides of a sculpted toastie. And I first heard the tale from my daughter, who came home from school one day bursting to tell me the incredible new fact she'd just been taught in history class.

I was astonished by the story, too, though not because of the strangeness of the coincidence. It bothered me, because the details are new (you'll

> struggle to find a telling of the tale that dates to before 2003), and because it simply doesn't ring true. That's not because the modern version isn't broadly faithful to the facts; it's not even utterly implausible that Princip might have stopped off at Schiller's for a bite to eat. No, the problem is that the story is suspiciously neat-and that the sandwich is a quintessentially Anglo-American convenience food. The dish was named in the 1760s for John Montagu, the 4th Earl of Sandwich, who was in the habit of requesting his meat placed between two slices of toast so he could lunch at his desk. But it took time for the idea to cross the Channel, and I find it hard to believe the sandwich would have featured on a Bosnian menu as early as 1914.

> John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich: a hard-working naval administrator and inventor of the convenience food that bears his name.

Certainly there is nothing in the main



Soldiers arrest Gavrilo Prinzip, assassin of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Archduke Ferdinand and his wife Sophie one hour before they would be shot a killed by Serb nationalist Gavrilo Princip as they drove through the streets of Sarajevo. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/gavrilo-princips-sandwich-79480741/

n illustration in Le Paris Journal depicts the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinard and his wife in Sarajevo, 1914. (Leonard de Selva/Corbis)



The uniform of Franz Ferdinand drenched in blood. (dpa/Corbis)



Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand lies in an open coffin beside his wife Sophie, the Duchess of Hohenburg, after their assassination. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



Gavrilo Princip around age 16.

books on the assassination to suggest that Princip was eating anything when Franz Ferdinand appeared. Joachim Remak, writing in 1959, says the assassin waited outside Schiller's, where he spoke to a friend, but makes no mention of him lunching there. Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht, writing nine years later, makes the separate point that Schiller's delicatessen stood on the original route planned for Franz Ferdinand's motorcade; indeed, the chauffeur's fatal uncertainty was caused by the local governor, Oskar Potiorek, shouting at him from the passenger seat that he had should have stayed on Appel Quay. In other words, Princip was standing in precisely the right place to assassinate the archduke if the Franz Ferdinand had stuck to his plans, and so could hardly be said to be the beneficiary of some outlandish coincidence. And David James Smith, author of One Morning in Sarajevo, June 28 1914 (2008), the most recent booklength study of the assassination, notes that the murder took place at around 10.55 a.m.—rather early for lunch. Not one of these authors mentions Princip



(Wikicommons)

eating; none even seems to be aware of the version of the story being taught today.

We can take the investigation further than those printed sources, too, because when I first took an

interest in this problem, Gaius Trifkovic-a Bosnian First World War expert and member of

the staff at the Axis History Forum—was kind enough to go back to the original transcripts of Princip's trial for me. These were published in Serbo-Croat by Vojislav Bogicevic in 1954 as Sarajevski atentat: stenogram glavne rasprave protiv Gavrila Principa i drugova, odrzane u Sarajevu 1914. Trifkovic reports that:

Princip merely said he was present in the vicinity of the "Latin bridge" when the car came along (p.60). A certain Mihajlo Pusara who was talking to Princip just moments prior to the assassination also doesn't mention Princip eating (p. 258); the same with Smail Spahovic, guard who threw himself at Princip before he could fire the third shot (pp.277-8). Especially interesting for us is the affidavit of a certain Milan Drnic, who was at the time standing at Schiller's door (Schiller offered his wife a seat); he was standing "some 6 paces" from Princip and clearly saw him holding his Browning before emptying it at the archduke and duchess (p. 300). No sandwich here either.

It seems clear, then, that Princip didn't mention eating a sandwich June 28, 1914, and neither did any witness. Indeed, eating sandwiches is not a local custom in Sarajevo; a Serbian reader of the Axis History Forum chipped in to inform me that "this 'sandwich' theory is not plausible—even today, with sandwiches available in every street bakery, few Serbs would go for such option. It's either burek or pljeskavica." So where on earth did the idea come from?

My daughter provided the next lead. She had picked up her information from a TV documentary on the assassination made by Lion TV, a British production company, for a series known as "Days that Shook the World." I tracked down a copy of the program, and, sure enough, in following Princip and Cabrinovic from the hatching of their plot to their deaths in prison of tuberculosis, the script states (at 5:15): "Gavrilo Princip has just eaten a sandwich, and is now standing outside Schiller's delicatessen ... when suddenly the Archduke's car happens to turn into Franz Joseph Street. Completely by chance, fate has brought the assassin and his target within 10 feet of each other."

So is "Days That Shook the World" the source of the sandwich story? Probably. The documentary has circulated widely—it has been broadcast repeatedly ever since it was first shown in 2003, not only by the BBC in the U.K., but also by BBC America. It is also available for sale on DVD, which has helped to make it popular in schools. And every telling of the tale I could find in print or online appeared after the original broadcast date.

The writer and director of the "Days That Shook the World" documentary was Richard Bond, an experienced maker of quality historical programs. In an email, he recalled that while the research for the program was "incredibly meticulous" and involved consulting a variety of sources in several languages—"contemporaneous newspaper articles, original documents and out-of-print books containing eyewitness interviews"—he could no longer remember how he sourced the vital bit of information. "It's possible that 'sandwich' was a colloquial translation that appeared in these sources," he wrote.

As of last week, that's where the story rested. Let's note that Bond's documentary places less stress on Princip's sandwich than do later retellings, in which the element of coincidence has been stretched, then stretched again. And I can see that my own obsession with getting to

the bottom of the story may seem like nitpicking to some. After all, who cares why Princip came to be standing outside Schiller's deli, when all that matters is that he was in the right place at the right time to pull his gun?

Yet in one vital sense, the problem really is important. Amazing as it may seem, the sandwich story is in danger of becoming the accepted version of events in both the U.S. and the U.K. And by portraying the assassination of Franz Ferdinand as a piece of outrageous coincidence, the story of Gavrilo Princip's sandwich makes it seem far less important to think deeply about the killer and his companions, and about their motives and determination. Certainly no one who depends solely on the "Days That Shook the World" documentary will come away from it with a deeply nuanced understanding of what Serbian nationalists believed in 1914, or exactly why they thought the assassination of Franz Ferdinand was desirable or justifiable. But that knowledge is precisely what students need to understand the origins of the First World War.

#### Afterword

Ever since I started working on this story, I've been frustrated by my inability to trace it to a source that appeared before "Days That Shook The World" was first broadcast in 2003. Last week, however, I finally unearthed an earlier version. The source, if it is the source, is appropriately farcical, because it is not a work of history but a novel—indeed, not so much a novel as a burlesque. Titled Twelve Fingers, it was written by a Brazilian TV host named Jô Soares; its hero is born to "a Brazilian contortionist mother and a fanatically nationalist Serbian linotypist father" and blessed with an extra finger on each hand. These make him particularly dextrous, and so he trains as an assassin and finds himself sucked, Zelig-style, into many of the most important events of the last century. The book was such a success in the original Portuguese that it was translated into English and published in both the U.S. and the U.K. in 2001—predating the "Days That Shook the World" documentary by enough for the idea to have begun to leach into popular consciousness as the book was reviewed, read and discussed.

On page 31, Dimitri, the hapless hero of *Twelve Fingers*, encounters his friend Princip near the Appel Quay. Then, for the first time ever, we glimpse the Bosnian assassin in refueling mode:

When he arrives at the corner of the quay, across from Schiller's market, he bumps into a youth coming out of the market eating a sandwich. He recognizes him immediately. It's Gavrilo Princip. Feigning surprise, he says, "Gavrilo! It's been such a long time! What're you doing here?"

"I'm eating a sandwich."

"I can tell that. Don't treat me like a child."...

They fall silent, while Gavrilo finishes his sandwich and takes a grimy kerchief from his pocket to wipe his hands. When he opens his coat to put away the kerchief, Dimitri sees a Browning pistol tucked into the waistband....

The two go their separate ways, walking in opposite directions. Dimitri Borja Korozec returns to his ambush spot in the alley, waiting for Franz Ferdinand to continue with the rest of his schedule, and Gavrilo Princip goes to meet his destiny.

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Mike Dash is a contributing writer in history for Smithsonian.com. Before Smithsonian.com, Dash authored the award-winning blog A Blast From the Past.

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# The quietest corner of London

By Tom Hodgkinson 15 July 2015

bbc.com



The Charterhouse, London, England (Credit: Credit: Heritage Image Partnership Ltd/Alamy)

# The quietest corner of London

In London's bustling centre lies a centuries-old brotherhood, hidden from even most locals. For one day, Tom Hodgkinson lives like a member... and learns the one rule they must all

obey.

Four hundred years ago, a fabulously wealthy arms dealer and moneylender named Thomas Sutton was approaching death. As part of his legacy, he decided to convert his magnificent London home, itself a former Carthusian monastery founded in 1371, into an almshouse and school. He decreed that 80 impoverished gentlemen should be sheltered and fed there, and left a fortune equivalent to £200 million today to ensure his vision. The home became known as Sutton's Hospital at Charterhouse.

The beautiful 6.5-acre site, which includes medieval courtyards, a chapel, cloister and gardens, lies just behind an unassuming gate just a few metres from Smithfield Market in the heart of the hectic City of London. One well-known resident here was the author and libertine Simon Raven, who died in 2001; Elizabeth I spent a few days here in 1558 on her way to be crowned. And the property, though private, is open to the public for tours, which can be booked through its website. But even long-time Londoners are unaware of the site's existence.

Although the school closed in 1872, the home for men still exists. Today, 40 men – called "brothers" – quietly inhabit the Charterhouse. In order to be eligible, they must be at least 60 years of age, professional, unmarried, in good health, in financial need and in need of companionship. The needlest come first; while the organisation is Christian, attendance at chapel is not compulsory. When applying to join the community, the men are asked: "How would you cope with community

life?"

Recently, I spent a day at the Charterhouse. The atmosphere was half monastic and half donnish, and the overwhelming sense I got from the ever-bantering brothers was a sense of gratitude that they had found such a congenial place to retire. As former teacher Duncan Ellison, 71, put it: "I dreamed of this kind of life and the extraordinary thing is that it happened."

Former Church of England deacon and priest Brooke Kingsmill-Lunn, 83, said, "The structure here gives a rhythm to the day... One of the most common problems I saw as a parish priest was loneliness. That is not an issue here."

The day started at 8 am with voluntary morning prayers in the chapel, home to the ornate tomb of Sutton. Breakfast was served at 8:30 am, with a choice of a full English or toast and muesli.

After that was free time. The brothers might clean their flat, go for a walk, see the doctor or while the morning away in the gardens.

Formal lunch was served in the Great Hall at 1 pm: a jacket was required; most brothers wore a tie. We stood by our chairs at the long tables while a bell was rung, grace read and Sutton thanked. Pasta was followed by apple crumble. Some brothers paired their meal with half a pint of ale. The atmosphere was cheerful and chatty.

When I asked if any of them did paid work, I was told that one recent brother had. "There is nothing to stop you working. It's not against the rules," one of the men said. Instead, I learned, there is really just one rule: "You must get on with people."

So, I asked, is the motto here "live and let live"?

"More 'live and let die'," quipped the well-fed and sardonic brother to my left, a retired priest called John Cooper.

Their attitude to death was pretty cheerful. I was told that the top row of mail pigeonholes, allocated to the longest-serving brothers, was called "death row". I heard Charterhouse called "the waiting room", while the infirmary was known as "the departure lounge". As brother Dudley Green put it, "When a brother dies, we miss them. But it is a comfort to know that they have been well taken care of."

After lunch there was more free time. One group near the infirmary were having a singing lesson. Two brothers came in from a lunchtime pint at the pub. Others ambled off to write letters or to have a nap.

In the company of brother Phil Stewart, I strolled through the beautiful gardens, passing through an idyllic scene of pink foxgloves, monkshood, lilies, pink and yellow roses, lavender and purple alliums. The hum of London traffic could be heard, but seemed very far away.

"I have found happiness here. It is heaven on Earth," said Stewart, 68, an American who spent his adult life in Chicago working as a hotel piano player.

Evening prayer was at 5:30 pm, followed by dinner, an informal buffet, at 6:30 pm. Afterwards the brothers went out to concerts, the pub, watched television in their rooms, played bridge or attended a poetry reading group.

In the next few years, the Charterhouse may get busier: a museum outlining its remarkable story is planned to open in the autumn of next 2016 and there are plans to create accommodation for 10 more brothers. Yet it's likely that this will remain the quietest corner of London – and a haven of conviviality and civilisation. If my wife leaves me and my businesses collapse, I know what to do.

This story is a part of BBC Britain – a new series and website focused on exploring this extraordinary island, one story at a time. Follow us on Facebook and Twitter.

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#### By The Vocabularist Words unpicked

14 July 2015



The fearsome Jean-Paul Marat was the best-known member of the Committee of Surveillance.

Security experts are reporting on the government's surveillance effort. The word came into English at the time of the French revolution, writes Trevor Timpson.

Surveillance is a very French word - both halves of it developed in a characteristically French way, from the Latin super (over) and vigilantia (watchfulness).

In fact for a long time after it caught on in English at the end of the 18th Century it was one of those French terms which was kept in the original because it evoked France so well - like Crêpe Suzette or Arc de Triomphe.

To begin with it was usually marked as a foreign word, in italics, or with an explanatory translation added.

To many English-speakers it denoted a sinister revolutionary climate of spying, guarding, denunciations and night searches - when, Dickens wrote, suspicion "delivered over any good and innocent person to any bad and guilty one" and "every town-gate and village taxing-house had its band of citizen-patriots with their national muskets".



GCHQ listening post in Cornwall. The global surveillance industry includes

France's first Comite de Surveillance was set up in 1792, at first to keep watch over suspicious strangers, then to recommend suspects for arrest. Local surveillance committees were started all over the country.

During the reign of terror, said the historian Thiers: "As the prisons had been just cleared by death, the Committee of schemes with names such as "shell trumpet" and "boundless informant". Surveillance began to fill them again by issuing fresh orders of arrest."

Its most famous member was the fearsome Jean-Paul Marat, who told the French "Five or six hundred heads cut off would have assured your happiness" and rebuked them for "false humanity".

The French flavour of surveillance has been lost - although for some the practice of the authorities in scooping up the messages of "whole populations" means it still sounds sinister to some.

But the veillance (vigilantia) part of it is related to a wide range of very respectable words meaning unsleeping, attentive, active or lively.

It is one of those words which experts trace back to the common roots of most European languages - related not only to Latin words like vigil and vigour but also ones from Anglo-Saxon, like awake and watchful.

It is a cousin of "vegetable" - which originally denoted a plant as something "having life". "Vegetus" in Latin meant "lively" - the opposite of what "vegetative" means today.

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# The Story of the Ghost of White Lady of Durand Eastman Park

about.com

### By Stephen Wagner



- The Cabinet.com

Question: The White Lady Of Durand Eastman Park

"I'm sending this note to you to ask you if you would have any information on the The White Lady of Durand Eastman Park in Rochester, New York," writes Tony M. "I live not too far from there and it's always been an interest to me about the history of her. If there's any information that you could share it would be deeply

appreciated."

Answer: Tony, here's what I've been able to find out.

According to legend, the ghost of The White Lady can be seen on foggy evenings in Durand Eastman Park. Her story dates back to the early 1800s when this unnamed woman lived on that land with her daughter. When the daughter mysteriously disappeared, the woman was convinced that she was abducted, assaulted and murdered by a neighboring farmer. She was unable to prove the crime, but searched in vain for her daughter with the aid of her German shepherd dogs until her despondency drove her to suicide: she threw herself off a cliff into Lake Ontario.

Now her ghost, seen as The White Lady, still roams the area, still searching for her poor, lost daughter. Sometimes the dogs are seen accompanying her. Hers is no friendly ghost, however -- especially where men are concerned. Some accounts have her chasing men into the lake, violently shaking their cars, or just scaring them out of the park.

There also seems to be a connection to the ruins of a hotel, the foundation of which can still be seen in the park.

It's known as "White Lady's Castle."

There does not seem to be any documentation for this story, so it might be just one of those local legends. However, people do claim to see her. "I lived in Farmingdale, New York and witnessed the lady in white after walking home at 12:30 a.m.," says Maggie. "This occurred on August 11, 1996. I was walking down Alexander Avenue when I noticed a dense white cloud lowering down from a tree. The dense cloud dispersed and formed into a white lady with long white hair and long white gown. She was floating and I could not see anything below her knees. She was also transparent. She looked at me, moved her left hand toward me, then turned, floated across a front lawn, and started to make a digging motion as if she had a shovel in her hand. Then she would briefly stop and look at me, then make the same motion again. The pattern continued until she eventually faded."

Sources: White Lady, from American Folklore; The Lady in White, from The Cabinet.com.

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## The Entertaining Saga of the Worst Crook in Colonial America

smithsonianmag.com

## Stephen Burroughs was a thief, a counterfeiter and a convicted criminal. A rare piece of his fake currency is in the collections



c358-4411-951a-60dbbe7f62c1/p24counterfeitbilljn20143518web.jpg\_\_800x6 the internet. alt=""itemprop="image">

By Ernest B. Furgurson smithsonian.com July 27, 2015

For every hero in American history, there must be a hundred scoundrels—con men. Ponzi schemers, cat burglars, greedy gigolos, jewel thieves, loan sharks, phony doctors, phony charities, phony preachers, body snatchers, bootleggers, blackmailers, cattle rustlers, money launderers, smash-andgrabbers, forgers, swindlers, pickpockets, flimflam artists, stickup specialists and at src="http://thumbs.media.smithsonianmag.com//filer/5b/64/5bé least one goat-gland purveyor, not to mention all the high-tech varieties made possible by

Most of these vandals have been specialists who stuck to a single line of skullduggery until they got caught, retired or died. Some liked to brag to admirers about their enterprises, and a tiny few dared to write and publish books about them; Willie Sutton, for example, the Tommy Gun-wielding "Slick Willie" who heisted some \$2 million robbing banks back in the first half of the last century (when that was a lot of money), wrote Where the Money Was: The Memoirs of a Bank Robber in 1976. There was Xaviera Hollander, the Park Avenue madam whose memoir, The Happy Hooker, inspired a series of Hollywood movies and helped encourage the sexual frankness of recent decades.

Occasionally, one of these memoirists tells of diversifying, spreading out, trying this dodge if that one doesn't work. Sutton's lesser known contemporary, Frank Abagnale, who was portrayed in the movie Catch Me If You Can, wrote of bilking wealthy innocents of some \$2.5 million by posing as a lawyer, teacher, doctor and airline pilot before going straight. Other such confessors are hiding in the archives.

But there has been only one Stephen Burroughs, a poseur whose life would make a fabulous movie if today's audiences were as interested in early American history as in robotic space monsters. His exploits began during the Revolutionary War when he ran off to join—then depart—the Continental Army three times at the age of 14. By the time he was 33, he had lived and misbehaved vigorously enough to make up the first version of his autobiography. So far, Memoirs of the Notorious Stephen Burroughs false has been published with slightly differing titles in more than 30 editions over a span of more than 216 years.

The New England poet Robert Frost wrote that Burroughs's book should stand on the shelf beside the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. To Frost, Franklin's volume was "a reminder of what we have been as a young nation," while Burroughs "comes in reassuringly when there is a question of our not unprincipled wickedness...sophisticated wickedness, the kind that knows its grounds and can twinkle...Could we have been expected to produce so fine a flower in a pioneer state?"



(NMAH, from the Memoirs of the Notorious Stephen Burroughs, 1835) (NMAH, From the Memoirs of the Notorious Stephen Burroughs, 1835) American Enterprise: A History of Business in America Memoirs Of The Notorious Stephen Burroughs Of New Hampshire

Harper's Magazine once described Stephen Burroughs as "a gentleman who at times came in somewhat violent contact with the laws of his country."

"Sophisticated wickedness that can twinkle" sounds like a review of one of Shakespeare's greatest hits, his sublime caricatures of English nobility. But in Burroughs we find no nobility, only 378 or so flowing pages by the only son of a harsh Presbyterian preacher in a colonial New England village; a memoirist who lived his adventures before he wrote about them with such jolly sophistication. Or at least he said he did.

Stephen Burroughs was born in 1765 in Connecticut, and moved as a child to Hanover, New Hampshire. At home and briefly away at school, he earned and proudly wore a reputation as an incorrigible child, stealing watermelons, upsetting outhouses, restlessly looking for trouble.

He explained his boyhood thus: "My thirst for amusement was insatiable...I sought it in pestering others...I became the terror of the people where I lived, and all were very unanimous in declaring that Stephen Burroughs was the worst boy in town; and those who could get him whipt were most worthy of esteem...however, the repeated application of this birchen medicine never cured my pursuit of fun."

Indeed, that attitude explained most of Burroughs's imaginative career.

When he was 16, his father enrolled him at nearby Dartmouth College, but that didn't last long—after another prank involving watermelons, he was sent home. Young Burroughs proved that schooling was not necessary for a quick-witted young man zipping between gullible New England communities so nimbly that primitive communications couldn't keep up with him.

At 17, he decided to go to sea. Venturing to Newburyport, Massachusetts, he went aboard a privateer, a private vessel authorized to prey on enemy shipping. Having no pertinent skills, he picked the brain of an elderly medicine man before talking himself aboard as the ship's doctor. This produced a dramatic account of surgery amid storms, battling a British gunship and later being jailed for improperly issuing wine to the crew, a series of adventures that

would strain even Horatio Hornblower.

The historian Larry Cebula recalls two unacquainted travelers sharing a coach in 1790 New England when one of them, a Boston lawyer, discoursed about a famed confidence man named Burroughs. This Burroughs, he said, had "led a course of the most barefaced and horrid crimes of any man living, including stealing, counterfeiting, robbing and adultery, escaping prison, burning the prison and killing guards." He did not realize that the fellow listening quietly to all this was Stephen Burroughs himself, who by then, at the age of 25, had a log of misdeeds stretching well beyond the lawyer's account.



(NMAH, From the Memoirs of the Notorious Stephen Burroughs, 1835)

Burroughs's life can barely hint at the richness of his memoirs, which scholars accept as mostly, or at least partly, true.

A hundred years after Burroughs first tried to become a boy soldier, Harper's Magazine described him as "a gentleman who at times came in somewhat violent contact with the laws of his country." Yes: after his seafaring adventure, he snitched some of his father's sermons and headed out pretending to be a preacher; he got away with it until the congregation caught on and chased him out of town. Skipping from village to village, he briefly occupied pulpit after pulpit.

When that career dwindled, he branched into counterfeiting. Printing phony money was a popular crime in those days, before common currency was established, and Burroughs was a master. The National Museum of American History in its new exhibition *American Enterprise*, displays a prime example of his art—a \$1 certificate on the Union Bank of Boston, dated 1807, signed by Burroughs as cashier, and later stamped COUNTERFEIT.

Artful but not quite perfect, he was caught and jailed, but broke out and moved on, becoming a schoolteacher. Convicted of seducing a teenage student, he was sentenced to the public whipping post. He escaped again and took his tutorial talents to Long Island, where he helped organize one of the nation's first public libraries. After failing at land speculation in Georgia, he returned north and settled across the border in Quebec, nominally a farmer but still counterfeiting till he was caught and convicted yet again. But there he settled down, converting to Catholicism and living as a mostly respectable citizen until he died in 1840.

This race through some of the high/low spots of Burroughs's life can barely hint at the richness of his memoirs, which scholars accept as mostly, or at least partly, true. Whatever their factual percentage, they remain an affectionate, sometimes hilarious, extremely readable meander voyage through provincial life in the brand-new republic.

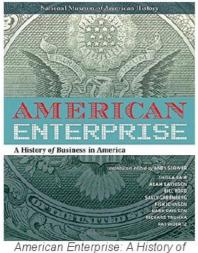
The permanent exhibition "American Enterprise" opened on July 1 at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. and traces the development of the

United States from a small dependent agricultural nation to one of the world's largest economies.

Memoirs Of The

Notorious Stephen

**Burroughs Of New** 





Ernest B. Furgurson is the author of Freedom Rising: Washington in the Civil War and Ashes of Glory: Richmond at War, plus other books about war and politics.

American Enterprise: A History of Business in America

Memoirs Of The Notorious Stephen Burroughs Of New Hampshire

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#### Man struggles to get tax refund after his wife dies

By Cameron Saucier, Times Staff Writer Man struggles to get tax refund after his wife dies 07/02/15 [Last modified: Thursday, July 2, 2015 10:21pm] Photo reprints | Article reprints

tampabay.com



Steven Sweeney, 54, hugs his daughter, Amber Sweeney, 28, as he cries and talks about how much he misses his wife, Muriel, who died in March. He says he "I'm fixing to lose everything," he may lose everything if he cannot get the IRS to reissue a tax refund.

Steven Sweeney is desperate. • The 54-year-old grandfather lost his job and his workman's compensation. His wife died in March. Now, he fears he is about to lose his home and car, won't be able to feed his 3-year-old grandchild or take care of a mentally disabled daughter. His only financial support comes from his other daughter, an assistant at a home for those with mental disabilities.

said.



Steven Sweenev and his wife. Muriel, shown here on their wedding day in 1987. Muriel died in March of chronic asthma and cystic fibrosis.

All his hopes rest on his dead wife's tax refund check from the Internal Revenue Service.

He needs that \$1,859 refund — now. But the check was issued in her name, and he can't cash

Sweeney thought he did everything right. He went straight to tax preparation company H&R Block twice. He filled out the paperwork to have his wife's check reissued in his name. But his perseverance has been met with failure — and a visit from a team of IRS special agents and police officers.

"I was going to collapse right there," he said. "All I could picture was my kids by themselves and me

in federal prison."

For eight weeks, Sweeney has been negotiating with the IRS.

Although he worked closely with a tax adviser at H&R Block, he said the IRS messed up his request for his wife's tax refund check three times.

Sweeney's tax adviser from H&R Block declined to comment because of privacy concerns but did confirm his difficulties getting the tax refund. IRS officials did not respond to a request for comment.

Twice, the IRS sent the check in his wife's name, despite Sweeney filling out the appropriate form to have the check issued in his name.



Steven Sweeney, 54, lost his job as a welder in February and cannot work while he is recovering from knee surgery. When he lost his job, his wife was in hospice. &#65279:

"Why would they put a deceased woman's name on a check?" said Jillian Sweeney, his 25-year-old daughter.

On June 23, Sweeney went to the St. Petersburg IRS office in his third attempt to get the check issue straightened out.

After waiting two hours, Sweeney said he was told the check would not arrive for another nine to 10 weeks. Sweeney said he frowned at the service agent then turned around in line

At that point, Sweeney said, a man

standing in line next to him said, "You know, she threw your form in the trash when you walked away."

Angry, Sweeney left the office.

Reaching the parking lot, Sweeney said, "Now, I know why people shoot up places like this."

Hours later, IRS special agents and police officers swarmed outside his home near downtown St. Petersburg, according to a police report. Sweeney explained to the agents that he was frustrated and didn't want his remark to be taken literally. They left without arresting him.

Sweeney had been working as a welder but lost his job in February. He can't work while recovering from a knee injury and is awaiting the outcome of a suit to have his workman's compensation restored.

When he lost his job, he said his wife of 28 years was in hospice.

She died of chronic asthma and cystic fibrosis, a battle she fought for her whole life.

"After she died, I was going to do myself in. I loved her so much," he said as he pointed to a bottle of painkillers, which his daughter, Jillian, had emptied out.

Sweeney said his two daughters and grandchild gave him the strength he needed to endure after his wife's death. But for a man who can't seem to get a break, it has been no easy task.

"It's been getting tough, he finally sees how much my mom really did do," Jillian Sweeney said.

He said his wife typically did their taxes, while he focused on his day job. Since her death, he has assumed new responsibilities.

"All my girls need me," he said. "I hope the IRS gets my check back before it's too late."

Cameron Saucier can be reached at csaucier@tampabay.com

#### © 2015 Tampa Bay Times

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July 27, 2015 by Michael Kleen

Though tales of witchcraft are rare in the American Heartland, nearly every state has a remote, rural cemetery in which a witch is said to be buried. In the distant past, legends say, a recluse or eccentric woman was put to death for practicing magic and the community tried to cover it up. To this day, local teens test their courage in nighttime treks to these "witch graves," hoping to catch a glimpse of the incredible. Mysterious Heartland has researched many of these tales. Which one will prove to be the most compelling of them all?

#### 10. The Smith Grave

Kirtland Hills, Ohio

A stone memorial sits along Hart Road near the intersection of Hart and Baldwin roads, northeast of Cleveland in the scattered rural community of Kirtland Hills. Locals whisper that if you face the memorial, turn your back to it, then turn to face it again, it will move closer. This memorial, surrounded by a low stone wall, contains the remains of the Levi Smith family, early settlers of the area who migrated from Derby, Connecticut in 1814. Levi's wife, Ruth, died in 1818 and Levi died in 1820. Some claim Levi Smith helped bring Mormonism to the area, but Joseph Smith, founder of Mormonism, was only 15 years old when Levi died. He did not publish the Book of Mormon until 1830. Another popular legend is that Levi and Ruth were witches who had been driven out of Connecticut, which was a hotbed of witch persecutions. The problem with this theory is that the last witch trials in Connecticut (and in New England) took place in the late 1690s. These facts have not prevented the legend of the Kirtland witch's grave from spreading, and each year brings a fresh batch of curiosity seekers to this isolated stretch of road.

#### 9. Chesterville Witch's Grave

Chesterville, Illinois



Chesterville\_Witch

Chesterville is a small Amish and Mennonite community that consists of no more than a few dozen houses located a couple of miles away from Rockome gardens. Within the neatly trimmed grounds of Chesterville Cemetery, an old oak tree stands at the edge of the woods that separates the graveyard from the river. The peculiar thing about this tree is the iron fence that surrounds it, and the old stone marker that no longer bears a name. According to Troy Taylor, this is the grave of a woman who turned up dead after being accused of witchcraft in the early 1900s after she challenged the conservative

views of the local Amish church elders. The town planted a tree over her grave to trap her spirit inside and prevent her from taking revenge. Her ghost can still be seen from time to time hanging around the area. In 2014, this legend was featured in episode one of *An Amish Haunting*.

#### 8. Bertha's Grave in Lakeside Cemetery

#### Itasca County, Minnesota

Located at the southern tip of Trout Lake off Crooked Road, just north of Trout Lake Road, the tiny rural graveyard of Lakeside Cemetery is just a collection of scattered headstones, at least to the casual observer. According to local legend, however, it is home to the grave of a notorious witch named Bertha. Bertha Maynard was born on January 26, 1872 and died January 27, 1910, exactly one day after her 38th birthday. Not much is known about her life, but the legend has been around for many decades. Bertha's grave sits alone at the bottom of the hill, because her family did not want it to be moved with the others when they were relocated due to concerns over flooding. Due to frequent vandalism, however, her headstone disappeared for seven years until it was replaced at the request of the family. This led to rumors that her headstone moved around and became invisible on Halloween. Bertha's ghost has also allegedly been seen lurking in the cemetery.

#### 7. Aurora Witch's Grave

#### Aurora, Nebraska



Aurora\_Witchs\_Grave

Aurora Cemetery is a square, garden-like cemetery at the southwest corner of Route 14 and West 14 Road, north of Aurora in central Nebraska. The grave of Susan A. Gavan sits in the northwest corner of the cemetery, surrounded by iron posts that formerly held up heavy chains. Historically, Susan died in 1882 at the age of 40 and was buried with her 7-month-old daughter, May. Oddly, her husband and she were married on Halloween in 1861. Every Halloween, on their wedding anniversary, local teens venture out to her grave and dare each other to step on it. Susan, they say, was a witch who put a curse

on the town before she was executed. Anyone who steps on her grave will either die within nine years, or by the age of 21. In reality, however, Susan was a respected woman. Her obituary read, "the community realizes that from our midst in life has gone an estimable lady, and extends heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved family." That has not stopped generations of local children from making nighttime journeys to the infamous Nebraska "witch's grave."

#### 6. The St. Omer Witch's Grave

#### Ashmore, Illinois



St. Omer Cemetery is home to an unusual family monument that some say looks like a crystal ball on top a pyre. According to local lore, Caroline Barnes, one of four people buried under the massive stone, was put to death for practicing witchcraft. It is said that no pictures can be taken of her monument, and that it glows on moonless nights. The only evidence for the legend seems to be the gravestone's dramatic design, the way local citizens grow nervous whenever the story is mentioned, and most strikingly, Caroline's impossible date of

St\_Omer

death chiseled in the granite: February 31. The monument also faces north and south, while most headstones are oriented east-west. There is no historical or documentary evidence supporting the notion that Caroline Barnes was accused of witchcraft, but never-the-less, the legend has persisted.

#### 5. Mary Jane's Grave

#### Middletown, Minnesota

Deep in the swampy woods north of Spirit Lake and the Minnesota-Iowa border, lies Loon Lake Cemetery. Now abandoned, fewer than 18 of the original 67 headstones remain. According to legend, in 1881 the townspeople of the nearby village of Petersburg accused an 18-year-old girl named Mary Jane Terwileger (sometimes simply known as Mary Jane) of being a witch and beheaded her. She was buried on a hill in Loon Lake Cemetery. Their troubles with witches did not stop there, however, and they saw fit to execute two more young women in subsequent years. The graves of these women became something of a local tourist attraction, so their headstones were removed to protect them from vandals. Unfortunately, the exact location of Mary Jane's grave has been forgotten, and legend says that anyone who walks across it will die within 72 hours. According to one account, "This was perpetuated by reports of a young man who walked over the grave while hunting in the area. On the way home, a heavy fog ascended, and after he pulled his car over, he suffered carbon monoxide poisoning." The cemetery is believed to be haunted by other anguished spirits as well.

#### 4. Felix's Grave

#### St. Joseph, Missouri



Lone\_Grave

Felix-Liliger Cemetery sits on a hill surrounded by an old weatherbeaten wrought iron fence, deep in the Sun Bridge Conservation Area. Named after the Kansa Indian belief that they ascend to the afterlife on a sun bridge, the Conservation Area runs along the Missouri River north of St. Joseph, Missouri. There are perhaps a dozen headstones in the tiny graveyard. Over the years, many visitors have travelled to this remote location to find "Felix's Grave." There are many different stories about Felix. Some say he murdered his family, or that he died in a car accident and his body was never recovered.

According to another legend, a witch was hung in an old oak tree in the cemetery and buried beneath it. Her headstone, which warns "here I lie, cross this grave and you'll surely die," allegedly glows at night. The cemetery has suffered vandalism in the past. In 1980, Elizabeth Liliger's grave was dug up, and only some pieces of the coffin were ever recovered.

### 3. Molly's Grave

#### St. Charles, Missouri

Since the 1960s and '70s, a legend has circulated high schools in the St. Charles area about a witch named Molly Crenshaw. Molly, it is said, was a freed Jamaican or Haitian practitioner



Molly\_Crenshaw

of Voodoo who lived in the 1800s. Her charms were occasionally sought after, but after one particularly nasty drought or long winter, the locals turned against her and executed her. In order to prevent her from rising from the grave, they chopped her body into pieces and buried the pieces in the woods around a remote cemetery. It wasn't enough. Year after year, the pieces crawl closer together. Anyone who successfully locates Molly's grave will meet a gruesome end. According to a local English teacher at Francis Howell High School, "There was a story about two football players who went looking for the

grave in the 1950s. They found it and tried to take the tombstone. They met with an untimely end. The sheriff's deputies found their bodies impaled on the graveyard fence." As far as local historians are concerned, there is no basis for the legend. Mollie Crenshaw did exist, but she was neither Jamaican nor Haitian, and she died in 1913 after swallowing carbolic acid. That has not prevented Molly Crenshaw from becoming one of the most popular and enduring legends in St. Charles County. Crenshaw's surviving relatives removed her gravestone in 1979 to prevent further damage, but every year hundreds of thrill seekers still search for it.

#### 2. Pere Cheney Witch's Grave

Rural Crawford County, Michigan



Pere\_Cheney

Now a ghost town, the village of Pere Cheney in north-central Michigan has a tragic history. Perhaps that is why its cemetery, which contains the graves of around 90 persons, is rumored to be home to a witch's grave, as well as many supernatural occurrences. Pere Cheney was originally settled in 1874 by lumberjacks, who believed the site of George M. Cheney's sawmill was an ideal location to set down roots. In 1881, its population was 922. Just a few years later, however, diphtheria swept through the area and many children died. As the community tried to recover, a fire broke out, and in 1893 there

was an outbreak of smallpox, scarlet fever, and diphtheria. Diphtheria, a bacterial infection that mainly affects children, struck again in 1906. By 1818, only 18 residents remained in Pere Cheney, and the village was soon completely abandoned. According to legend, people from surrounding communities deliberately set fire to Pere Cheney to prevent the spread of disease. Others say that the epidemics and fires were caused by a witch who cursed the land after her neighbors banished her to the surrounding wilderness. She was later hung from a tree in the cemetery and her body was burned. To this day, some visitors claim to see her ghost in Cheney Cemetery.

#### 1. Bloody Mary's Grave

Vernon, Indiana

Tiny Baldwin Cemetery sits in the woods at the end of a drive off South County Road 25 W (Tunnel Mill Road), south of Vernon, Indiana. It is flanked on two sides by an exaggerated meander in the Muscatatuck River. For generations, local residents have searched for the grave of a woman named Mary Smith or Mary Crist, located somewhere in Baldwin



Witch1

Cemetery. The legend is so popular that every year the Jennings County Historical Society and Jennings County High School Drama Club include a vignette about Mary during their annual ghost walk. There are many stories about Mary, including one account claiming she was a witch who was hanged from the branches of a large tree in the cemetery and then buried beneath it. In 2003, a woman claimed to use a dowsing rod to locate Mary's grave beneath a large tree. According to the Jennings County Historical Society, Mary and her sister Gladys lived alone on a farm in the 1830s. One night, an

unidentified assailant raped and murdered Mary and escaped into the darkness. Months after her burial, a drunken man was staggering through the cemetery when he tripped and fell over her grave. The ghost of Mary appeared wearing a bloody nightgown, and the man fled in terror. Many also believe that if you step on Mary's grave, blood will gush from the ground.

#### Comments

1. PigLove says: July 27, 2015 at 7:30 am

So very cool! XOXO - Bacon

2. Renae Rude - The Paranormalist says: July 28, 2015 at 4:14 pm

Is #2 supposed to say Rural Crawford County, MICHIGAN? (Rather than Minnesota, I mean.)

Otherwise great article.

Michael Kleen says:
 July 28, 2015 at 4:54 pm

It's Minnesota. Thanks for the heads up!

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# Satanic Temple looking for new home for Baphomet statue after Oklahoma Court's ruling

kfor.com

Posted 10:59 am, July 2, 2015, by KFOR-TV & K. Querry



OKLAHOMA CITY – After the decision by the Oklahoma Supreme Court to remove the Ten Commandments Monument outside the state Capitol, the Satanic Temple is now looking for another home for its Baphomet monument.

In 2012, Rep. Mike Ritze paid for the installation of a Ten Commandments Monument at the Oklahoma State Capitol's front lawn.

Since he paid for the Commandments himself, it was classified as a donation and was allowed to be placed on government property.

After the Ten Commandments Monument was placed at the Oklahoma Capitol, the Satanic Temple announced that it wanted to donate a public monument to "complement and contrast" the monument on the grounds.

The proposed Baphomet monument features the devil in goat form.

"We decided to go with that because it is a fairly traditional character," said Lucien Greaves, with The Satanic Temple. "It also offers a lap that visitors can come to sit on, have their picture taken with."

When the Ten Commandments Monument was destroyed last year, the Satanic Temple said it would stop its plans of building a statue if the monument was not rebuilt.

Rep. Ritze decided to replace the monument, which meant the Satanic Temple would continue to fight for placement at the Capitol.

Earlier this week, the Oklahoma Supreme Court ruled that the Ten Commandments Monument must be removed from the state Capitol.

Since it will no longer be in place, the Satanic Temple is now forced to look for a

new home for Baphomet.

"The entire point of our effort was to offer a monument that would complement and contrast the Ten Commandments, reaffirming that we live in a nation that respects plurality, a nation that refuses to allow a single viewpoint to co-opt the power and authority of government institutions," Greaves told the Washington Post. "Given the Court's ruling, TST no longer has any interest in pursuing placement of the Baphomet monument on Oklahoma's Capitol grounds."

Greaves say they are hoping to install the statue in Arkansas, where the legislature approved a privately funded monument of the Ten Commandments at the state's Capitol.



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### Van carrying fireworks goes up in flames - CNN.com

by Andreas Preuss, CNN 2015-07-03T07:24:31Z cnn.com



Jay Rutherford of the band Los Colognes posted a photo of a van that California authorities say was transporting fireworks.

(CNN)A van carrying fireworks erupted into flames along a main highway between Los Angeles and Las Vegas.

The white van transporting fireworks caught fire on the shoulder of Interstate 15 near the Nevada state line, the California Highway Patrol in Barstow said.

The incident Thursday afternoon briefly closed all southbound I-15 lanes and slowed traffic to a crawl.

As weather heats up, so does

#### fireworks danger

Jay Rutherford of the Nashville-based band Los Colognes posted a picture of the burned out van on Instagram. The group was traveling from Las Vegas to Los Angeles for a concert.

"Sometimes you eat the bar and sometimes the bar eats you ... The road can kill ya," he posted.

The driver of the van reportedly fled the scene and has not been found. It's unclear what type of fireworks were in the van.

Cal Fire says illegal fireworks include bottle rockets, roman candles and "other types that explode, go into the air, or move on the ground in an uncontrollable manner."

The agency has issued a warning related to the ongoing California drought and the threat of wildfires started by fireworks.

Officials are urging those celebrating July 4th to attend public firework displays.

CNN's Ben Brumfield contributed to this report

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XXIX. Some Account of a Sheep, shewed alive to the Royal Society, in November 1754, having a monstrous Horn growing from his Throat; the stuffed Skin of which, with the Horn in situ, is now in the Museum of the Society. By James Parsons, M. D. and F. R. S.

Read May 1, HIS animal was bred in Devonappearing at its birth in much the fame proportion as at present. The novelty of the thing made the farmer spare the life of the lamb, and bring it up till it grew to the fize of a well-grown sheep, pretty large of its kind, and about three or four years old. When it was brought before the Society, I remember the owner faid, the horn weighed then twentyfix pounds; and the creature fwung it about, and raised it up with amazing strength. When he was fed, he moved forwards, letting the horn drag between his fore-legs, whereby he was enabled to lay his nose to the ground; for the skin, by which it hung, is flexible, and though reduced to a neck, with respect to the circumference of the horn, yet it was hollow as well as flexible, leaving an open passage from the slesh of the neck to the cavity of the horn, and its contents. Sometimes the horn would come into fach positions, as to twist the skin, which gave the sheep great uneafiness; but, from necessity, he knew how to relieve himself, and from cuftom

# [ 184 ]

custom became ready at that, as well as bringing it between his legs to favour his feeding.

That he was a well-grown sheep, appears from

the following dimensions:

He was four feet fix inches in length, from the nose to the setting on of the tail; which tail was but fix inches long; and the size and weight of the horn was so great in proportion to the animal, that nothing but his having been accustomed to move, and carry it about from his birth, can account for the great power he shewed in his manner of command-

ing it in every attitude.

Nature is ever bufy in supporting herself: when a preternatural weight was to be carried about, the muscles of the neck had acquired a more than natural strength and robustness to answer it; for it was very remarkable, that this creature elevated his head upon any occasion, with as much seeming ease, as if no weight had been fuspended to his neck; although, joined to fo great a weight as twenty-fix pounds avoirdupoize, the enormous fize of the horn must make it very unwieldy and cumbersome, being in length along the convex or anterior furface two feet feven inches; and on the concave fide two feet one inch; its greatest circumference two feet two inches, middle circumference one foot fix inches; and near the apex one foot; and its weight is now fifteen pounds, though emptied of its contents.

It is faid, that the sheep in Devonshire have their natural horns of the shape of this preternatural one; whereas they are curled in those of other counties. Now this animal had in the natural places no horns, but only two horny stumps, projecting no more than

half

half a walnut-shell laid upon a flat surface, with the convex side upwards; for the horny particles, which, according to nature, ought to have had their secretion to produce horns in the usual places, were determined to this monstrous one perpetually, in the manner, which I have already attempted to explain, in the chapter of the analogy between the sluids of animals and vegetables, of my late treatise, intituled, Philosophical observations upon the analogy between the

propagation of animals and vegetables, &c.

It is faid by the person, who brought the stuffed skin of this sheep to the Society last Thursday, that upon opening him there was found, in the top of the horn next the throat, which is hollow half-way down, a skull of a contracted round form, with blood-vessels running upon it, and a bag filled with grumous blood, among which was a substance like a sheep's liver and lungs; and a perfect sound kidney, like that of a fresh loin of mutton. And this is attested by the names of three house-keepers of credit, who were present when the animal was opened, and who, if required, are ready to make oath of it.

If this be true, the case of this sheep is of the same nature with those of the cow, which was shewed in the museum, to the whole Society, in November 1748, having the parts of a twin-sister adhering to the spine, and prominent upon her back: and also of an ox, which was shewn in town about that time, having the head of a twin-calf hanging from between the sides of the under jaw, by a narrow skin.

As to the manner, in which fuch monstrous productions are formed, in order to avoid an unnecessary repetition, I refer to my account of two female Vol. 49.

B b children,

# [ 186 ]

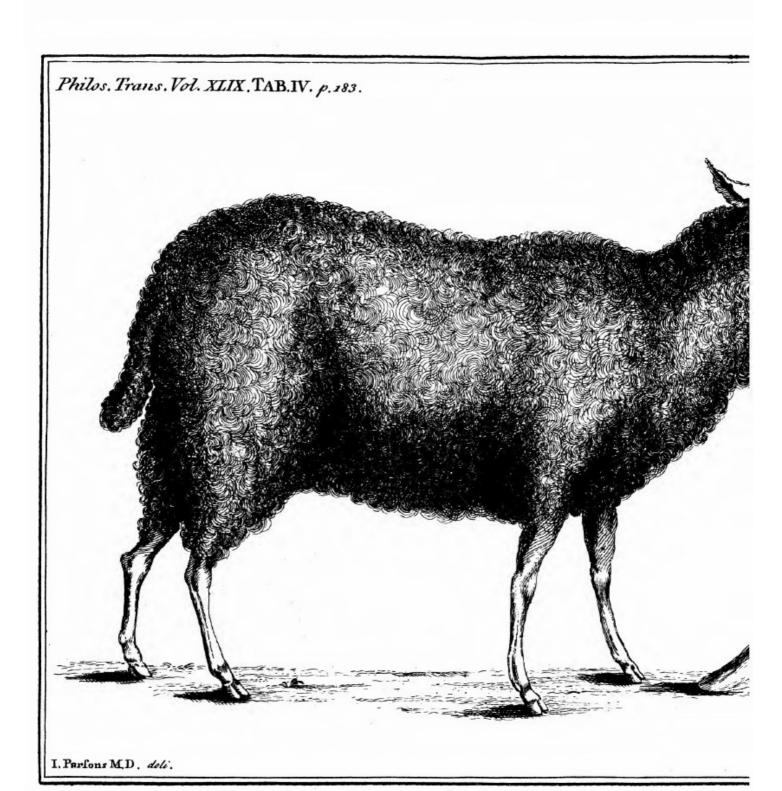
children, joined together by the bellies, in No 489. page 527. of the Philosophical Transactions, where, in my remarks upon them, I have attempted explaining the phænomena of all these preternatural appearances in animal bodies, as well as in those of vegetables.

XXX. A Differtation upon the Cancer of the Eye-lids, Nose, great Angle of the Eye, and its neighbouring Parts, commonly called the Noli-me-tangere, deemed bitherto incureable by both Antients and Moderns, but now shewn to be as curable as other Distempers. Addressed to the Royal Society of London by Mons. Daviel, consulting Surgeon in ordinary, and Oculist to the King; Master of Arts, and of Surgery at Marseilles; Royal Professor and Demonstrator of Anatomy of the same City; Member of the Academy of Sciences of Toulose, Bologne, and that of Surgery of Paris; and translated from the French by James Parsons, M. D. and F. R. S.

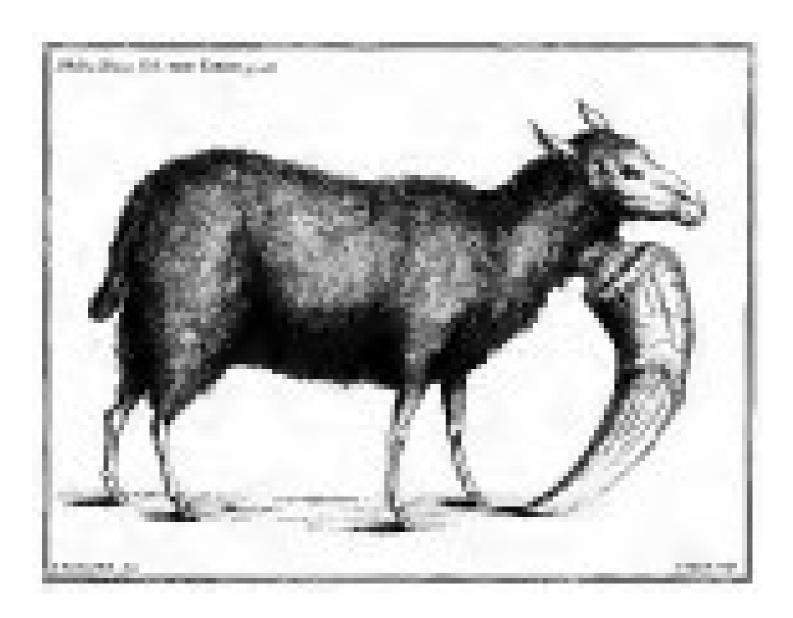
Paris, April 20, 1754.

Read May 8,

F all the diseases which seize the eye-lids, nose, angle of the eye, and its neighbouring parts, none appears so formidable







#### Sunrise police say Brogenet Cinor claimed to use sex as his way of 'cleansing' spirits

Author: Troy Blevins, Online Editor, Producer

Published On: Jul 02 2015 07:04:29 PM EDT Updated On: Jul 02 2015 11:27:00 PM EDT

Cops: Man described as 'voodoo priest' had sex with underage girl

AUTHORITIES DETERMINED THE BAG WAS HARM LESS, AND ALL ROADS WERE WITH REOPENED. A MANAGE DESCRIBED AS A VOODOO PRIEST, AFTER COPS SAY HE HAD SEX IS WITH WITH A UPAGE GIRL, AND THEN THREATENED TO PUT A CURSE ON THE GIRL'S MOTHER JANINE, THAT SO CALLED VOODOO PRIEST, WOULD TELL HIS VICTIMS THEY HAD EVIL SPIRITS INSIDE OF THEM AND NEEDED CLEANSING. POLICE SAY HE WOULD CLEANSE BY RAPING THEM ONE OF THE INCIDENTS HAPPENED NEARLY FIVE YEARS AGO, THE VICTIM IN THAT CASE WAS YOUNGER THAN 12. INSIDE THIS SHED IN THE BACKYARD OF A SUN RISE HOME IS WHERE POLICE SAY A MAN CLAIMING TO BE A VOODOO PRIEST. PERFORMED SEXUAL ACTS ON WOMEN, INCLUDING A MIDDLE SCHOOL AGED GIRL. DEVASTATION, DISGUST. IT WAS BACK IN 2009 WHEN THAT YOUNG GIRL MET WITH 48-YEAR-OLD AT HIS SUN RISE HOME, ACCORDING TO THE ARREST AFFIDAVIT, HE TOOK HER TO WHICH SHED, THE VICTIM STATED ONCE SHE WAS INSIDE, HE TOLD HER TO PULL HERN'T PAS DOWN. IT WAS THEN THAT POLICE SAY HE RAPED HER. THE VICTIM STATED THAT SHE TOLD HIM THAT IT HURT WHILE HE WAS HAVING SEX WITH HER. BUT HE RESTRAINED HER ARMS AND WOULD NOT ALLOW HER TO GET UP. THE VICTIM'S MOTHER CONFRONTED HIM. SHE SAID IF SHE TOLD ANYONE HE WOULD PLACE A CURSE ON HER & THE FAMILY. THAT IS UNTIL THE VICTIM'S FATHER FOUND OUT. THE YOUNG GIRL NOT HIS VICTIM TWO. WOMEN HAD SIMILAR EXPERIENCES WITH HIM, AND THOSE CASES BOTH WOMEN BECAME PREGNANT, POLICE SAY HE PAID FOR THEIR ABORTIONS AND ALSO THREATENED TO PLACE A CURSE ON THEM IF THEY SAID ANYTHING. WE STOPPED BY HIS HOME. ALTHOUGH WE HEARD PEOPLE INSIDE, NO ONE WITH CAME TO THE DOOR, ONE NEIGHBOR WHO DID NOT WANT HER FACE ON CAMERA, WAS SHOCKED. HE LIVE AS FEW DOORS DOWN, AND IT'S JUST THERE'S NO WORDS. AND SUN RISE POLICE WILL BE HOLDING A PRESS CONFERENCE TOMORROW, WHERE THEY PLAN ON RELEASING MORE INFORMATION ON THIS INVESTIGATION, THEY BELIEVE THERE ARE MORE VICTIMS OUT THERE, AND THEY ARE HOPING THEY STEP FORWARD.

SUNRISE, Fla. -

A man claiming to be a "voodoo priest" accused of having sex with an underage girl has been arrested, Sunrise police said.

Brogenet Cinor, 48, faces a charge of sexual battery on a child under the age of 12.

The victim went to the Sunrise Police Department with her parents Sept. 25 to provide details of an incident that happened when she was in middle school between 2009 and 2010, police

said.

The victim and a person believed to be the girl's mother met with Cinor, a "voodoo priest," at his home, police said. The girl's mother stayed in the front of the home while the girl was brought to a man-made structure in the backyard, described as being like a tiki hut made out of wood, according to the police report.

The girl told police that once she was inside the structure, Cinor asked her to pull her pants down. Police said Cinor then pulled his pants down, exposing his genitalia, and sat on a chair.

Cinor told the girl to sit on top of him, and he then performed a sexual act, police said. According to the report, Cinor restrained the girl's arms and would not allow her to get up.

The girl told police that when Cinor was finished having sex with her, he took out his wallet and gave her money.

According to the police report, the girl's mother told police a few weeks after the incident happened. Cinor was confronted on the phone, at which time he denied having sex with her, but told the mother "that she would be cursed and that she would die if she mentioned this to anyone else," the report stated.

The girl's mother then went to three sessions with Cinor, which included prayer by candlelight and two liquid "potion" treatments, police said. The girl's mother said Cinor never attempted to have sex with her during her treatments.

During her final treatment, Cinor told the girl's mother that her daughter had bad spirits inside of her and needed to be cleansed, according to the report. The mother strongly believes in Haitian voodoo and was still in fear of what Cinor may do to her or her daughter, police said.

It wasn't until the girl's father became aware of the incident that they went to the Sunrise Police Department to speak with officers.

In another incident, police also spoke with two women who allegedly had relationships with Cinor in 2008-09. Police said the women are sisters who went to him seeking spiritual readings.

One woman was told to come back so Cinor could treat her because she was being plagued by evil spirits, according to the report.

The woman went with Cinor into the backyard structure and was told to remove her pants and underwear. According to the police report, Cinor had her lay on a shirt on the floor, at which time he had sex with her.

Cinor told the woman that she would die if she didn't continue to see him romantically. The woman told police she had sex with him six times over the course of the following months.

Police said during their relationship, the woman became pregnant with Cinor's child. Cinor

took the woman to a clinic where he paid \$450 for her to terminate her pregnancy, according to the police report.

Cinor continued to threaten the woman, telling her that she would die if she told anyone of their relationship, police said.

A similar situation happened to a woman who was 28 years old in 2009. She told police Cinor took her into the structure and told her that she "must act quickly or that she would die." According to the report, the woman had sex with Cinor and was told to return the next day so he could "cleanse her of the spirits."

The woman eventually became pregnant with Cinor's child, in which she was taken to a woman's clinic where Cinor paid \$500 to terminate her pregnancy, police said.

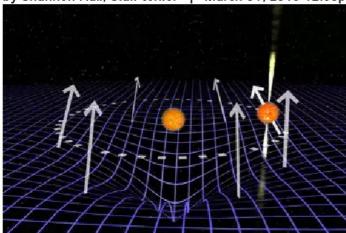
Another similar incident detailed how Cinor used sex as his way of "cleansing" the person's so-called spirits. Cinor also used threats of voodoo to inhibit the women from telling anyone of their relationships, the report said.

A warrant for Cinor's arrest was issued June 19 and he was later taken into custody at the Sunrise Police Department. He was taken to the Broward Sheriff's Office main jail facility. Bond was set at \$75,000, police said.

Sunrise police said they are hoping to identify any additional victims who have not been in contact with them.

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by Shannon Hall, Staff Writer | March 04, 2015 12:30pm ET



This graphic depicts the pulsar J1906 (at right with radio beams) and its companion star, with the curvature of spacetime in the region illustrated by a blue grid. This curvature has led to the pulsar's apparent disappearance in the sky, scientists say.

This graphic depicts the pulsar J1906 (at right with radio beams) and its companion star, with the curvature of spacetime in the region illustrated by a blue grid. This curvature has led to the pulsar's apparent disappearance in the sky, scientists say.

Credit: Joeri van Leeuwen View full size image

Astronomers have watched a pulsar some 25,000 light-years from Earth slip from view, swallowed by a warp in the fabric of spacetime. This wacky effect is one more proof of Einstein's general theory of relativity, 100 years after publication.

When a massive star runs out of fuel, it detonates, spitting gas and other debris with unimaginable violence. The supernova explosion is so powerful, that for days, or even weeks, it can outshine its host galaxy, beaming across the local universe. The calm after the storm reveals what's left behind, which might be an extremely dense neutron star, or even a black hole.

And sometimes that neutron star has a magnetic field a million billion times more powerful than the Earth's field. These objects, known as pulsars, "are super fun to study because they're the next thing down from black holes really in terms of density and extreme physics," study co-author Duncan Lorimer, of West Virginia University, told Space.com. [The Strangest Things in Space]

These cosmic magnets emit two beams of radiation from their magnetic north and south poles. As they rotate, these beams might regularly sweep across the Earth, causing astronomers to see pulses of radiation just as we see flashes of light from a lighthouse. Most of the time, the pulses are so regular that you could set your watch by them.

But the flashes from pulsar J1906 studied by Lorimer and colleagues are far from constant.

The pulsar is a part of a rare binary system with a companion star thought to be either another neutron star or a white dwarf. Although roughly two-thirds of the stars in our galaxy are in binary systems, when a supernova goes off, it will give any nearby companion a powerful kick, often sending it into space at millions of miles per hour. But every now and then, pulsars manage to hang onto their companions, providing a rare glimpse into an exotic system. You can see a video of pulsar J1906 orbiting its companion here.

Since its discovery in 2004 by the Arecibo Observatory in Puerto Rico, the system has been continuously studied by other powerful observatories. Overall astronomers have seen the pulsar rotate roughly one billion times over a five-year period.

"These two stars each weigh more than the sun, but are still over 100 times closer together than the Earth is to the sun," co-author Ingrid Stairs, of the University of British Columbia, said in a statement. "The resulting extreme gravity causes many remarkable effects."

The companion is so massive it creates a huge warp in the fabric of spacetime, like a bowling ball on a thin sheet. Once an orbit the pulsar falls into this warp, causing it to never return to the same spot twice, Lorimer said. Its spin axis shifts ever so slightly, and it precesses, or wobbles like a spinning top. This wobbling is known as "geodetic precession."

"Imagine the lighthouse on the beach sort of tilting upwards and you no longer get that flash of light in your eyes anymore," said Lorimer. "It's pointing up at the sky. It's kind of like that here. The orientation of the pulsar is changing over time."

Specifically, there's a 2.2-degree change in the orientation of the pulsar's spin axis per Earth year. Anticipating this, astronomers raced to measure the binary pair's masses before the pulsar's flashes disappeared as predicted.

"The pulsar is now all but invisible to even the largest telescopes on Earth," said lead author Joeri van Leeuwen, of the Netherlands Institute for Radio Astronomy, and the University of Amsterdam. "This is the first time such a young pulsar has disappeared through precession. Fortunately this cosmic spinning top is expected to wobble back into view, but it might take as long as 160 years."

The results once again prove Einstein's general theory of relativity.

Most physicists will agree that Albert Einstein's theory is "one of the most amazing physical theories of all time," said Lorimer. "It's basically an exercise in pure human thought. He had relatively few observations at the time to constrain the theory. But he had this amazing physical intuition. And all of his predictions that have been tested over the years have been verified to date."

The study has been accepted for publication in the Astrophysical Journal.

Follow Shannon Hall on Twitter @ShannonWHall. Follow us @Spacedotcom, Facebook and Google+. Original article on Space.com.

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Tommy Byrne takes aim with a bottle of gin



Another member of staff brandishes a baseball bat as the intruder runs out of the shop

covered, and was wearing gloves as well as blue jeans and black Adidas trainers.

Another member of staff brandishes a baseball bat as the intruder runs out of the shop

The man was seen leaving on a silver mountain bike towards the train station.

A Cheshire police spokesman said: "At 7.15pm on Monday a man entered a shop in Greenway Road where he produced a knife at the counter and demanded cash.

"After a member of staff refused, the offender, unsuccessfully, attempted to take money from the till and left the premises.

"Anyone with information is asked to call police on 101 quoting incident number 823 of July 27, or alternatively contact Crimestoppers anonymously on 0800 555 111 FREE."

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# Watch: Moment hero shopkeeper fights off knife-wielding robber with a gin bottle

21:10, 29 July 2015 By Rob Pattinson, Laura Tacey

liverpoolecho.co.uk

This is the moment a heroic 68-year-old shopkeeper fought off a knife-wielding raider by hitting him with a bottle of gin.

Tommy Byrne was behind the counter at the Premier convenience store on Greenway Road, Runcorn, when a masked man came in armed with a steak knife, threatened staff and demanded cash.

But the 68-year-old grandfather refused to hand over the money, and instead took matters into his own hands.

Mr Byrne said: "He came in and said he didn't want to stab anyone. He then came behind the counter and said 'open the till or I'm going to start stabbing'.



An armed robber bursts into the Premier off licence on Greenway
Road, Runcorn

An armed robber bursts into the Premier off licence on Greenway Road, Runcorn

"I forced my way past him, grabbed a bottle of gin and tried to hit him with him.

"As it went to go down on his head he heard a couple of bottles falling, turned round and held his hands up so it hit his shoulder and arm instead.

"We had a little scuffle, he came round and pushed me into the fridge and I lost

my balance.

"One of the girls in the shop pressed the panic alarm and then tried to hit him with a baseball bat that I play rounders with my grandchildren with, and that was basically it.

Tommy Byrne takes aim with a bottle of gin

"I just wish I'd landed the bottle on his head."

Police are now appealing for information over the attempted robbery, which took place at around 7.15pm on Monday.

The raider is described as white, very slim, approximately 5ft 6ins in tall and aged in his 20s.

He was wearing a blue quilted hooded top with another grey top underneath, had his face half

bbc.com

- 10 July 2015
- . From the section Wales

Klingon was the chosen language for the Welsh government in its response to queries about UFO sightings at Cardiff Airport.

While English and Welsh are the usual forms of communications in the Senedd, it opted for the native tongue of the enemies of Star Trek's Captain Kirk.

Shadow Health Minister Darren Millar had asked for details of UFOs sightings and asked if research would be funded.

A Welsh government spokesman responded with: "jang vIDa je due luq."

The Welsh government statement continued: "ach ghotvam'e' Ql'yaH devolve qaS."

In full it said it translated as: "The minister will reply in due course. However this is a non-devolved matter."

It is believed to be the first time the Welsh government has chosen to communicate in Klingon.



The Welsh government advised Darren Millar UFOs were not devolved to Wales

Mr Millar, shadow health minister and AM for Clwyd West, submitted three questions to economy, science and transport minister Edwina Hart about UFO reports around the airport and across the rest of Wales.

Responding to the government's unusual diversion into trilingualism, Mr Millar said: "I've always suspected that Labour ministers came from another planet. This response confirms it."

Mr Millar asked:

 Will the minister make a statement on how many reports of unidentified flying objects there have been at Cardiff Airport since its acquisition by the

#### Welsh government?

- What discussions has the Welsh government had with the Ministry of Defence regarding sightings of unidentified flying objects in Wales in each of the past five years?
- What consideration has the Welsh government given to the funding of research into sightings of unidentified flying objects in Wales?

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#### When Soviets First Landed on Mars

By Sven Felix Kellerhoff FEB 01 2015

ozy.com

#### Why you should care

Because they really wanted to get there first.

Talk about pressure. Soviet scientists were desperate to catch up to Americans in the race to conquer space, and after being beaten to the moon, the next frontier was the red planet. Years of frantic, nonstop work — with no time even to test the gear — culminated in three rockets blasting off in May 1971. And against all odds, Mars 3 made history months later as humankind's first touchdown on the fourth planet from the sun. "When we confirmed that the lander touched down successfully, those involved in the project rejoiced," says Arnold Selivanov, one of the last surviving members of the mission.

The signal from Mars 3 lasted only 20 seconds, never to be heard from again, and only one mysterious image made it back to the control room. Experts are still debating whether the image just captured noise or the Martian landscape. Nobody knows for sure why it went dark, but bad luck probably played a part: The entire planet was covered by a never-before-seen sandstorm. But while windy gusts may have taken out the equipment, they couldn't obliterate the Soviet Union's victory in landing the first-ever human toy on Mars.

The scientists worked under extreme pressure from Soviet authorities.

Some 44 years later, the feat still resonates. It offered proof that the red planet was within reach while providing a treasure trove of information that has informed subsequent missions to both Mars and Venus, vastly expanding human understanding of the solar system. Those contributions, says Don McCoy, manager of European Space Agency program ExoMars, must be "recognized as bold steps in exploration." In fact, Russia, in collaboration with the European Space Agency, will use an architecture similar to the Mars 3 to land on the slippery planet with the January 2016 launch of the Schiaparelli. As McCoy points out, if the Mars 3 designers could see today's designs, they "would understand very well why we have this architecture." The modern version, significantly, can weather sandstorms.

Back in the 1960s when the Soviets began targeting the planet, nobody knew what to expect of Mars, but there was speculation it held traces of a lost civilization. The Mars 3 pushed the debate forward at a high price, coming as it did after years of failed missions. The scientists worked under extreme pressure from Soviet authorities, who demanded they seize the last window to launch the orbiters and landers before the U.S. beat them to it. They toiled with little sleep, round-the-clock schedules, and the threat of being demoted, fired or shunned if things went wrong, as leading mission designer Vladimir Gennadievich Perminov would later recount to NASA.

The first rocket carrying a satellite and a radar beacon blasted off on May 5. It was supposed to relay information on the planet's position to help guide the two other rockets carrying an orbiter and lander each. But the first rocket failed, and on May 19 and 28, Mars 2 and Mars 3

were sent aloft with a backup direction system. The Mars 2 crashed-landed on Nov. 21, technically becoming the first man-made object to hit the planet. Perminov made several excuses for the blunder, including the lack of time to test the positioning system, and said it also could have been avoided "if the first space barter in the history of human civilization would have happened one year earlier." Soviets exchanged data they had on Venus for what the Americans had on Mars, but it came too late. With it, they could have corrected the trajectory and perhaps enjoyed greater success. On Dec. 2, Mars 3 landed, transmitted briefly and then fell silent.

The mission, including from the orbiter and lander before it stopped transmitting, delivered information about the planet's surface, atmosphere, soil density and more. "We later capitalized on this experience in our Venusian missions," Selivanov, now 80, tells OZY. He was involved in developing cameras and video gadgets on the lander and orbiter and is now head of an expert council in Russian Space Systems. But the biggest accomplishment, said Perminov, was proving that "the scientifically and technically intricate problem of a soft landing on the Martian surface was solved." The Soviets sent four more missions in 1973, all of which failed, and in 1975, the U.S. sent two Viking probes, each successfully landing and operating on Mars. Since then, five more missions — all American — have successfully landed on Mars.

With next year's launch, Russia will try again with a vastly updated version of the Mars 3. But the legacy of the 1971 mission wasn't just technological advance. It was also a better understanding of the the hostile, out-of-this world environment that many hope will one day bring us closer to finding alien life.

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# When was tobacco first thought to be dangerous?

historyextra.com Sunday 19th July 2015

The story of tobacco in England has been chequered from the outset.

This article was first published in the July 2015 issue of History Revealed



noking was very popular in the reign of King James I © Universal F Archive/Getty Images)

After it was introduced, it was deemed a medical cure for illnesses – in contrast with the views of several notable people.

In his 1604 treatise, A Counterblaste to Tobacco, King James I of England and VI of Scotland described it as "harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs" and soon after, the great scientist Francis Bacon noted tobacco as highly addictive.

Samuel Pepys also wrote in 1665 about witnessing a cat being killed by a small dose of distilled tobacco oil.

Still, it took another century for Dr John Hill to show that snuff tobacco could cause

nose cancer, and yet another 80 years elapsed before doctors began debating the safety of smoking.

A proper body of scientific data was assembled in the sixties, but the tobacco companies successfully fought it. Intriguingly, we may see the whole pattern begin again with the growth of electronic cigarettes.

Answered by one of our Q&A experts, Greg Jenner. For more fascinating questions by Greg, and the rest of our panel, pick up a copy of History Revealed! Available in print and for digital devices

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A depiction of John Dee (1527-1608) and Edward Kelley evoking.

A White Lady (also known as the Mulher de Branco) is a type of female ghost reportedly seen in rural areas and associated with some local legend of tragedy. White Lady legends are found around the world. Common to many of them is the theme of losing or being betrayed by a husband, boyfriend or fiancé. They are often associated with an individual family line or said to be a harbinger of death similar to a banshee.

#### United Kingdom

In popular medieval legend, a White Lady is fabled to appear by day as well as by night in a house in which a family member is soon to die. According to The Nuttall Encyclopedia, these spirits were regarded as the ghosts of deceased ancestresses.

The White Lady (also known as the 'Running Lady') of Beeford, East Yorkshire resides on the "Beeford Straight", a stretch of road between Beeford and Brandesburton. Motorists have reported her apparition running across the Beeford Straight toward the junction of North Frodingham. Anecdotal tales also report a motorcyclist picking up a female hitchhiker on the same stretch of road. A few miles later the motorcyclist, upon turning around, noticed the passenger had vanished. In one instance, a car crashed into a tree killing 6 people. It is rumored to be her curse.[1]

Another legend tells of the White Lady jumping off the Portchester Castle while she was carrying a child she didn't want. Her spirit is said to haunt the castle to this day.

#### **United States**

The White Lady of Acra (New York) is a legend of a young woman dressed in all white supposedly seen at night along the road she last traveled on or near the cemetery not far from her fatal accident.

Branch Brook Park in Newark, New Jersey, is home to the legend of the White Lady of Branch Brook Park. Two conflicting stories are told about this ghost. In one version, the lady was a newlywed who was killed along with her husband on her wedding night when their V8 Ford Mustang skidded out of control and crashed into a tree in the park. In another version, the couple were on their way to a prom when their limousine crashed; the boy lived but the girl died, and she is allegedly still looking for her prom date. The White Lady of Branch Brook Park was also known in Newark's Roseville section, which borders the park, as Mary Yoo-Hoo. For many years the tree in question was along a sharp curve in the park road and part of its trunk was painted white, but it has since been cut down completely. It was said that on rainy or misty nights passing headlights produced a ghostly image crossing the road. There is some evidence that the details of this legend have been borrowed or blurred into other legends. Annie's Road, in particular, is thought to be a rehosting of this legend.[2]

A White Lady who is said to haunt Durand-Eastman Park in Rochester, New York.[3]

"The Ghostly Sphinx of Metedeconk" by Stephen Crane recounts the tale of a White Lady whose lover was drowned in 1815.[4]

Union Cemetery in Easton, Connecticut has reported sightings of a white lady since the late 1940s, said to haunt the nearby Stepney Cemetery in Monroe, Connecticut.[5][6][7]

Tolamato Cemetery in St. Augustine, Florida, has been home to stories of a haunting by a "lady in white" since the 19th century. Legend states that the ghost is the spirit of a young woman who died suddenly

on her way to be married, and who was buried in her wedding dress.

In Mukilteo, Washington, there have been many alleged reports of a Lady In White vanishing hitchhiker just off of Clearview Drive in the forest or on the road near the treeline.

In Madisonville, Louisiana there is a legend about a woman called "The Silk Lady". Her ghost is said to haunt Palmetto Flats by Highway 22. The story goes that back in the mid-1800s there was a woman who was riding back from town after seeing her lover off. She was riding down an old logging trail when a snake spooked her horse. She fell, hit her head, and died as a result of the injury. Several people have reported her as a woman dressed in a whispy, silky dress and that her feet don't touch the ground. When she sees someone she is said to cackle like a banshee.

In Altoona, Pennsylvania she is known as the White Lady of Whopsy. Her ghost is said to haunt Wopsononock Mountain and Buckhorn Mountain in the western part of Altoona. It's said that she and her husband had an ill-fated crash over what's known as Devil's Elbow as you head into the city itself where both of them tumbled over the side of the mountain. According to legend, she is seen looking for her husband on foggy nights, has been picked up as a hitch hiker, and her reflection is not seen in the mirror but she always disappears around Devil's Elbow.[8]

In Fremont, California there is a White Lady (called the White Witch) ghost sightings in Niles Canyon. A woman named Lowerey was one of the first people in the area killed in an automobile accident. People claim to have seen her in a cemetery in the area with strange lights and local legend says you can see her walking the ridge between the Niles Hollywood style sign and a few miles from there into the canyon. [9]

In Hattiesburg, Mississippi a Woman in White is connected with the history of Burnt Bridge Road. In the 1970s a woman was killed in a car accident while crossing a wooden bridge over a small gully. The resulting fire destroyed the bridge, which was later rebuilt in concrete, and gave the road its new name. The charred and decaying remains of the original bridge can still be seen near the new bridge.

#### Germany

A white woman was first reported to be seen in the Berliner Schloss in 1625 and sightings have been reported up until 1790.[10][11][12][13][14] This castle is the residence of the kings of Prussia, so the Lady has been linked to several historical figures:

- the guilt-ridden countess Kunigunda of Orlamünde, born Landgravine of Leuchtenberg (Oberpfalz), who, according to legend, murdered her two young children because she believed they stood in the way of her marriage to Albert of Nuremberg.[15][16]
- the unfortunate widow Bertha of Rosenberg from Bohemia, overthrown by the heathen Perchta.
   [17]

There is a legend of a white lady who was a prince's wife in the town of Rheda-Wiedenbrück, North Rhein Westfalia. The prince was away, fighting in the 30 years war, and his wife took a wandering minstrel as a lover. The prince returned unexpectedly, caught the two lovers, and killed the minstrel in the moat. He then took his wife and encased her behind a wall in his manor with some food and water, so that she wouldn't cheat on him again as he returned to the fighting. The prince died in battle, the food and water ran out, and his wife died. Her spirit now haunts the manor. When the manor was renovated, the new owner had his construction crew tear down the wall she was encased behind. The next day, the worker who tore down the wall, was working on the roof of the manor when he fell, broke his back, and died. The manor is called Haus Aussel.

#### Netherlands

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In the eastern and the northern of the Netherlands tell farmers stories about the Witte wieven (white ladies).

These white ladies changing babies, abduct women and bring disaster to people who have made their evil.

But there are also stories that say that the white ladies have actually helped people in childbirth, or people have given good advice.

They live in the tumuli, the Hunebedden and on the moors.

Mist are named to the white ladies.

#### Slavic mythology



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In Slavic Mythology, a white lady was the ghost of a girl or young woman that died violently, usually young women who committed suicide, were murdered or died while imprisoned. The ghost is usually bound to a specific location and is often identified as a specific person (i.e. Elizabeth Báthory).

#### **Philippines**

White Ladies are popular ghost story topics in the Philippines. Along with other mythological creatures and ghostly beings like the Manananggal, Tiyanak, Kapre, Wak-Wak, and Tikbalang, White Ladies are often used to convey horror and mystery to young children for storytelling. Sightings of White Ladies are common around the country, and usually every town and barrio has its own "White Lady" story.

The most prominent one is the White Lady of Balete Drive in Quezon City. It is said that it is the ghost of a long-haired woman in a white dress, who according to legend, died in a car accident while driving along Balete Drive. Most stories about her were told by taxi drivers doing the graveyard shift, such as the one where a taxi crosses Balete Drive, and a very beautiful woman is asking for a ride. The cabbie looks behind and sees the woman's face was full of blood and bruises, causing him to abandon his taxi in horror.

In other instances, it is said that when solitary people drive on that street in the early morning, they briefly see the face of a white-clad woman in the rear-view mirror before she quickly disappears. Some accidents on this road are blamed on apparitions of the White Lady.

Many sources have said this legend was actually manufactured by a reporter in the 1950s, and also a possible combination of multiple stories from the area.[18]

#### Malta

The White Lady is the name of a female ghost that lives in Verdala Palace in the small forest of Buskett, Rabat, Malta.

Legend has it that many years ago, a woman was to be married to a man she did not love. Her father told her that she must always do as her fiancé said since he was soon to be her husband. On the day of her wedding, she committed suicide by jumping off a balcony. This is why she is to this day known as the White Lady, because she was wearing her wedding gown on the day of her death. It is said that she haunts the Verdala Palace and many people who attend the August moon ball confirm that she does

indeed appear in the palace.

According to another Maltese legend, the White Lady of Mdina was killed by her lover after she was forced to marry another man. Many have claimed to see this spirit, always after eight o'clock in the evening. She usually appears to children under eight years old, heart-broken teenage boys, and elderly men. While she tells the children goodnight and bids them to return home, she advises the teenagers to "find another" or to join her and become a part of her "shadow" (her ghostly followers). She also attempts to lure elderly men into her "shadow."[19]

#### Portugal

Portuguese producer David Rebordão created a popular internet video featuring a fictional White Lady. The video consists of supposedly "recovered footage" found at the scene of a fatal car accident, near Sintra, Portugal. In the video, a woman and two young men are shown taking a car trip to the mountains. One passenger records the trip with a video camera. While driving along the road, the travelers spot a strange female hitchhiker, whom they pick up. The passenger with the camera focuses on the hitchhiker, who seems strangely quiet, but says her name is Teresa, and states that she has not been the same since her accident. She then points out a spot on the road where she says she died. She suddenly turns to the camera and screams, showing her face, which is now apparently badly scarred and bloody and vanishes immediately. The car, according to reports, was found flipped on its side, killing two of the travelers. According to the text at the end of the video, police investigating the accident found that a girl named Teresa Fidalgo died in a car accident in 1983 at that very spot. Many viewers considered the video an imitation of *The Blair Witch Project*.[20] The producer, David Rebordão, admits this, explaining the story's fabrication on his website.[21] Rebordão confirmed, in an interview with Júlia Pinheiro (channel TVI) that the story was fictional, and that he had created the character himself. He stated that he was very surprised at the notoriety the story has achieved all over the world.

#### Brazil

Called Dama Branca or Mulher de Branco in Portuguese, the Brazilian Lady in White is said to be the ghost of a young woman who died of childbirth or violent causes. According to legend, she appears as a pale woman in a long white dress or a sleeping gown, and although usually speechless, will occasionally recount her misfortunes. The origins of the myth are not clear, Luís da Câmara Cascudo's Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro (Brazilian Folklore Dictionary) proposes that the ghost is related to the violent deaths of young white women who were murdered by their fathers or husbands in an "honor" killing. The most frequent reasons for these honor killings were adultery (actual or suspected), denial of sex, or abuse. Monteiro Lobato in his book Urupês describes a young woman starved to death by her husband because he suspected she was in love with a black slave and only gave her the stewed meat of his corpse for food.[22]

#### Czech Republic

The best-known White Lady of the Czech Republic is the ghost of Perchta of Rožmberk at Rožmberk Castle. Perchta of Rožmberk (c. 1429–1476) was a daughter of an important Czech nobleman, Oldřich II of Rožmberk. She married another nobleman, Jan of Lichtenštejn (John of Liechtenstein) in 1449. The marriage was quite unhappy. One of the reasons might have been the fact that Perchta's father had been reluctant to pay the agreed dowry. Legend has it that as her husband was dying, he asked for her forgiveness for his treatment of her. Perchta refused, and her husband cursed her. This is why she haunts his holdings, which include Český Krumlov Castle, where she has been seen most often. During her married life, Perchta wrote many letters to her father and brothers with colourful descriptions of her unhappy family life. Some 32 of these letters had been handed down.[23][24]

#### Estonia

The most famous white lady of Estonia resides in Haapsalu castle. She is said to be the woman who a

canon fell in love with. She hid in the castle as a choir boy, and remained a secret for a long time. But when the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek visited Haapsalu she was discovered, and immured in the wall of the chapel for her crime. To this day she is said to look out of the Baptistery's window and grieve for her beloved man. She can be seen on clear August full-moon nights.[25]

#### In popular culture

- The pilot episode of the horror/drama TV series Supernatural features a White Lady though she is referred to as a Woman in White named Constance Welch. In the episode, her husband's infidelity drives Constance insane and causes her to kill their children. After realizing what she had done, the Constance took her own life. In revenge against her husband, the Woman in White seeks out men who are traveling alone on a road near her old home. As a ghost, she tries to seduce the men and if they are unfaithful, she kills them. In this episode's case, the white lady is attempting to return home but is afraid of facing the ghosts of her children whom she drowned.
- A British children's TV series in the 1970s, The Ghosts of Motley Hall concerning the adventures
  of a group of ghosts from various periods of the past, featured Sheila Steafel as a character
  known only as 'The White Lady'. No one knew her past or how she died, including herself.
- A White Lady is central to the plot of the 2006 movie from the Philippines called White Lady.[26]
- Emily, the main antagonist of the 1971 horror film *Let's Scare Jessica to Death* (played by Mariclare Costello), combines elements of the White Lady archetype with that of a vampire.
- The Grudge, a horror series by director Takashi Shimizu, is all about the hauntings of a woman in white; Kayako Saeki's ghost appears as a woman in white and her face is almost always hidden by her long dark hair.
- Guild Wars 2 features a hidden quest in which the player is able to escort a Lady in White home.
   Upon reaching the courtyard of her home, she becomes hostile and attempts to kill the player.
- The Mulher de Branco appears in Adventure Quest Worlds. This version is a recolored and redesigned version of the Siren. It is among the creatures that attack Terra da Festa before the Carnaval Party.
- There is a White Lady parodied in Scary Movie 2, who is the wife of Hugh Kane the ghost, and
  upon her murder she also haunts the mansion. She kills Professor Oldman (Tim Curry), but in a
  comic twist she is seduced by Shorty and ends up his girlfriend.
- The White Lady myth is mentioned on *Blackmore's Night* song "I Guess It Doesn't Matter Anymore", where the character in the song gives a lift to a lady dressed in white that doesn't speak to them, and disappears when they pull over.

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#### **External links**

- Bachelor's Grove Cemetery 'White Lady', circa 1991
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# The White Lady on the Window

On the Baptistery's circular window built into the southern wall of Haapsalu Dome Church a female figure appears during the full moon nights in August, who has been named the White Lady. How and why this woman reveals herself on the chapel's window for centuries a legend tells the following:

In the Middle Ages, during the reign of Oesel-Wiek Bishop, every canon was supposed to lead a chaste and virtuous life according to the rules of the monastery. Access of women to the Episcopal Castle was forbidden by threat of death. However it happened so that one canon and an Estonian girl fell madly in love with each other. As the young people could not stay apart, the canon dressed the girl up as a boy and brought her to the castle to sing in the choir. For long it remained the secret, but one day the deception was discovered. The verdict of the Bishop was harsh: the canon was thrown to the castle's dungeon to starve to death, while the girl was immured alive in the wall of the Baptistery, then under the construction. Lamenting of the poor woman was heard for several days until she finally silenced. Yet her soul could not find the peace and, as a result, she appears on the Baptistery's window to grieve for her beloved man already for centuries, and also to prove the immortality of love.

# White Lady's Legend

#### About myself and legends

Stories about the Moon and the window frame out of which I should appear are all fiction. Likewise, I am not a shadow of the window created by the full moon light, but I AM THE WHITE LADY. The reason I walk around in August is because this period of time – Assumption of the Virgin – I like the most, besides I don't have time to stroll about in every God's given day. Do you think that a ghost has nothing else to do than to haunt around! However, during the recent years my walks to that window have become for some reason more frequent. Oh!, I really get melancholic when thinking back to those times, to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the castle's park was in ruins and I had to spend the nights in August totally alone. Now, of course, there is this open air performance, which should come out in a new version this year. Well, my unhappy fate has triggered so many legends that I can get really confused. I have been also asked, how it all really happened, but I am not sure myself since it was so long time ago. To be absolutely sincere, I am not so miserable about this immuring story anymore. After all, I have outlived those people who did this to me by many times. Moreover, only few know the names of those men. The White Lady, on the contrary, is known to the half of the world. Consequently, I have made a good promotion (as they use to say today) to Haapsalu, which now has been my

home for more than 600 years.

#### ABOUT MEN

Ah!, I have encountered variety of them both alive and in the ghostly form, but nobody can outshine that only one I was immured in the chapel's wall for. During my time, there were also brave men who could wield the sword and die for they loved ones. Not many of such kind you can find today. Indeed, there were exceptions in the 14<sup>th</sup> century as well. Especially double-tongued and sleazy were those who were hiding their true face behind the clergyman's garment. Although I had to end my earthly existence in the chapel's wall for breaking the rules of the monastery, it does not mean that I was the only women who stepped over the monastery's threshold. Such women, were they Estonians, Germans or Swedes, were streaming in and out of the castle. If I had been more affable towards the Bishop himself, I could have died peacefully a natural death. Men today are not any better. Another year I was looking out of the window and noticed a nice couple standing hand in hand below the window and waiting for my appearance. The year after I looked out again, and what did I see – again the couple standing, the same boy but now together with a new girl. They just cannot know what true love is. Many women have been condemned because of true love, their names last through times, as does mine.

"Lääne Elu" 12.08.1995

## HOLY ASPENS AND CURATIVE MUD

At the site of the town, a sacred grove had been for centuries – a grove of aspens. However, whether it was the people who didn't honour the gods properly or was it something wrong with the gods themselves, the result was the stormy sea that swept over the sacred grove in a thunderous roar and buried it. All of the people living there had to move somewhere else.

Only one man – the old Mana wizard, the priest of the grove was called back by the sacred grove. He went into water to touch the ground of the sacred grove with his feet. This touch made the old holy man feel new energy pouring into his body, making his heart beating faster, stretching his tired and crooked limbs. Now he ran quickly back to others to bring the message of great joy. Having heard the news, people repopulated the shore at the site of the sacred grove, where there was no grove anymore, yet its blissful influence had remained. Since then people from all over the world find here energy and recovery.

## OLD NICK HARASSING HAAPSALU

Back in time there used to be a thick aspen forest somewhere on the seashore. Old Nick used to have a cosy place there. People tell that he had a nest and sons in the forest. When the lightning cracked, the devil would emerge from the forest together with his offspring and jump into the sea. He would soak in water till weather changed nice again. He would carry the sons into the nest and would go about harassing the people living in the neighbourhood.

Later, when the forest was destroyed and Haapsalu was built at the site of it, Old Nick moved to north – towards morning to find a new residence. Choosing a new place was not easy for the devil, which is apparent from his actions. In Oru parish on Vedra hill there used to be a big stone where animals took

shelter from the hot sun. Even during the night in bad weather the horses stood by the stone. In one bright moon-lit night the horse shepherd saw a creature with very big horns sitting on top of the stone. He watched from there towards the new town and muttered: "Starting already with the church! I am going to teach these scoundrels a lesson!" Then he stepped down from the stone, grabbed the stone and threw it at the town. However, by doing it he fell himself down in such a bang that fire came out his mouth. The frightened horse shepherd ran into the village, woke up the people and shouted: "The monster will kill the town! The monster will kill the town!" Next day the site of the stone was inspected. Nothing else was seen there than just the trampled-on animal droppings. Droppings were soft and slippery causing Old Nick to fell down. The stone did not serve its purpose. Even today one can see the stone in Võnnusaare. A piece of the stone was slammed apart while falling down – it lies next to the stone.

## KALEVIPOEG PUNISHING HAAPSAKU

It happened once that Kalevipoeg was in West-Nigula parish. From there he watches and sees: the castle is built in Haapsalu and the church next to it. And since he knew nothing about the construction, he got angry that no permission was asked from him. He decides to punish the builders and to destroy the buildings. He takes a giant stone from Pataka hill and aims at Haapsalu's tower. But behold! His foot slips on a slippery ground and the stone lacks the swing. It cannot reach the target but rather decides to fall on Võnnu Island to rest. The stone still rests there, a real giant, three cords high, five cords long, a couple of cords wide, with the broken away piece laying next to it.

Kalevipoeg notices that Haapsalu's towers do not bow to the ground in front of him. He goes to check what happened to the stone. He strolls in such a force that ground shakes and the bay gets wavy. One can see the footprints today on the stones: one in Vauksimägi, the other in Tuulasmägi, the third in Vastelõugumägi, the fourth in Laheva village. The steps are around one verst apart from each other. Kalevipoeg finds the stone in Võnnu Island. Since the stone has broken apart and the edges are sharp, Kalevipoeg is afraid to hurt his hand while throwing. Given that there is no other suitable stone, he decides not to throw once more. He walks back from Võnnu Island and leaves Haapsalu's castle and the church standing.

## LEGEND OF THE KING'S CHAMBER

In 1351, King Magnus Smek Eriksson of Sweden came to Haapsalu to negotiate with the bishop. Luxurious rooms were prepared for the King in the south-western corner of the castle. However, suddenly an unexpected obstacle became apparent – the King was accompanied by the Queen. The rules of a monastery applied in Haapsalu castle and therefore no women were allowed to the canons' residence. The rules stated word for word: "...and no woman's foot shall cross the doorstep." The trouble was big as the royal couple could not be left behind the gate. This could have been an international scandal. The learned canons thus convened to discuss the rules and find the way how to go around them. And they came up with the solution: the Queen was seated on the sedan chair and carried across the doorstep.

This legend associates with the legend of Haapsalu's White Lady. Both legends mock the fake piety of

the monastery's inhabitants. The original versions of both legends have been written down by Carl Russwurm, and it is difficult to ascertain whether the legend is folkloric or is it mostly the product of Russwurm's fantasy. Yet many Russwurm's legends have a firm historical background.

Magnus Smek Eriksson (1316-1374), Jarl Birger's nephew and the main character in the legend of King's Chamber, was the King of Sweden in 1319-1363, ruling independently since 1332. He continued the colonisation of Finland's territories and waged a fruitless war with Novgorod in 1348-1351. In early 1351, he made a stop in Riga, where on February 18 he summoned the town9s council and town's citizens and promised to protect them against enemies. On the way back to Sweden he indeed stayed in Haapsalu, where on April 2 he gave Padise monastery the advowson over Finland's Borga (Porvoo) church.

Magnus has left the imprint in the history of Christianity in connection with Holy Birgitta. Birgitta Gudmarsson's husband was, as we know, the King's courtier and diplomat. The King's patronage over the family continued even after the death of the family father, and he gave one of his castles in Vadstena to Brigitta. It also became the place where the Mother Church of the Order of Holy Brigitta was established, which also set the standard for Pirita monastery near Tallinn. Magnus Smerk Eriksson was overthrown by a group of noblemen who asked his nephew Albrecht of Mecklenburg to become the king. With the enthronement of Albrecht, the country was led by Germans who the new king promoted especially by providing them with the offices.

Kalev Jaago - Lääne Elu,24.04.1992, nr 33.

#### DRUNKEN OX

Many years ago the Poles laid the siege to Haapsalu castle. Although the underground passage led from the castle to Uuemõisa, it was still difficult to obtain victuals as the land suffered from hunger and the siege continued already for the seventh year. Inhabitants decided then to use their cunningness. Out of the last pieces of hops they brewed a strong beer, gave it to the last remaining ox, who drank the beer as much as he could, and then led the ox by the walls of the castle. The drunken ox bellowed more than a herd of oxen could do. When the Poles heard the bellowing, they figured that the castle has still enough food supply and stopped the siege.

## **PATRICIDE**

One knight had two sons who for a long had been in the war. For the younger one the war offered such fun that father could barely keep him at home, trying to attract him with money and treasures. When father was scolding him for his lavish and loose way of life, the son didn't like it and bore a secret grudge against him.

Once the father went to hunt and the son was observing him. After a brief skirmish, he killed a respectable old man and buried his body in the forest. After a long search the body was found and the suspicion of murder fell upon the sons. The sons were summoned to the church in Haapsalu where they had to testify to their innocence. A hand on the dead body's chest, both brothers swore that they didn't kill the father. The younger one added that if he is guilty, he would not be able move away from the altar more than thirty steps. Although blood started to spill from the wounds of the body, the younger brother remained confident and left the church. Barely thirty steps away from the

altar, he fell down as if struck by the lightning and confessed in a frightened state his guilt to the bishop. After doing so he died right away and was buried at the same spot.

### DEAD DOG

Two brothers lived in Haapsalu. One was rich and greedy, yet the other one had to fight hunger by repairing shoes. The latter once saw a grey little man in his dreams who came to him and showed one corner in the ruins, where one should dig to find a big treasure. The man considered it a joke and continued to work on shoes.

Next night the grey little man reappeared, shook him from the shoulder and led to the treasure. In the morning, the man went to his rich brother, told him about the dream and expressed his doubts about it. The rich brother further reassured the understanding that one shouldn't believe a miserly dream. However, the rich brother went during the night to the mentioned place, started to dig and after much of the effort found a dead dog in the earth.

Believing that the poor brother wanted to mock him, the rich brother threw a dog's body through the window into the poor brother's room. Startled, the poor shoemaker woke up, but found solid gold lying on the floor.

## BLACK DOG

There are numerous treasures in Haapsalu castle guarded by a big black dog. Several brave men have been trying to get close to those treasures, but spirits have either blown off the light in their lanterns or ruined their courage with other spooky acts.

Some Swedish man came to Haapsalu in 1773, became a night watchman and came once at midnight to the castle garden. Here he saw a big black dog with flaming eyes big as plates sitting in a casket of money.

Nobody knows what were the watchman and the dog talking about or the content of the casket. Nevertheless, right after this event the watchman became a businessman, bought houses in the town and acquired such a trust that farmers brought their money for him to keep. Yet after a while he went to the forest and hanged himself.

#### TREASURE SEEKERS

Once during the evening time, two men came to the chief judge of Haapsalu. They were riding horseback, bells jingling and wearing unusual clothes, and asked permission to look for treasures with the help of the magic wand. Their wish was granted on the condition that they would carry out the entire work on their own initiative, but from the found gold they could keep only the half.

The men walked around and in the square in front of the castle the magic wand bent on the ground, and the men immediately started to dig. To avoid the deception, the town's watchmen were sent to supervise. Soon it became dark and since nothing was found yet, everybody went home. Next morning the two men had disappeared. At the same time it was observed that in that opened pit there were traces of the iron box that should have been in there.

## **SWEDISH SCHOLAR**

People remember that it was probably in 1894 when a Swedish scholar came to Haapsalu. The stranger had old plans of the castle with him. He hired a couple of workers and then started to dig in the castle. The Swede wanted to dig deep holes, which uncovered always underground vaultings and parts of the wall. In the end people started to be curious about the big number of secret underground passages and caves. The Swede replied to them that the castle has been built hollow as a honeycomb in the underground, one just has to know the location where to dig. In passing, the Swede also dug 7 meters west from the watchtower. There, too, he discovered mysterious passages and vaultings. The Swede let the workers dig until the discovery of the passages, then stopped the digging and started to investigate them by himself. In the end the hole was again filled with earth. People think that the Swede was looking for some kind of a treasure and probably found it too.

# OAK TREE

In ancient times a big oak tree grew in Haapsalu castle, which during the course of years had become totally hollow from inside. People not only recognized its old age but also its mysterious power. On account of this, no branches were allowed to break from the tree and the land on its shadow was considered holy. What's more, nobody dared to look into its hollow inside, although it was known that in earlier times even money was sacrificed there.

On one occasion, a military fleet was in Haapsalu and a high-ranking officer went for a walk in the castle. Suddenly a thunderous rain started and the man crawled into the oak tree's cavity to find shelter. When the rain stopped and he wanted to come out, he stumbled on something made of metal. To his surprise, the officer found a tin box with numerous pieces of gold in it. He took the money to the ship and later it was distributed to the soldiers.

# JACOB DE LA GARDIE

The owner of Haapsalu castle Jacob de la Gardie was an enterprising man, but all his actions he undertook were very slow, deliberate and calm. That is why Estonians gave him the name of "Lazy Jaak".

One time the Count was in sauna when his adjutant came to report of the approaching enemy's army. The Count turned calmly his side and replied: "Let them wait till I am out of sauna!" Without any hurry he washed himself and then, coming out of the sauna, he moved closer to the enemies, having taken with him a usual pillow and said while opening it: "Out, out, a horse and a man!" Feathers taken from the pillow flew into the wind and each one them changed into a horseman with a horse. In this way the enemy was soon defeated.

Once upon a time the Count didn't have the army again. Since Old Nick was the Count's ally, he climbed on the church's roof and started to peel off wooden shingles. At each stroke the devil shouted: "A horse and a man!" The fallen shingles turned into horsemen and the Count won the battle. Old Nick demanded his share for such help and went repeatedly to the old soldier to get his soul. The Count lay in bed and asked his evil friend to wait till he is fully dressed. The devil promised to do that but also not to wait any longer either, as before he was being repeatedly tricked with such pretexts. "Good," said the Count, "I will take care from now on that I will never be fully dressed!" From that day on, the Count always missed something in his dress, was it then a garter, a neckerchief or a boot. The devil visited him often but always had to return disappointed. Only later the heavenly powers released the old man from the evil connection. The Count built a beautiful St. Jacob's Church in Stockholm and prayed for long in front of the altar. In those occasions, one could

clearly hear the rattle of the carriage and flames bursting from the stone floor. Probably it was Old Nick himself who did it, being irritated by the loss of his victim.

#### EMPEROR ALEXANDER III IN HAPPSALU

Alexander III, already when being an heir to a throne, came each summer with his family to Haapsalu to have a mudbath. He lived in De la Gardie's castle, and drink tea opposite to it – in the tree shades on the hillock under the walls of the Episcopal castle. He knew even little Estonian. He was a kind man but in the end started to drink too much. He supported the poor of Haapsalu and reconstructed the castle's church. During the reconstruction, a skeleton of a women emerged from the wall, black silk kerchief around the head – probably immured alive. In Haapsalu, Alexander III organized frequent outings with his family to forests and to islands. The children were riding little donkeys who screamed as hell. The boys – the later emperor Nicholas II and his brothers were very lively and naughty: they threw servants' brooms and shovels into the pond, crawled under the dining table and ripped the guests' coat buttons off. Once the emperor was riding with his family in the forest behind Uuemõisa and bought sour milk from the farmhand's wife. On the way back riding across the road ditch, the carriage shook the sour milk from the jug on the carriage driver's lap and splashed it all over the emperor's family, who then laughed himself almost sick.

"Vaba Maa", 1932

### **GHOST**

For almost a week Haapsalu is full of rumours as if some ghost-like creature would hide in the ruins of the castle. And this rumour spreads not only among the old superstitious women but also the more intelligent layer seems to believe the existence of something unnatural. The story originated from children who in the twilight sleighed down from the rampart in the castle garden. Suddenly a creature with red trousers, blue shirt and the cardboard mask with horns emerged from the cellar underneath the castle's ruins. The "ghost" approached the children. They ran away except one, a daughter of some S., who was petrified by horror. The "ghost" grabbed her hat and disappeared to bushes. The "ghost" took the same way also in the following evening. From now on, no children dared to go sleighing on the castle hill. The news reached also police who organized a search in the castle and the passages under the rampart. The "ghost" was not found, but an old blue polo shirt was found in the castle tower together with bread and sausage wrappings. Local jokers then circulated the anecdote as if the castle's ghost was just a usual spook, who since the Great Northern War used to live in the passages under Narva, but now, seeing its mayor walking in rubber boots in the underground passages, frightened himself sick and came to cure his health with Haapsalu's mud. According to the other story, the ghost was supposed to be a bachelor, who, afraid of the tax imposed on bachelors, came to propose to the White Lady of Haapsalu and now waits for her appearance in August.

"Maa Hääl", 22.01.1936

#### FRANKENSTEIN HAUNTS

In Haapsalu a weird mass psychosis broke out, which was so contagious that it conquered the whole town in a short time. Namely, hearsay is moving around in the town that some weird ghost has been seen in the castle garden. /.../ The first variation of the ghost story told about the schoolchildren playing in the castle garden in one evening, when a dreadful man came to them and started to chase the children with appalling voice. The children barely escaped the ghost. The later ghosts are already

more full of fantasy. Thus an elderly woman allegedly saw a skeleton that was jumping above the castle's gate while having silk trousers on. Soon it was told in town that a ghost must have eaten one 2-year old kid in the castle garden. When people later looked for the kid, only a couple of blue intestines were found. According to another variation, the ghost could escape when searched for, but in one castle's tower a bowl with pea soup and a polo shirt was found belonging to the ghost. These variations in their horrific form are mostly common among children and elderly people. However, more composed people have their own variations. Namely, some insane person would hide in the castle garden, who had escaped from Seevald. According to the other story, it was allegedly a man whose wife was in Haapsalu's prison. The woman would allegedly be soon freed and now the man waits for her in the castle garden.

/.../ The commissar explained that the police heard of the ghost stories for the first time last Thursday. Then children came to the postal constable at Karja Street and told about a ghost they had seen in castle garden. The constable went right away to the castle but found nothing. Nevertheless, since the ghost stories started to spread even more, the commissar sent the constable with police officers to the castle garden who searched through all caves and corners. But nothing was found. The police have been trying to find out who had seen the ghost and started the story, but upon the query, everybody says it was some of the acquaintances who had seen the ghost. /.../

"Päevaleht", 21.01.1936

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# HAAPSALU EPISCOPAL CASTLE

White Lady and walls that hide centuries of secrets

## White Lady: From Ghost Stories at Americanfolklore.net

#### A New York Ghost Story

### retold by

#### S. E. Schlosser

In the early 1800s, the White Lady and her daughter were supposed to have lived on the land where the Durand Eastman Park -- part of Irondequoit and Rochester -- now stands. One day, the daughter disappeared. Convinced that the girl had been raped and murdered by a local farmer, the mother searched the marshy lands day after day, trying to discover where her child's body was buried. She took with her two German shepherd dogs to aid in her search, but she never found a trace of her daughter. Finally, in her grief, the mother threw herself off a cliff into lake Ontario and died. Her dogs pined for their mistress and shortly joined her in the grave.

After death, the mother's spirit returned to continue the search for her child. People say that on foggy nights, the White Lady rises from the small Durand Lake which faces Lake Ontario. She is accompanied by her dogs and together they roam through the Durand Eastman park, still searching for her missing daughter.

The White Lady is not a friendly spirit. She dislikes men and often seeks vengeance against the males visiting the park on her daughter's behalf. There have been reports of the White Lady chasing men into the lake, shaking their cars, and making their lives miserable until they leave the park. She has never touched any females accompanying these unfortunate fellows.

#### Comments

mario:why r u haunting this place white lady:so that i will find my daughter luigi:uh mario we should go

Posted by: Anonymous | July 14, 2010 07:47 AM

I lived in Farmingdale, New York and witnessed the lady in white after walking home at 12:30am, after working the late shift at Adventureland Amusement Park. This occurred on August 11, 1996. I was walking down Alexander Avenue when I noticed a dense white cloud lowering down from a tree. The dense cloud dispersed and formed into a white lady with long white hair and long white gown. She was floating and I could not see anything below her knees. She was also transparent. She looked at me, moved her left hand towards me, then turned, floated across a front lawn, and started to make a digging motion as if she had a shovel in her hand. Then she would briefly stop and look at me, then make the same motion again. The pattern continued until she eventually faded. My dog was barking and woke up my mother. She witnessed the same experience from her viewpoint at our home's front door. I think this woman is a guardian angel, contrary to what others have said about the lady in white.

Posted by: maggie | July 17, 2010 06:54 PM

The previous post made by Maggie is inaccurate. The amusement park in that area, and the only one in Monroe county is Seabreeze Amusement Park. Also, there is no Alexander Avenue in that area. Farmingdale, NY has no White Lady.

Posted by: Dennis | July 26, 2010 12:29 AM

Maggie is perfectly accurate. I live on Long Island, NY. Farmingdale is in new york and the amusement

park is about 3 miles from Farmingdale. It is Nassau County, right on the border of Suffolk County. Either get a new atlas or research ALOT better.

Posted by: tony z | August 12, 2010 02:16 PM

Author's note: The White Lady story retold here is a ghost that is supposed to haunt Durand Eastman Park in Rochester, New York. There are multiple ghosts throughout the USA that have been dubbed "the White Lady" (for obvious reasons!) I hadn't heard about the Farmingdale spirit before. Thanks for sharing, Maggie.

Posted by: S.E. Schlosser | August 13, 2010 05:42 PM

wow!!!!! very INTERESTING!!!!! ^o^ and not scary at all.i [DO NOt believe in ghost..]

Posted by: jessica acosta | August 23, 2010 06:04 PM

hii i know the white lady well.. used to when i was a little girl she used stroke my head and say its okaii i will help you and when i would scream my mum would run in and say "GET OUT OF MY HOUSE NOW SHE IS MY DAUGHTER GO PLEASE" and then she would cry and then when i was asleep again she would say the birds will come and get me.ONE DAY: my nan gave me a clown and it was really scary and we put it up on the wardrobe and it was high up and it was in a box and when i was at play school and my mum and her friend was downstair it was pushed of the wardrobe and then it was put in the bin and it was every day that it was either legs was out or a body was out and then it would end up back in my room so my mum got a priest in to bishop it out and ever since then i have had no harm whats so ever!!! :(

Posted by: Hollie | August 28, 2010 10:09 AM

#### @tonv z

I live in Irondequoit (the town where this is) and yes there is an adventure landing but it is no where near the lake. There is, however, Seabreeze Amusement Park right near the White Lady area. And those counties you named are far away from the white lady. Irondequoit is in Monroe County. Finally, there is no Alexander Ave in Irondequoit. The only road near the lake in this park is Lake Shore Blvd.

Posted by: Mike | September 7, 2010 02:13 AM

this story is from the philipens there was a lady that was trapped in a hut that was burned down by peeps that dident like her and huants there and if u c her its a sighn of u going to die

Posted by: josue | September 10, 2010 07:05 PM

maggie and tonyz would you say me more about white lady please i am waiting

Posted by: bidisha | September 12, 2010 12:15 AM

@hollie: wow. we have an urban legend about that in my country. though its about a lady who takes children away. she will come back and ask if you'd like to follow her in a place where it is "perfect" a little too perfect. but always say no because the worse will come.

Posted by: jcruz | September 24, 2010 07:58 AM

this story is so scary i wouldn't like to meet her

Posted by: kaitlin | October 4, 2010 08:02 AM

OMG ...I was born on 11 aug in 1996......scary ...

Posted by: lancey | October 5, 2010 04:37 PM

This story is true. I grew up in Irondequoit, NY and have experienced the White Lady myself!!! But the dog that accompanies here is not part of the original lore.

Posted by: Anonymous | October 8, 2010 02:15 PM

I can remember the first i saw her

Posted by: chantal | October 8, 2010 02:17 PM

is this white ghost really real-people say she is but im not so sure...

Posted by: anonymus | October 9, 2010 08:50 AM

I have read some of the comments and most likely the many ladies in white are not identical with the Lady in White of this story. Ghosts often appear in light colors and white dresses and night gowns were (still are) a common garment. We can say it's a popular clothing amongst ghosts. However, if the digging ghost was at the same location it's more than possible that the ghost is actually not hostile to anyone. If the story is true she tried to get the witness digging up that spot for some reason. Perhaps the body of her daughter or of her own is buried there. Also she can be a totally different White Lady, it's very likely that other women had died in a tragic way in that area. Parks and woods in or near towns are hot spots of crime, even if the victim was murdered elsewhere their bodies are often dumped in such areas. There are places in Massachusetts famous for such activity, both earthly and paranormal.

Posted by: Herne the Hunter | October 10, 2010 07:25 PM

Posted by: Anonymous | October 16, 2010 03:28 AM

I have been doing a lot of trail running in the park, and recently visited her house for the first time. I stood in the foundation and looked out over the lake. I had a very powerful inner feeling of sadness. I hope to learn more about the family and what really happened.

Posted by: Shannon Dotts | October 21, 2010 10:00 AM

this is so stupid i have the white lady and from my viewpoint she is very pretty

Posted by: Joe Freyer | October 27, 2010 08:25 PM

hahahahaha! this is funny!

Posted by: Anna Kate | October 29, 2010 08:42 AM

ok. the white lady in the story is located in irondequoit ny a suburb of rochester ny. Durand park is on lake ontario right near seabreeze amusement park, you have your white ladies mixed up

Posted by: Anonymous | October 29, 2010 11:44 AM

OOOOOOHHHHHHHHHHHHHHH SO SCARY I'LL NEVER WANT TO SEE HER

Posted by: Anonymous | October 30, 2010 02:07 AM

white lady

Posted by: Anonymous | October 30, 2010 05:09 AM

omg

Posted by: anna | October 30, 2010 09:17 AM

I live In irondequoit a couple of miles away from Durand Eastman park. Last Year Around This time of year i was walking down in Durand park with a few of my friends late at night around 1:30am 2 am in the morning. we sat down next to a tree in the park that the locals call it the white ladies tree. its down a hill next to zoo road, we sat there and meditated for awhile it was silent. My friend started asking random questions, and all of the sudden his phone started beeping like when u press the numbers, but he was not pushing any buttons, everyone's cell phone's battery bars dropped from a full bar to one bar, then my friend continued asking her questions like are you mad that were here, some of the other guys were saying that they killed her daughter and she's next and a bunch of stuff, he then asked for her to give us a sign like a sound of trees breaking or sound of some sort or flicker of a light, all of the sudden the tree next to us lit right up with the brightest white light that I've ever seen, we all ran up the hill thinking that the police were there, we came back down a few moments later to realize there was no car or police, my one friend to this day thinks it was a car or van that made that light, we try explaining to him that it couldn't have been a car or van even with its high beams, we tested it the next night with my friends car and his dads van.

Posted by: Matthew | October 30, 2010 10:12 PM

Posted by: Nate | November 1, 2010 08:50 PM

does this white lady have TWIN sis?

Posted by: Anonymous | November 2, 2010 04:43 AM

really good story!!lucky im a female good luck guys=}

Posted by: scarysilly | November 4, 2010 01:57 PM

wow!!!!it is so cool story

Posted by: Makosia | November 6, 2010 03:42 AM

i once saw her. she was walkig past my window. i also heard barking, but there is no houses near my house. i also saw my sister sleep walking towards her, but when i woke her up, the white lady was gone

Posted by: Anonymous | November 9, 2010 03:14 PM

its a cool story and very interesting too.

Posted by: Anonymous | November 28, 2010 12:42 AM

This was one of the weirdest stories i have heard

Posted by: Who knows | November 30, 2010 03:22 PM

i play a game called white lady

Posted by: Anonymous | December 6, 2010 01:11 PM

WOW this story is scary someone should help the white lady find her daughter so her spirit will cross

7/11/2015

over

Posted by: madison | December 16, 2010 12:19 PM

creepy

Posted by: Anonymous | December 20, 2010 04:06 AM

I don't want to go there!

Creepy.....

I hate to see ghosts!

Posted by: Anna | January 8, 2011 12:54 AM

wow this kinda scary.. i wnna go to where ever shes at nd see her!!

Posted by: Sheila LeeAnn | January 14, 2011 07:14 PM

While I was reading this my tv remote fell of my bed scared tha crap outta me

Posted by: Skye | January 19, 2011 11:04 PM

Okay....look I live no where near any of these places i live in Ohio, but my daughter saw what she described and drew a picture of the "white lady." My daughter is 7 and has had the sight since she was 2. I cannot see these spirits she sees but I can feel them. When she saw this "white lady" my daughter asked her what she wanted and she just pointed at my daughter. Of course my baby girl was petrified!!! My daughter told her to go into the light, "white lady" disappeared, but shortly reappeared with a child whom looked identical to my daughter!!! My baby girl was hysterical, so I just said to her baby lets pray, as we prayed my daughter screamed..."Mommy she is coming for me!" I said..."What do you mean is she coming over here?, Just pray baby!" I sat straight up in bed and screamed at this "white lady" STAY AWAY FROM MY DAUGHTER LEAVE MY HOME YOU ARE NOT WELCOME!!! She never would go away...until the sun came up. Im not really sure what in the world to think, but especially since all the legends are from other states/countries...Any info you can share would be very helpful. Thank you!

Posted by: Crystal | January 21, 2011 02:47 PM

OH MY GOD NOOOOOO NOT THE POOR DOGS! oh and poor lady but. OH THE POOR LITTLE DOGGIES:(

Posted by: nick | January 24, 2011 07:40 PM

I hate to see ghosts

Posted by: thomas | February 1, 2011 02:15 PM

we love ghost stores weeeeeee!!!!!!!!!!

Posted by: lolly nicky | February 3, 2011 05:44 PM

.....AHHHHHHHH!!! WTF GOSH CALL THE POLICE NOT KILL YOUR SELF! GOSH WHATS WRONG WITH PEOPLE

Posted by: gabrielle | February 3, 2011 05:53 PM

I could care less about the lady I feel bad for the dogs I am an animal lover and would jump in front of a

car to save a dog

Posted by: Alice | February 10, 2011 08:15 PM

that poor women, all she wanted was her daughter

Posted by: rachel | February 27, 2011 01:51 PM

i was supposed to go see where the white lady is but we didnt and i was a little freaked out to see where she is

Posted by: isaiah | March 3, 2011 06:21 PM

cool!

Posted by: aurora | March 5, 2011 08:13 PM

Never seen her. Like to though.

Posted by: Victoria Fear | March 10, 2011 04:01 PM

There's a book called "The lady in White", but I think that there's nothing to do with this story, wich is really scary.

Posted by: Karol | March 18, 2011 11:39 AM

so scary! but nice story about a mather and her daughter.

Posted by: MARIAM | March 18, 2011 11:48 PM

wow Crystal, i should bb watchin out since im a guy. a frend of mine said she saw a lady in white walk up to her during midnight but suddenly vanish

Posted by: Javier | March 20, 2011 06:04 PM

i don't beleive these kind of stories.

Posted by: Anonymous | March 23, 2011 05:38 AM

We have a white lady here in Sweden too. I think she is in Stockholm. ^^

Posted by: Karro | April 6, 2011 02:16 PM

scary!!!!!

Posted by: Anonymous | May 12, 2011 10:29 AM

creepy

Posted by: priyanka | June 23, 2011 01:58 PM

scary omg .....

Posted by: Anonymous | June 24, 2011 09:03 AM

wow this is kinda scary.. who actually believes in the 'white lady'?

Posted by: Anonymous | June 29, 2011 09:58 PM

I'm scared now....

Posted by: Erika | July 4, 2011 12:25 AM

i saw were she LIVES!!!!!!

Posted by: kayroo | July 8, 2011 03:51 PM

My brother and me were walking down the same place when he noticed a white blurry thing float by.I laughed at him when he told me what he saw but then i saw a white figure giggle.My heart thumped and i clutched my brother's hand.Suddenly someone tripped my brother but not me .He got up and screamed at me to run away.He did too.I now know we had encountered the white lady.

Posted by: fiona cutt | July 24, 2011 03:07 AM

I see dead pple all the time and I'm constantly tormented by a woman in white she always says that she knows I know were her daugter is

Posted by: Anonymous | July 24, 2011 11:59 PM

wow...... amazing i >3

Posted by: aayushi | July 26, 2011 06:27 AM

i dont like anything scary but my sister made me go here and instead of being creep out i feel bad for the lady, her daughter too

Posted by: mikki | August 7, 2011 04:18 PM

this lady has problem, but i would like to meet her

Posted by: Anonymous | August 15, 2011 08:18 PM

Comments? Email us at webmaster@americanfolklore.net Last updated 12/13/2014 15:22:48 © | S.E. Schlosser 1997 - 2020.

This site is best viewed while eating marshmallows around a campfire under a starry sky.

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# Why Pendulum Clocks Mysteriously Sync Up

livescience.com

by Charles Q. Choi, Live Science Contributor | July 23, 2015 10:34am ET



Pendulum clocks swinging in exactly the opposite direction from each other.

Pendulum clocks swinging in exactly the opposite direction from each other. Credit: Henrique Oliveira and Luís Melo View full size image

The 350-year-old mystery of why pendulum clocks hanging from the same wall synchronize over time may finally be solved, scientists say.

In 1665, Dutch physicist Christiaan Huygens, inventor of the pendulum clock, was lying in bed with a minor illness and watching two of his clocks hanging on a wall, said Henrique Oliveira, a mathematician at the University of Lisbon and co-author of a new study detailing the findings. Huygens noticed something odd: No matter how the pendulums on these clocks began, within about a half-hour, they ended up swinging in exactly the opposite direction from each other.

The cause of this effect — what Huygens called an "odd kind of sympathy" remained a mystery for centuries. But recently, scientists analyzing two pendulum clocks hanging from the same beam found that the clocks could influence each other through small forces exerted on the supporting beam. However, "nobody tested properly the idea of clocks hanging on the same wall," Oliveira told Live Science. [5 of the Most Precise Clocks Ever Made]

In conversations over coffee, Oliveira and study co-author Luís Melo, a physicist at the University of Lisbon, decided to analyze how two pendulums might interact through an immobile wall, instead of investigating how they might interactthrough a movable beam as had been done in previous research.

The researchers calculated that, as pendulums move back and forth, sound pulses could travel through the wall from clock to clock. These pulses can interfere with the swings of the pendulums, eventually causing them to synchronize.

The investigators tested their idea with experiments involving two pendulum clocks attached to an aluminum rail fixed to a wall. Their results showed that changes in the speed of the pendulum swings coincided with cycles of those sound pulses.

In addition, they plan to expand their model to explain the behavior of other kinds of oscillators, such as the electronic oscillators used to synchronize activity on microchips, Melo said.

Oliveiraand Melo detailed their findings online July 23 in the journal Scientific Reports.

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# Witch doctors targeting vulnerable Kiwis

Sunday 26 Jul 2015 6:22 p.m.

3news.co.nz

## Witch doctors targeting vulnerable Kiwis

Indian witch doctors are arriving in New Zealand on tourist or temporary work visas and duping vulnerable Kiwis into forking out thousands of dollars.

One Auckland man has lost almost \$12,000, and after being alerted by 3 News, Immigration New Zealand says it's investigating.

Indian Community Leader Pratima Nand is on a crusade against what she calls "witch doctors". She's gone undercover with 3 News and says they're using New Zealand as a test market.

"They are destroying families, they are sucking people in. A friend of mine has been sucked up to \$1400 with no results. Somebody has to take action," she says.

Witchcraft practitioners in south Auckland are not hard to find. In one newspaper alone there were three ads, all offering 100 percent lifelong protection from black magic, money problems and marriage problems.

Most witch doctors are here on tourist or temporary work visas and they advertise hourly on a local Indian TV channel, Apna.

3 News found one healer in south Auckland in a tiny room behind a legitimate clothing store in Otahuhu.

Ms Nand tells him a false story of wanting to reunite with her husband after 17 years. She's told 15 prayers will cost her \$420.

Ms Nand says she was given a small container and told to take it to the bank and put the money in it.

"He said all the black magic will get trapped into this and then I give back to him with the money."

Six days later at her next visit, the healer tells her the black magic has grown so strong she's told he must pray another nine times – but he will need more cash.

3 News paid a visit to the witch doctor to clarify some things. He won't front, but his wife does.

"We are praying to God," she says.

She says they do not accept any money from anyone and there is no guarantee they can solve any problems.

Nearby in Papatoetoe there is a different healer with the same story. A woman was also the

only one to front when 3 News visited.

Immigration New Zealand says it has "identified several individuals who appear to be involved in this type of activity and we are currently investigating".

"We are unable to make any substantive comment while that investigation is underway."

It says anyone receiving payment for this type of activity would be in breach of his or her visa conditions, regardless of whether they're in New Zealand on a visitor or temporary work visa.

For at least half a dozen Indian healers in Wellington and Auckland, officials say that now means deportation.

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# Woman declared dead wakes up at funeral home

itv.com

- 1. ITV Report
- 2. 28 July 2015 at 9:05pm

The doctor who pronounced her dead has been charged with negligent bodily harm

A 92-year-old woman from Germany, who was declared dead, woke up hours later in a refrigerated room in a funeral home.

The doctor, who allegedly pronounced the seriously ill woman dead in March, was charged with negligent bodily harm today, German prosecutors said.

The 53-year-old doctor, whose name hasn't been released in line with privacy regulations, is said to have declared her dead after a carer found her without a pulse and not breathing at a retirement home.

That evening, a worker at the funeral home where she'd been taken heard a scream from the refrigeration room and discovered the woman alive.

Essen prosecutor Birgit Juegens said the woman died two days later in a hospital from heart disease unrelated to the incident.

The doctor could face anything from a fine to a prison sentence if convicted, Juegens said.

Last updated Tue 28 Jul 2015

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Yahoo7 News July 28, 2015, 11:11 am



Woman discovers 20 lice living inside eye

A woman thought she was just itchy when her eye started giving her grief.

After closer inspection, she was shocked to hear she had more than 20 lice living inside her eye.

Ms Zhang, from Shandong in China, was recovering from a stroke in hospital when she felt her left eye become irritated, People's Daily Online reports.

Thinking it was simply a result of her recovery, she did not become alarmed, believing it was

probably an infection.

Ms Zhang started experiencing a seeping discharge in her left eye and after the itching became unbearable, she asked her son to inspect.

"Mum! There's stuff moving on your eyelid!" he said.



Ms Zhang feit her left eye become irritated and itchy, only to discover it was full of lice. Photo: Getty

Twenty 'little worms' were found by eye specialist Dr Bao Guisheng.

"I thought they were some sort of a parasitic bug, like mites or something, but when we looked through a microscope, we saw that they were lice," he said.

Nurses removed the lice individually using a pair of small tweezers.

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